TRANSFORMING PROFESSIONS: A CASE STUDY OF SOCIAL WORK IN THE AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE ORGANISATION

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STATEMENT OF SOURCES

This thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis.

This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

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ABSTRACT

Transforming Professions: A Case Study of Social Work in the Australian Defence Organisation.

The research investigated the impact of cultural change on the professional identity and practices of social workers in the Australian Defence Organisation (ADO). The researcher sought to understand both the nature and impact of change.

The literature was reviewed with regard to the research and understanding of the concept of profession. The review highlighted the ideological nature of profession and the way in which the dominant culture impacts on professionals' understanding of their identity and practice. The culture impacts on the development of the professionals' relationship with clients, professional values and practices, practice boundaries, autonomy and status, accountability and knowledge and skills. The analysis of the literature illustrated that professionalism reflected the cultural impact of industrial capitalism while the emerging new professionalism reflected the impact of late capitalism.

The research was undertaken from 1995 to 2004, a time of significant reform and change in Australia. The changes were reflected in changing relationships in the political economy and subsequent government and societal reforms. The cultural hegemony or dominant discourse changed from industrial capitalism to late capitalism and this change challenges professional identity and practice. The thesis argues that, an analysis of the case of ADO social work, particularly ADO social workers'

understanding of their identity and practice demonstrates the impact of professionalism from 1957 to the mid-1980s. From the mid-1980s to 1996, it is further argued, it is possible to discern the impact of new professionalism as ADO social workers pursued their identity and understanding of practice in terms of the cultural reforms, that is, the emerging new professionalism.

The thesis identifies six areas in which both professionalism and new professionalism impact on professionals, their identity and practice together with six features of both professionalism and new professionalism. These features are reflected in the professional projects.

A case study of ADO social work was undertaken. The case study was constructed so that it satisfied the tenets of the qualitative method: describing, understanding and explaining. The case data was analysed in terms of the framework established. This framework identified six features of professionalism and new professionalism. Documentary data was analysed, that is, the public statements, reports and evidence given by ADO social workers, which articulated their understanding of their professional identity and practice.

The case study confirmed the impact of professionalism on ADO social workers' identity and practice. However, the data did not demonstrate that ADO social workers pursued their professional project in terms of the emerging new professionalism. Three explanations are suggested as to why ADO social workers resist cultural change and continue to pursue professionalism. The first reason is the finding that the profession of arms, the dominant profession in the organisation, resisted many of the reforms. This enabled ADO social workers to continue to understand

their professional identity and practice in terms of professionalism. A second reason is ADO social workers' focus on the organisational restructuring of ADO social work services, a project pursued by many ADO social workers from 1973. The organisational restructuring is understood to be part of ADO social workers' professionalisation project in terms of professionalism. A third reason is that ADO social workers view the changing culture as a significant threat to their understanding of their professional identity and practice. Bureaucracy, hierarchy, the state, service, tradition, monopoly, institutions, authority, supervising were giving way to market, flexibility, outcomes, performance, competition, teams, entrepreneurialism and choice. Along with many professional colleagues ADO social workers view the changes as the 'deprofessionalisation' of professionals in the ADO.

The thesis argues that new professionalism will increasingly impact on the identity and practice of ADO social workers as members of a socially constructed occupation. Attempts by ADO social workers to continue to develop and maintain a professional identity and practice in terms of professionalism will mean that social workers will become irrelevant to the needs of the ADO and its Members and families. Professionalism is no longer part of the hegemony of the dominant culture.

The thesis argues that the future for ADO social work lies in the pursuit of a critical professional project in terms of the emerging new professionalism, understanding that new professionalism like professionalism 'masks' the oppressive nature of the capitalist project.

GLOSSARY

AASW	Australian Association of Social Workers
ACS	Army Community Service
ACS (ACT)	Army Community Service, Australian Capital Territory
ADF	Australian Defence Force
ADFILS	Australian Defence Families Information and Liaison Staff
ADO	Australian Defence Organisation
ANO	Australian Naval Order
APS	Australian Public Service
AWOL	absent without leave
BWO	Base Welfare Officer
CDC	Community Development Coordinator
CDF	Chief of the Defence Force
CDO	Community Development Officer
CISM	Critical Incident Stress Management
COSC	Chiefs of Staff Committee
CPSU	Community and Public Sector Union
DCO	Defence Community Organisation
DDOPS	Deputy Director Operations
DG	Director General
DGDFAP	Director General Defence Force Administrative Policy
DHA	Defence Housing Association
DSW	Director of Social Work
EEO	Equal Employment Opportunity
FOI	Freedom of Information
HQ	Headquarters
HQADF	Headquarters of the Australian Defence Force
HRIT	Hamilton Report Implementation Team
NCGSF	National Consultative Group of Service Families
NSW/ACT	New South Wales/Australian Capital Territory
NSW	Navy Social Worker
PER	Program Evaluation and Review
POA	Professional Officers Association
PO2	Professional Officer Grade/Class 2
PRED	Program Review and Evaluation Directorate
PRIT	Pratt Review Implementation Team
RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force
RAN	Royal Australian Navy

SA	South Australia
SCDC	Senior Community Development Coordinator
SEP	Structural Efficiency Principles
SWIS	Social Work Information Service
VCDF	Vice Chief of the Defence Force

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1.   TRANSFORMING SOCIAL WORK

CHANGE AND PROFESSIONS

P rofessional autonomy and ethical principles are frequently cast as obsolete and irrelevant to the current era (Barnett, 1994; Daniel, 1983; Downie, 1990; Jarvis, 1983). Middlehurst and Kennie (1997) argue that the features of professionalism are fluid and contested and that change brings the area of contention into sharp relief. Broadbent, Dietrich and Roberts (1997) similarly argue that in earlier periods, professionalism was rarely questioned and professional autonomy and the guiding role of strong professional ethics were taken for granted.

The late twentieth century has been characterised as a period of radical change when incremental shifts in economic, technological, political and social arenas have converged and accelerated (Cannan, 1995; Heilbroner, 1993). One of the impacts of these changes is that many people in society question aspects of professionalism. The key questions are 'what is the value and status of professional knowledge and competence'? 'What is the relationship between implicit trust and explicit accountability'? 'How can appropriate professional attitudes and behaviours be developed and maintained in a changing society?' The relationship between professionals and clients is now an issue for debate. Hough and Briskman (2003) comment that as the culture changes, identity becomes contingent and dislocated and we have a different understanding of how the subject/object or individual/society constitute each other. Many argue that the appropriate standards governing

professional practice, relationships and the independence and autonomy of professionals must be renegotiated.

Parton and Marshall (1998) argue that social work is currently experiencing a major period of change and uncertainty in its organisation and day-to-day practice. Social work today they argue seems qualitatively different from 'what went before'. In order to practice, social workers need new skills and new forms of knowledge. According to Banks (1995) social work is currently in a period of change as the role of the state as a direct provider of services declines. This is a result of the reduction in resources for welfare and the introduction of new styles of management and accountability. As Hil (2001) argues the profession of social work has been changed by the redrawing and blurring of professional boundaries, commercialism, corporatisation of state-run services, outsourcing, and output-based models of service delivery. Change is therefore a significant issue for social workers.

WHY CHANGE IS AN ISSUE

Social workers have practised in the Australian Defence Organisation (ADO) from 1957 to the present and the current social, economic and political reforms impact on their identity and practice. Social workers today confront change to service delivery systems, change to the nature of service, change to accountability mechanisms and calls for flexibility, efficiency and effectiveness measured in economic terms (Ife, 2001; Schon, 1983). Gorz (1999) argues that professions claim an increasing lack of power and increasing marginalisation. The current changes appear to challenge the nature of professionalism itself. According to

Hough (1995) the Australian government reforms which commenced in the late 1980s challenge professional autonomy and authority, as they have generally been understood.

The social work profession has been relatively powerless as a change agent (Hough & Briskman, 2003). Professions, it is argued, must change to meet the changing needs of society (Jones & Novak, 1993; Lowenstein, 1997; Mendes, 1999; Osborne & Gaebler, 1993). Child and Fulk (1982 p. 169) state that:

> …both direct client challenge and general public censure of professionals have been evident in recent years. These have reflected scepticism about professional competence and about the pursuit of private rather than public interest.

Kutek (1998) comments that we probably cannot comprehend fully the shifts that are affecting all professions in general and the helping professions in particular. He states that major changes have been in evidence for some time and seem to be accelerating. Penna and O'Brien (1996) argue that changes in social policy priorities - the introduction of internal markets, purchaser-provider divisions, multiple service contracts, community care and the encouragement of private sector involvement in welfare provision - are accompanied by an increase in the use of part-time and temporary staff together with extensions in the tasks and roles of some workers. These changes impact on professional practice and are perceived by professionals as impeding the delivery of quality services.

As Bartlett and Ghoshal (2003 p. 13) comment workers are:

> …left gasping for air at the breadth and rapidity of change during the past two decades. Hierarchy has to be replaced by networks, bureaucratic systems transformed into flexible processes and control-based management roles must evolve into relationships featuring empowerment and coaching.

Cochrane (1994) argues that welfare programs are no longer seen as comprehensive care-providers but as client and community-centred enterprises, specialising according to demand for particular types of service. The consequence is an institutional realignment with a multiplicity of service-providers from the private and welfare sector sometimes in competition and sometimes in alliance with state services.

During this period of change the researcher was a senior social worker for the ADO from 1987 to 1997. From 1987-1995 this was with the Australian Defence Families Information and Liaison Staff (ADFILS) and from 1995-1997 it was with the Defence Community Organisation (DCO) as the Director of Social Work. The social work services had been located within the single services ie Navy, Army, Air Force and the Headquarters of the Australian Defence Force (HQADF). In 1995 they were amalgamated into a single organisation, the DCO. Social workers then provided a social work service to all ADF Members and their families. As the senior social worker 1987 – 1997 the researcher was responsible for the provision of professional social work services to ADO Members and their families. At the same time the researcher had responsibility for introducing new accountability, performance measurement and governance measures in an environment of increasing outsourcing to the private sector and decrease of state involvement in social welfare support. The researcher was aware, almost viscerally, of

being immersed in a process of change over which she had little control and of experiencing 'vertigo which comes with profound uncertainty' (Leonard, 1997). The work activities, the literature analysis, data collection and analysis were the focus of reflection as part of the research. It was in this climate of challenge and change that the thesis research emerged.

This chapter articulates the research problem and the approach taken to address the research questions. The following section outlines the research focus and the particular issues that relate to the problem.

RESEARCH PROBLEM - WHAT IS THE CAUSE OF CHANGE?

The thesis considered the source and nature of change and the impact of this change on social work in the ADO.

The research addressed the past and future control of expert knowledge and skill, the future development of the social work profession and the past and the way ahead for professional social work practice in the ADO. The thesis addressed the issues from a critical perspective. As Burrell and Morgan (1979 p. 297) point out:

> …the "superstructure" of capitalist society is of key interest to the critical theorists, partly because it is the medium through which the consciousness of human beings is controlled and moulded to fit the requirements of the social formation as a whole. It thus lies at the interface between subjective and objective worlds.

For some critical theorists 'postmodern' culture is the legitimating ideology for a new phase of capitalism (Waters, 1994). It is the capitalist's need to increase profit and the subsequent change to beliefs, values, structures and actions to ensure the growth of profit that provides the catalyst for a new form of control of the development, acquisition and practice of expert knowledge and skill.

As Cannan (1995) comments it is clear that there are cultural and economic changes across Western nations, a process of modernisation and reconstruction of welfare states and of labour markets, in which new motivations, attitudes and psychologies are emerging (Ife, 2001; Rosanvallon, 1988).

EXPLANATIONS OF CHANGE

Many explanations are given in the academic literature for the impact of change on professions. Three broad themes can be identified:

- the changing relationships between state, capital and labour (the political economy) and the subsequent reform activities of the state. Hough and Briskman (2003) argue that in Australia as in other Western countries the role of the state as the provider of a wide range of public services that promise evening-up the life-chances of people, is drawing to an end (Leonard, 1997).
- the impact of the rise of economic rationalism, marketisation and consumerism. Bartlett, Knight and Linegard (1992) comment that the processes of micro-economic reform have been justified and driven by an amalgam of beliefs or assumptions which define the situation,

establish the parameters within which action is possible and imply or prescribe preferred or suitable forms of action. These beliefs are largely grounded in and drawn from certain dominant discourses: those of neo-corporatism, economic rationalism, and managerialism (or corporate managerialism; and

- the impact of managerialism on professions (Exworthy & Halford, 1999).

These broad themes are expanded as follows:

Changing Relationships of the Political Economy

The changing relationship between the state, professions and the market (capital and labour) which emerges from neo-liberalism and/or globalisation is argued to be the source of change to professions. The reforms introduced by the state, an outcome of the changing relationships in the political economy, impact on professional practice. Professionals are both confused and concerned by the direction of the change (Aldridge, 1996; Brazier, Lovecy, Moran, & Potton, 1993; Dominelli & Hoogvelt, 1996; R Hugman, 1996; O'Connor, Smyth, & Warburton, 2000). Hil (2001) argues that the profession of social work, for example, has changed because of the changing configuration of social, economic, and political relations in 'late modernity' and new patterns of governance in the neo-liberal state. Social change, he argues, is caused by change in the relationships of the political economy particularly the relationship between the state and professions. Langan and Lee (1989), Jones and Novak (1993) and Hough and Briskman (2003), argue also that the context within which social work operates in the late 1990s has changed fundamentally.

As Bauman (1998) argues, in industrial capitalism the ideology of the 'work ethic' was part of the dominant culture concerned with ensuring a continuous supply of fit, healthy and available labour for capitalists. The 'producer society' engaged its members primarily as producers. As a ready supply of labour was critical to capital accumulation and profit the social norm was an ability to fulfil the 'work ethic'. The state responded by introducing legislation and programs to support capital's need for labour. Hence with regard to professions, professionalism emerged from the need of the state to develop, maintain and order knowledge and behaviour to effect the needs of capital. Professional groups were socially constructed occupations who held values, knowledge and skill based on the dominant culture (Mullaly, 1997; Wharf, 1990). As Forsyth and Danisiewicz (1985) point out a profession is a fundamental social process embedded in the relationships between society and those who practice certain expert occupations. Johnson (1972; 1977), Navarro (1978) and Larson (1977) argue that it was the ideology of professionalism, which undergirded a process of occupational control. Such ideology was normative in the context of the 'producer society' (industrial capitalism).

Dunleavy (1982), Pollitt (1984), Stoker (1989) and Flynn (1999) argue that the changing relationships of the political economy prompt governments to initiate measures to control public expenditure and to redesign the public service emphasising the virtues of the 'three E's - economy, efficiency and effectiveness'. In doing so, governments challenge many taken-for-granted assumptions about the working practices and organisation of traditional public administration and the practice of professionals. Governments institute massive restructuring of the public sector creating an entirely new set of institutions for

governance (quasi markets and quangos). Lishman (1998) argues that the political ideology of the New Right with its efficiency savings and a competency-drive approach to training and professional development both challenge professional identification and identity as does the withdrawal of the state from providing services. As Burrows and Loader (1994), and George (2000) argue 'Post Fordist' analyses point to an interconnectedness in the organisation of social welfare, observing changes in working practices, employment patterns, decentralised operational control and the introduction of 'marketisation' in welfare institutions.

Impact of Economic Rationalism, Marketisation and Consumerism

Fabricant and Burghardt (1992), Pusey (1991), and Carroll (1992) argue that economic rationalism is the source of change to professions and the delivery of government services. Crimeen and Wilson (1997) argue that economic rationalist public policies are manifest in moves by State and Federal governments to 'marketise' social services (Horne, 1992). As Rees (1995) argues, there is a set of policies, which contend that an economy needs to be run like a market with as little interference as possible. In this context human effort is considered a commodity and financial accountability is the criterion by which organisational performance is measured. Rather than a focus on broad social objectives such as the pursuit of social justice there is an emphasis on managerial practices to address targeted societal problems. Ernst (1995), Fisher (1995), Carson and Kerr (1995) and Mullaly (1997) point out that these moves have implications for social work practice.

Carroll (1992 p. 7) argues that economic rationalism's 'generative axiom is that the free market should determine all economic transactions'. The belief is that a prosperous economy depends on efficiency, and the greatest efficiency occurs when open competition in a free market determines outcomes. Internationally this means free trade, or what has recently become the metaphor of 'the level playing field'. As Carroll (1992) points out economic rationalism is a sub-species of the philosophy of liberalism with its stress on the autonomous individual and one ultimate value which is 'freedom'. It applies the radical philosophy of removing all constraints, of freeing up economic activities. The guiding principle is summed up as 'deregulation'. Carroll (1992) argues that it is assumed that there is an implicit principle behind the scenes, guiding the free market so as to ensure that outcomes are just. Thus, he argues, the system promises not only prosperity and efficiency, but also justice.

Davidson (1992) argues that the real task of the economic rationalist is not the creation of wealth - it is to convince the rich that their greed is the engine whose generation creates wealth for the whole community. The principles guiding the free market are the way in which this wealth is distributed justly within the community (Wheen, 2004).

Exworthy and Halford (1999) argue that it is the changing needs of the market that are the cause of change to professionalism. As Rifkin (1996) argues, since the early decades of the twentieth century the leading capitalist industrial societies have witnessed a transformation in the organisation of work, in patterns of participation in the labour market, and in relationships between employers and employees in the processes of production. The world of work is characterised by change (Ritzer, 2002; Sennett, 1998). Calls for increasingly flexible production

techniques are made in the context of a reduction in government regulation in many areas of the economy, in labour markets and in industrial relations in particular. Because of the decline in government regulation these changes mean that professionals are excluded from their decision-making areas of the market. Monopoly is no longer supported. Johnson (1972) comments that economists have most consistently questioned the benefits of professionalism, pointing instead to the harmful monopolistic practice of professional associations. Capitalists seek to turn unproductive and non-productive sectors and forms of labour into forms of productive labour and new areas of productive activity. Social workers were perceived to be 'non-productive'.

According to Exworthy and Halford (1999) one means through which a new legitimation of capitalism, rooted in the conditions of the 1980s and the 1990s is achieved, is through the shift from a needs-led professionally determined model of welfare provision to a market led managerialist model. Increasingly in the United States of America and elsewhere the welfare state has turned to market mechanisms to address social problems (Caputo, 2002; Giddens, 1998; Isbister, 2001; and Lindblom, 2001).

In the changing economic, political and social environment of today, however, as Harvey (1989), Hall, Held and McGrew (1992), Crook et al (1992) and Bauman (1998) argue, it is the aesthetics of consumption that now rule where the 'work ethic' once ruled. The context is the 'consumer society'. The 'consumer society' primarily engages its members in their capacity as consumers. As Bauman (1998) argues, the differences between the 'producer society' and the 'consumer society' are 'so deep and ubiquitous that they fully justify speaking of our society as a society of a separate and distinct kind - a consumer society'.

Consumer society or 'enterprise culture' denotes a self, characterised by autonomy, responsibility, initiative, self-reliance, independence, a willingness to take risks, to 'go for it', see opportunities and take responsibility for one's own actions (Cannan, 1995; Heelas & Morris, 1992; and Keat & Abercrombie, 1991). Emy and Hughes (1991 p. 204) state that

> contemporary Australian liberalism is based on a rationalist philosophy involving opposition to collectivism and therefore the welfare state, a belief in the individual, the centrality of market forces in allocating resources and structuring social relations, equality of opportunity, equality before the law and freedom for the individual to act so long as such actions do not impinge upon the freedom of others.

As Ernst (1995) suggests economic rationalist policies such as privatisation and marketisation represent a paradigm shift that challenges the ethical base of modern Australian social work (see also Crimeen & Wilson, 1997).

Impact of New Managerialism

A third theme of explanations for the change to professions is summed up in the statement that 'managers are taking over' (Clarke, Cochrane, & McLaughlin, 1994; Farnham & Horton, 1996; Leach, Stewart, & Walsh, 1994; Stewart & Stoker, 1989). Researchers argue that it is the rise of managerialism, which challenges professions. Flynn (1999 p. 35) for example argues that 'there are fundamental contradictions between the logics and rationalities of managerialism and professionalism, which create conflicts and problems'.

Social workers often experience this new managerialism as loss of autonomy and loss of control to management (Buchanan, 1995; Hough & Briskman, 2003; Howe, 1986; Laragy, 1996).

Managerialism like professionalism is a set of beliefs and practices. It is concerned with maximising productivity and profit. Efficient management is considered as one means of achieving those objectives. Albin (1995) states that it is difficult to arrive at a testable definition of managerialism. Managerialism, he argues, is 'directed at changing traditional bureaucratic organisational incentives to reduce outputs and thereby lower taxes'. The explicit assumption is that private sector incentive structures are far superior to those found in government agencies. Albin (1995 p. 138) states that 'according to managerialist orthodoxy, government should be more like the private sector and thus exposed to competitive markets'.

In order to achieve productivity, therefore, the managerial role in organisations becomes dominant to the service provision role of public sector organisations (Buchanan, 1995; Davis, 1995). Managerialism promotes the belief that all units and people should specify how their individual goals and those of their units fit into the corporate plan of the organisation. In this way output controls will ensure successful performance. The responsibility for the control of output moves to management. Pollitt (1990) and Clark et al (1994) argue that an emphasis on managerialism as an alternative to professionalism occupies an increasingly significant role in the reorganisation of state welfare. Therefore as social workers were service providers, managers increasingly determined outputs and introduced systems of control to ensure these outputs were achieved.

Such change appears to challenge the autonomy and authority of professionals (Friesen & Frey, 1983; Korazim, Meller, & Baerwald, 1988; Levine & Lightburn, 1989; Pawlak, Jeter, & Fink, 1983; York & Henley, 1986).   However, a closer analysis of the changes and their impact reveals that managerialism impacts on managers, clients and professionals.

Some Australian Public Sector reformers claim that today's managers have ceased to be responsive to politicians and customers (Beazley, 1995; Labour Research Centre, 1990). 'They are inflexible and add nothing to outcomes' (Hughes, 1992). Customers needs are not met because managers focus on the needs of those in the organisation, not on service to customers (Hughes, 1994). In a society controlled by the market it is the demands of customers i.e. politicians and consumers of state provided services that agreed outcomes are met that must be the focus of attention for public sector managers.

Managers who generally depended for their power and authority on their position in the bureaucratic hierarchy found themselves during reforms and organisational renewal, 'flattened' - out of a job (Harris, 1998). Middle management intermediaries, those between the managers responsible for strategy and the operational managers responsible for providing services, were removed (O'Higgins, 1992) in order to meet targets and achieve objectives.   In the new environment, strategic management is responsible for taking the lead to define the vision or mission, establish strategy, plan change, define and measure needs, and establish priorities, objectives and performance targets. All other employees implement the strategic management plans. In an environment of changing consumer demands, limited resources and the

changing role of the state, that 'managers are taking over' is not an adequate explanation for changes to professional authority and autonomy.

Rees (1995) argued that managerialism is an ideology with two distinct claims: firstly, that efficient management can solve almost any problem; and secondly, that practices which are appropriate for the conduct of private sector enterprises can also be applied to public sector services. However dominant, Rees (1995 p. 15) argued, 'the claims are fraudulent'.

In reviewing the literature with regard to these explanations for change and their possible impact on professions the research was focused on the changing hegemony emerging to support the capitalist project. In their study of the legal profession and change Portwood and Fielding (1981) state that the pre-eminence of barristers in the legal profession will only be maintained if they continue to play a vital role within the context of the developing structures and ideologies of capitalism. It is logically possible, they argue, for new professions to obtain considerable privilege provided that they can play a role in the developing structures and ideologies of capitalism.

Any approach that treats professionals as separate from the economic, political and ideological context will be found wanting.

PROFESSIONALISM AND CHANGE

New ideologies of control emerge with cultural change (Halford & Leonard, 1999). Johnson (1972) and Larson (1977) have illustrated how the ideology of professionalism controlled professional occupations. The

growth of professions was related to the pursuit of professionalism. As Eraut (1994) argues like all effective ideologies, professionalism embodies appealing values such as those of service trustworthiness, integrity, autonomy and reliable standards. It is effective in so far as its representation of reality is accepted as obviously correct. Therefore any consideration of the question 'what is the source and nature of change to the social work profession in the ADO today' must address the issue of the connection between professionalism and ideology, and ideology and culture.

As Hanlon (1997), Westwood (2001), and Rifkin (1996) point out, the relationship between professional and client is changing. It is changing from a transformational relationship as understood in terms of professionalism to a transactional relationship - a contract relationship. Professional practice is increasingly controlled and evaluated not by those within the profession but by managers via competencies and by customers through market principles. Ethics, it is argued, lack sufficient power to regulate professional practice. Outcome is a much more visible form of professional regulation than a code of ethics (Broadbent et al., 1997). Professionalism is challenged and professionals themselves participate in the changes taking place. Professionals are implementing purchaser/provider models of service delivery, participating in performance appraisal and developing evidence based practice (Fitzgibbon, 2000). New modes of organising and controlling specialist knowledge are emerging based on new beliefs, new ideologies (Brint, 1994; Brody, 1989; and Hough, 1999).

Professional identity and practice is challenged by the emerging ideologies on which the values, structures and systems in Australian

society are built (Fabricant & Burghardt, 1992; McDonald & Jones, 2000; and Stafford & Furze, 1998). The meaning of many of the ideas associated with professions and professional practice are being redefined. Existing norms and values are emptied and refilled (Goudzwaard, 1984; Howe, 1992; and Thompson, 2000). As Brody (1989) comments removal of professional life-preservers is being carried out by a society increasingly disenchanted with government, institutions, corporations and those who serve or appear to serve them. A series of actions, positive and negative, originating in different areas, have quickly removed all of the protective devices that for example had been installed over the decades to protect the professions. Some had been specifically oriented to assist practitioners. Others were beneficial to organisations and generally all are gone. Brody (1989) argues that some professional life-preservers have been removed by social change and others have been stripped away through economic and regulatory change.

Colgan and Cheers (2002) consider that the strategy of professionalisation as conventionally conceived by Australian social workers is no longer viable in the emerging milieu. They suggest that the immediate task for social work in this new century is to 'solve the problems of justification'. Hil (2001) points out that professional identity issues cannot be easily ignored given the fact that social work is being transformed from within (by debates about what social work 'means' in the early new millennium) and without (by changes wrought through managerialist ideology).

In analysing change and the practice of social work in the ADO therefore the impact of the ideologies of advanced capitalism was important. As Ife (1997) points out social work theory and practice are essentially

ideological. If professionalism is no longer supported by the culture of advanced capitalism, what is the nature of new professionalism? The research therefore reviewed the literature on professionalism and the new professional project – new professionalism.

PROFESSIONALISM

Professionalism defined in Chapter 2 as an ideology of industrial capitalism, operates so that the relationship between the client and professional, the values and practice of the professional, professional boundaries, autonomy, accountability, knowledge and skill are understood to be the way that life is and should be.   In terms of professionalism therefore, the identity, understandings and the practice of the professional would reflect as Johnson (1972) indicates:

- A fiduciary, confidential relationship based on trust, initiated by the client and terminated by the professional where the independent professional provides a service through a diagnostic relationship.
- A homogenous occupational community where practice is generic and there is a low degree of specialisation.
- A monopoly of regulation and socialisation by the professional association where the professional association regulates professional behaviour through accreditation, rules of operation, peer review and supervision.
- Equal status and a continuous occupational career (no change of profession throughout career) with the profession providing the sense of shared identity through

highly developed community language, lengthy training
and close supervision.

- Community generated role definitions and professional
  community responsibility for judging professional
  standards enshrined in a code of ethics through peer
  evaluation and professional supervision.
- Esoteric and exclusive knowledge and skill with prestige
  within the profession.

NEW PROFESSIONALISM

New professionalism, an ideology of the dominant culture of late
capitalism, operates so that professions meet the needs of the market, to
provide choice in a market environment and to produce identifiable
outcomes.   It reflects the enterprise culture where consumerism is highly
valued. New professionalism impacts on: the relationship between the
client and the professional; the values and practice of the professional;
professional boundaries; authority; accountability; knowledge and skill.
In advanced capitalism new professionalism gives meaning to the actual
relationships of professionals so that:

- Relationships between professional and customers are
  contract relationships.
- Professionals are members of flexible groups of
  specialists who participate together to achieve stated
  goals, sharing information and skills to achieve outcomes.
- The employing organisation provides market regulation
  and socialisation through its own work environment and
  framework.

- Professional status is based on competencies and the ability to develop new skills to meet consumer needs and changing outcomes so that continuous improvement reflects the professional approach.

- Organisational role definitions and professional competencies are judged against explicitly stated standards and outcomes to be achieved.

- Situational knowledge and skills from a wide variety of fields are critical to new professionalism so that professionals meet continuously changing strategic goals.

From a critical perspective then, professions are part of the ideological apparatus, which operates to legitimate the social order (Hough & Briskman, 2003; Pease & Fook, 1999). As Corrigan and Leonard (1978) argue in the critical or dialectic materialist analysis the relationship between the individual and the world is one, which both creates persons and is created by them. Critical theory provides a framework through which the ideological basis of our economic, social and cultural life can be critiqued allowing for the possibility of challenge to structures and practices, which support harmful control and exploitation. As Giddens (1999) argues through an understanding of the operating ideology and its impact it is possible to modify and humanise global capitalism by laws or moral provisions which set limits to the more cutthroat aspects of capitalist competition.

There are many criticisms of critical theory for example Bottomore (1984) and Greisman (1986). However, it is argued that critical theory provides a useful framework for any analysis of change particularly cultural change (Fook, 2002). According to Waters and Crook (1995) the

critical understanding of the concept of ideology explains more completely the relationship between ideology and action. Ideas and the role they play ie ideas in the broadest sense - the central or dominant system of meanings and values in a specific society - become a material force through their acceptance in the minds of the majority of people and action based on that acceptance (McCoppin & Gardner, 1994).

This critical analytical approach was developed because of the need to address the contradiction between 'profession' which had been understood as a valued form of occupation and the growing calls for professions to be controlled, changed and managed. There also was an increasing difference between professionalism and the need to practice in a different way in the new environment. The way problems were defined, the change to structures that supported professional authority and autonomy and the relationship between the professions and the state were changing. Professional practice built on professionalism was being forced to change. User-pays, case management, balanced scorecards, 'just in time', purchaser-provider were all concepts that demanded a change in professional practice. The direction of change however was contradictory to most professionals' understanding of legitimate professional practice ie the professional project.

FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

The concepts of hegemony and ideology as espoused by critical theorists are important to the analysis of the data with regard to change and ADO social work. Hegemony, according to Gramsci (1985), is a form of domination by means of the organisation of consent through the

manipulation of ideas. Foucault (1972; 1975) locates power in the constantly changing redefinition and control of discourse and in 'sites of power' occupied by individuals. Foucault conceives power as an entity manifest in social relations. This concept relates to that of cultural hegemony (Gramsci, 1971). The concept of hegemony is where control of the production and communication of knowledge maintains and reinforces the relationship of power and oppression. Seidman (1994) commenting on Foucault's ideas states that dominant discourses that define social work as natural and normal conceal particular social interests and power relations. Although Foucault's concept of power is related to Gramsci's concept of hegemony the thesis does not pursue a postmodern analysis. Waters (1994) states that Foucault fails to recognize differential power concentrations and thus the effects of grand structures of domination, the state and the business corporation. Although Foucault argues that resistance is present in all power relationships, he fails to demonstrate how, or even to allow that, it is in principle possible for resistance to result in emancipation.

Miliband (1969) argues that cultural hegemony is not something which happens accidentally. It is, he argues, 'the result of a permanent and pervasive effort, conducted through a multitude of agencies' so that 'what is involved is a massive process of indoctrination' (Miliband, 1969 p. 181-182). It is argued that the cultural impact of industrial capitalism and late capitalism on professions is different. Gramsci (1985) argues that power and domination in capitalism rest not only with materially located means of coercion and oppression, but also within individual's consciousness, through 'ideological hegemony'. For Gramsci, it was precisely in the area of ideological hegemony in the schools, family and workshop that capitalism was most likely to develop by attacking or

infiltrating the consciousness of the individual worker. But as Gramsci argues, this is also the crucial weakness of ideological hegemony. For while hegemony creates alienation, the individual worker is still their own theorist, their own source of class consciousness. They are therefore the most able to resist the force of hegemony. It is from such ideological resistance in the day-to-day life of workers, that, for Gramsci, revolutionary struggle and victory first came. As Agger (1998) points out critical social theorists stress that consciousness can transcend social conditions in the sense that the mind is always free, even if it is highly influenced by prevailing ideologies. Consciousness, according to Gramsci (1985), is not abstract and spiritual; it is a concrete force for a political end. He argued, therefore, that society is held together not only by material constraint but by hegemonic cultural control, and emancipation must be accomplished by cultural means (Waters, 1994). As Agger (1998) argues it is the unquestioned dominance of conformist ideas that reproduce a given society. Elliott (1975) states that the concept of professional ideology has a basis in the everyday experience of members of the same occupational group. Members tend to think and behave in characteristic ways. Johnson (1977 p. 106) says that 'credentialism, involving monopolistic practices and occupational closure, fulfils ideological functions in relation to capital'. Gramsci (1985) suggests that it is in this way that hegemony is an 'organising principle' or a world view that is diffused by agencies of ideological control and by the process of socialisation itself so that it permeates every area of daily life.

Grundy (1987) argues that the conduct knowledge of occupational groups, particularly of professions, is not only ideological in the micro-

sense, but also in the macro-sense of encapsulating the dominant ideology of the society. She states (1987 p. 28) that:

> Hegemony is not, therefore, exercised only through the ideological content of these professions (that is, the dominant ideology is not only encapsulated in the laws the legal profession administers, the views the teaching profession propagates, or the area of human life and health the medical profession deals with) it is embedded in the very methods of practice, codes of ethics and professional structures which inform and facilitate practice.

The ideological nature is discernible indirectly by the reproduction, through the conduct of the practices, of the authoritative relations of dominance and subordination present in the dominant state ideology (Grundy, 1987).

Professionalism (Fook, 2002; Johnson, 1972; and Larson, 1977) therefore controls and defines an occupation which, is based on a systematic body of theoretical knowledge. The profession is authoritative; has a monopoly of practice in its area of expertise; and members adhere to a code of ethics, which regulates their behaviour. Professionals are said to have a professional culture which incorporates such value-commitments as service to the community; protection of vulnerable clients; a notion of the occupation as a calling or a vocation rather than just a job; and the egalitarian and collegial nature of the profession as a whole. The ideology of professionalism includes dimensions such as professional autonomy, commitment to the profession, identification with the profession, professional ethics, belief in collegial maintenance of standards (Bartol, 1979; Kerr, VonGlinow, & Schriesheim, 1977).

This thesis builds on the argument that the cultural impact of late capitalism is different to that of industrial capitalism. The ideologies of each era are different. It was anticipated that professional social workers in the ADO would experience the impact of new professionalism. Whereas professionalism once shaped the professional identity and practice of ADO social workers new professionalism would begin to reshape professional identity and practice.

Critical theorists such as Marx (1975), Lukacs (1971), Gramsci and the Frankfurt School, Habermas (1972), Sartre (1976), Illich (1973; 1977), Castaneda (1970), Laing (1967) and Freire (1972) in their various ways share a common concern for the release of consciousness and experience from domination by various aspects of the ideological superstructure of the social world. It is the social world within which people live out their lives. Critical theorists therefore seek to change the social world through a change in modes of cognition and consciousness (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). They aim to reveal the nature of capitalist society for what it is. The cultural impact is explained at the level of unconscious process and at the level of the operation of ideology as a system of social practices, as regular patterns of action by which people are constrained (Agger, 1998; Althusser, 1971).

The research, therefore, considered ideological forms which functioned to produce a fabric of meaning that explains social life ie professionalism and new professionalism. As Gough (1979) argued all societies generate a set of beliefs and concepts about themselves which are contradictory. At one level the leading ideas correspond to the reality of the mode of production, yet at another level they are distorted because they present that particular mode of production as eternal.

For Marx, ideology is generated in a particular form under capitalism. Though commodities appear to be simply objects, they are in fact, bundles of social relationships, transcendentals, with a life of their own once they enter the sphere of market exchange and values. Economic relationships in society are dominant. As Harvey (1989 p. 101) argues 'the conditions of labour and life, the sense of joy, anger or frustration that lie behind the production of commodities, the states of mind of the producers, are all hidden to us as we exchange one object (money) for another (the commodity)'. All traces of exploitation are obliterated in the object.

As Bleich (1977) points out critical theory is concerned largely with criticisms of aspects of social and intellectual life but its ultimate goal is to reveal more accurately the nature of society and the exploitation more transparent (Schroyer, 1973). Critical theorists are oriented to the cultural level in light of what they consider are the realities of modern capitalist society (Ritzer, 2000). They are concerned with the interrelation of the various levels of social reality - most important, individual consciousness, the cultural superstructure and the economic structure. They are concerned with 'control' fostered through hegemony and then through the control of the mindpower or subjectivities of the workers (Hough, 1999).

The domination of people by the social and cultural structures - the 'one-dimensional' society (Marcuse, 1964) - is the result of a specific historical development and is not a universal characteristic of humankind. This historical perspective counteracts the common-sense view that emerges in capitalism that the system is a natural and inevitable phenomenon. No social scenario is determined by social laws, simply because social laws do not exist (Agger, 1998). As Alway (1995) points

out critical theorists focus on criticising and changing contemporary society. They concentrate on society's cultural super-structure. The dialectical approach of critical theorists commits them to work in the real world. The ultimate test of ideas is the degree to which they are accepted and used in practice. This process, '*authentication*', occurs when the people who have been the victims of distorted communication take up the ideas of critical theory and use them to free themselves from that system (Bauman, 1976).

Grundy (1987) considering the control of professional knowledge argues that the concept of ideology is a complex one which building on the work of Hall (1982), Gramsci (1971), Althusser (1972), McLennan et al (1978) and Habermas (1970) has the following key features. Ideology is a partial, interested and hence distorted representation of real social relationships. It has an institutionalised function within the superstructure of the society with relative autonomy from the economic base. Ideology is, however, related to the material conditions of existence and hence to the economy. There is not one ideology but various ideologies which stem from the cultural hegemony. The ideologies of the dominant class have hegemonic power over those of other classes. Ideologies between and within groups are contradictory and hence always contested. The association of ideology with struggle and domination means that power is a fundamental ideological concept. Ideology is encapsulated in the linguistic and material practice of a group. It is both ontological (a 'lived relation' between persons) and epistemological (an accumulation of popular 'knowledges').

Grundy (1987 p. 27) argues that ideology has its life 'within the ensemble of lived relations and practices of society, so it is as much a category of

conduct as it is of content'. The methods of practice, codes of conduct and structural knowledge of any occupational group, she argues, are ideological to the extent that such knowledge and practices represent the interests of that group and are rendered partial and distorted by those interests.

The significance of the thesis is in its contribution to the analysis of social work practice in Australia at a time when the profession is attempting to shape both its position and contribution within the labour market and the community (Ife, 1999; McDonald & Jones, 2000).

Aldridge (1996) states that expertise exists, but it is situational. Any mandate or privileges based upon it must be continually justified and renewed. The profession of social work, she argues, should jettison old attitudes to professionalism and develop new structures to empower and promote social services work. By this route, social work can simultaneously become more confident in its social role, more able to secure the resources with which to serve clients properly - and at the same time, more transparent and open to legitimate challenge. For researchers like Aldridge (1996) postmodern conditions provide a new opportunity for social work to empower itself. The challenge for the social work profession however is how to avoid succumbing to cultural hegemony when relationships and practice are controlled by the 'new professionalism'. While social work is part of the capitalist system, social workers must continually reflect on the impact of ideologies on social relationships, which reinforce oppression and injustice.

Professions are part of the capitalist project where the objective is profit. Critical theorists argue that professions, which accept that this is the

nature of the relationship are freed to act to help shape and change beliefs, values, structures, knowledge and practice to support justice, care and community (Connell, 1977). As Bauman (1999 p. 5) argues 'questioning the ostensibly unquestionable premises of our way of life is arguably the most urgent of the services we owe our fellow humans and ourselves'.

Outline of the Thesis - Transforming Social Work

Chapter 2 critically reviews the development of the concept of 'profession' and concludes, that professions are socially constructed occupations. Chapter 3 reviews the literature relating to the ideology of professionalism and its impact on professions. The power of professionals, i.e. their authority and autonomy, was normalised through the operation of professionalism which reflected the cultural impact of industrial capitalism (Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1977).

'The social work profession is committed to the pursuit and maintenance of human well-being' (Australian Association of Social Workers, 1998). However, as Jordan (1990), Abramson (1985), Barber (1991), Bessant (1995), Cannan (1972), Feldstein (1971), Wilding (1982) and Tesoriero (1999) have revealed much social work practice in terms of professionalism does not serve human well-being but is self-serving and serves the powerful in society.

Chapter 4 critically reviews the literature, on professions and change. The capitalist project of late capitalism impacts society and professions and the social, economic and political environment is now one where

deregulated markets are considered a better way to provide services (Ife, 1997). Monopolies are viewed as poor economic systems creating higher prices. The economic principle is user-pays not state provision. Managers manage and service providers implement management decisions while managers and clients determine outcomes based on the values of economic efficiency and effectiveness. As Hall (1988) argues, the 'New Times' create new values, relationships, accountability mechanisms and legitimating structures. The features of the professional project of new professionalism which emerge from the literature review are articulated.

Chapter 5 outlines the methodological approach taken to analyse the source and nature of change impacting on ADO social work. The professional understanding and practice of social workers in Defence for the period 1957 to 1996 was analysed using the case methodology. During this time social workers practised in Navy (RAN) from 1957, Army from 1972, Air Force (RAAF) from 1987 and the Headquarters of the Australian Defence Force (HQADF) from 1987. In 1996 all Defence social workers were transferred to one Defence organisation, the Defence Community Organisation (DCO) (Hughes, 1996, 1998).   This thesis is located in the Australian context concerned with the challenge to social work practice generally and particularly in Defence. There are parallels in other Western nations (Ife, 1997; Larson, 1977; MacDonald, 1995; Witz, 1992). ADO social workers were employed as civilians under the various Public Service Acts while military personnel were commissioned under the various Defence Acts. The ADO functions as a diarchy with a Secretary of Defence and a Chief of the Defence Force. Social workers as civilians were responsible to the Secretary of Defence.

Chapters 6 and 7 critically analyse the case of social work in the ADO in terms of the impact of professionalism and new professionalism. The analysis demonstrates that social workers in the ADO understood their identity and practice in terms of professionalism. A change was observed in the practice of some social workers who attempted to develop practice in terms of new professionalism. However ADO social workers resisted the challenges to their identity and practice and continued to pursue the professional project of professionalism. Professionalism, it is argued no longer reflects the dominant culture so that social workers' attempts to develop an identity and practices with regard to professionalism were increasingly frustrated and social workers were criticised for failing to address change and meet needs. The analysis of the case revealed that while ADO social workers considered themselves under pressure to change and the environment in which they worked was rapidly changing they continued to understand and to practice in terms of the ideology of professionalism. Social workers justify how they serve their clients and co-opt the resources they need for their work in terms of the ideological control of professionalism (Colgan & Cheers, 2002).

The thesis concludes in Chapter 8 that if ADO social workers continue to pursue professionalism they will be under increasing pressure to change. If social workers do not change they will be either 'dragged to market' (Aldridge, 1996) or will become marginalised in the ADO (Crimeen & Wilson, 1997). Continuing to pursue the professional project in terms of professionalism will mean that social workers will be seen as inflexible, unhelpful, secretive, unaccountable and irrelevant in the ADO. Social workers will become irrelevant.

It is argued that because the ideology of professionalism no longer reflects the dominant culture ADO social workers will struggle to continue professional practice in terms of professionalism. Such an approach will be increasingly stressful as social workers attempt to operationalise professionalism (collegiability/monopoly) while new professionalism (competencies/outcome measurement) increasingly places demands for change.

If social workers are to contribute to the well-being of ADO Members and their families the cultural impact of advanced capitalism on professional identity and practice must be critiqued to allow for the possibility of challenge to structures and practices which support harmful control and exploitation (Fook, 2002).

CONCLUSION

In this chapter the thesis question was outlined together with the issues that initiated the focus for the research ie the cultural impact of the changing relationships of the political economy, economic rationalism, marketisation, consumerism and managerialism. The ideological nature of the concept of profession and the critical approach taken to analyse data from the case of ADO social work were discussed and some of the features of professionalism and new professionalism were identified.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on the concept of profession and provides a discussion on the debate and development of understanding with regard to the concept of profession.

2. PROFESSIONS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CONCEPT

INTRODUCTION

Expert knowledge and skill, its development, control and practice are of great interest to researchers. Many attempts have been made to explain the autonomy and authority of professions and how this authority and autonomy can change and be changed. This chapter reviews research into the study of 'professions' and argues that 'profession' is essentially a concept, which emerges as an ideology of the cultural hegemony of capitalism. 'Professions' are shaped by markets and they also shape markets (Krause, 1996). This chapter considers the research and debate on the concept of 'profession' and in particular the emergence of the professionalism as articulating the professional project.

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF PROFESSIONS

Dietrich & Roberts (1997) argue that sociological approaches to professionalism can be classified broadly as either taxonomic or power approaches. The alternative approaches correspond to particular theoretical positions derived mainly from functionalism, symbolic interactionism and Marxism (Flynn, 1999).

Initially the study of 'professions' focused on what became known as the 'trait', 'attribute', 'process' and 'structural-functional' approaches. However, following critiques of these approaches in the 1970s the study of professions began to focus on the study of 'power' and occupations.

The thesis draws upon and builds on research on the critical analysis of power and professions particularly research on the ideological control of occupations.

Trait, Attribute and Process Approaches

The trait, attribute and process approaches assert that professions are a special category of occupations, which possess unique attributes or traits that distinguish them from other non-professional occupations (Blishen, 1969; Carr-Saunders, 1928; Cogan, 1953; Goode, 1960; Gross, 1958; Perrucci & Gerstl, 1969). The focus is on the traits or attributes of occupations understood to be professions (Carr-Saunders & Wilson, 1933; Goode, 1969; Greenwood, 1957, 1965; Moore, 1970) and the process of becoming a profession (Brint, 1993; Caplow, 1954; Pavalko, 1971; Slocum, 1966; Wilensky, 1964). Millerson (1964, p. 5) for example, after a 'careful canvass of the sociological literature' lists 23 elements, which are included in various definitions of 'profession'. Vollmer & Mills (1966) argue that the 'trait' approach, therefore, defines a profession in terms of those essential attributes or traits that are assumed to be part of the ideal profession.

The process, 'life history' or 'aspirant' approach, on the other hand, is a longitudinal variant of the trait model (Caplow, 1954). The process approach argues that occupations need to follow particular sequences or stages and events to become a 'profession' (Vollmer & Mills, 1966). This approach emerges from the analyses of occupational groups and seeks to identify the orderly sequence of stages and events which occupational groups follow to achieve professional status (Perrucci, 1973; Wilensky, 1964). The approach follows a conceptual tradition, which

examines the characteristics of certain occupations and which, it is argued, have been indisputably successful in professionalising. Those occupations making claim to professionalism are then compared against these characteristics (Hugman, 1991). The process approach (Caplow, 1954; Wilensky, 1964) focuses on the time dimension, arguing that, professionalising occupations follow a typical pattern of development over time (see also Begun, 1986; Bucher & Strauss, 1961; Moore, 1970; Morales & Sheafor, 1992).

Trait, attribute and process approaches ultimately foundered on the sheer diversity of elements that various authors identified as providing the essence of a profession and the failure of researchers to come up with the same elements (Reeser & Epstein, 1990). Wilding (1982) comments that the claims of the established professions should be open to exploration. He argues that trait, attribute and process approaches make assumptions which cannot be justified (Aldridge, 1996; Bosk, 1979; Freidson, 1970; Hugman, 1991; Millman, 1977; Roth, 1974; Van Maanen & Barley, 1984; Wilkinson, 1986). The basic weakness of the trait approach therefore lies in the assumption that there are, or have been in the past, 'true' professions which exhibit all or most of the essential elements included in the definition (Hugman, 1991).

Johnson's (1972 p. 26) critique of the trait approach was that:

> Not only do 'trait' approaches tend to incorporate the professionals' own definitions of themselves in seemingly neutral categories, but the categories tend to be derived from the analysis of a very few professional bodies and include features of professional organisation and practice which find full expression only in Anglo-American culture at a particular time in the historical development of these professions.

Johnson (1972) criticised the 'trait model' arguing that the professional project is neither unilinear nor ahistorical. It is not like climbing a widely recognised ladder where only the top rung is 'success' (Aldridge, 1996).

The listing of attributes and the rating of occupations on a professionalism scale according to Roth (1974) are 'objectionable'. He argues that traits not only prove a theoretical dead-end, but that they deflect concern from the more crucial problems created by professionalisation. These concerns include the avoidance of accountability to the public, the manipulation of political power to promote monopoly control and the restriction of services to create scarcities and increase costs. As Daniels (1975) comments the attribute approach fails to examine the relationship between behaviour and ideology in the professions. The conception of a profession as an enumerated series of attributes fails to evaluate professional ideology and ignores the conditions - economic, political, social and historical - under which claims to professional status succeed (Anleu, 1992).

Rueschemeyer (1964) pointed out that many of the characteristics of the attribute model used to identity the professions are really characteristics of upper- and upper-middle-class life and their subcultures. The attribute model may not differentiate professions from non-professions as much as it differentiates work groups on the basis of their position in the class structure (Pavalko, 1988). Cullen (1978) argues a 'profession' is not a word involving rational definition: rather, it is an evaluation that many occupations go to great lengths to achieve.

In his analysis of the concept of profession Johnson (1972) distinguished between two taxonomic strands. The first strand was the trait approach,

which centred on the formulation of lists of attributes which were not theoretically related, but which were seen to characterise professions. The second strand was the structuralist-functionalist approach, which focused on those attributes that were seen to be functional to wider society.

Structural-Functionalist Approach

The structural-functionalist approach contends that professions perform some special role in industrial society, economic, political or social (Dietrich & Roberts, 1997; McCoppin & Gardner, 1994). The structural-functional approach explains the privileged position of the professions on the grounds that they provide services, which are socially valued (Turner, 1996). Tawney (1921) considered that in the 'acquisitive society' community interest was subverted by the primacy of individual self-interest. Professionalism was the major force capable of subjugating rampant individualism to the needs of the community in a truly 'functional society'. According to Parsons (1939) and Lynn (1963) the professions act as a stabilising force in capitalist society, since they counterpose the dominant ethos and organisation of capitalism in which the profit motive is paramount. Carr-Saunders & Wilson (1933) refer to the professions as among the most 'stable elements in society'. Altruism is identified as a feature of professional practice. Closely connected with the theme of professional altruism is the claim that professions function as a bulwark against threats to stable democratic processes (Johnson, 1972).

In the structural-functionalist approach professions are viewed as a positive force in social development, standing against the excesses of

both laissez-faire individualism and state collectivism (Barber, 1963; Johnson, 1972; Morales & Sheafor, 1992). As Neibuhr (1932) comments, society needs to have professionals as part of the social cement to preserve the state from social disintegration.

Klegon (1978) argues that one area in which the idealisation of professions is particularly evident is the literature on professionals in organisations. Since the criteria of professionalism are seen as positive, the concern is with the ability to maintain professional status within bureaucratic organisations. For example, Kornhauser's (1962) concern is with the maintenance of 'professional autonomy' and Wilensky's (1964) is with the service ideal that is supposed to be characteristic of professionals. Even Perrucci (1971) who is critical of the role of engineers in American society, assumes the inherent good of the professional model.

In summary then, the structural-functionalist approach can be basically characterised as positing that professions are service-or community-oriented occupations applying a systematic body of knowledge to problems which are highly relevant to the central values of the society (Rueschemeyer, 1964). The structural-functionalist approach explains the privileged position of the professions on the grounds that they provide services, which are socially valued (Ben-David, 1963; Turner, 1996). In addition the structural-functionalist understanding of the professions emphasises the distinctiveness of modern professions (Carr-Saunders & Wilson, 1933; Goode, 1960; Greenwood, 1965; Gross, 1969; Harries-Jenkins, 1970; Parsons, 1954; Roth, 1974). It ascribes the development of professions to the rationalising tendencies, which can be found in the wider society (Witz, 1992).

One of the main criticisms of the structural-functionalist view is that it merely provides a description of professions, not a basis for analysis. It takes no account of the unequal distribution of power between professionals and consumers of professional services. Structural-functionalists view the relationship between the professions and society simply as an exchange. The professions provide specialised knowledge and skills, and in return they are rewarded with autonomy, high income and status. As Jones and Joss (1995) point out there is very little consensus about the common structural or functional elements of professions. Dietrich & Roberts (1997) criticise the structural-functionalist approach on the basis that it obscures the historical conditions under which occupational groups become professions - the unique professionalisation projects of different occupations.

Johnson (1972) argues that the trait, attribute, process and structural-functional models are not definitions of occupations. The models specify the characteristics of a peculiar institutionalised form of occupational control. The confusion between the essential characteristics of an occupation and the characteristics of a historically specific institutionalised form of its control is the most fundamental inadequacy of both 'trait' and 'functionalist' approaches to the study of the professions (Johnson, 1972). Johnson (1972) argues that the concept of professionalisation and its end-state, professionalism, are based upon models which, are an abstraction from the core 'elements' which are most fully exhibited by the 'true' professions. This approach is supplemented in the literature by a structural-functionalist model which stresses the functional value of professional activity for all groups and classes in society and in so doing excludes from consideration the very important dimension of power.

Power Approach

As Popple (1985) states it was research into the aspects of power in relationships in the political economy and the labour process that pointed toward a new approach to the study of professions. Witz (1992 p. 40) comments that:

> …the conceptual indissolubility of the concepts of 'power' and 'profession' has provided the central axis of the new critical sociology of the professions.

Studies of power and professions claim that the distinguishing feature of professions is purely their ability to gain societal recognition as professions (Atkinson, 1983; Freidson, 1983). The relevant question therefore, is not to determine what a profession is in the absolute sense, but rather to consider how professions (particular occupational groups) gain status in society (Dietrich & Roberts, 1997; MacDonald & Ritzger, 1988).

Researchers proceeded to address this question, concentrating on occupational dominance (Freidson, 1970, 1973; Reeser & Epstein, 1990), autonomy (Braude, 1975; Finch, 1976; Larson, 1977; Lawler & Hage, 1973; Pavalko, 1971) and control (Berlant, 1975; Braude, 1975; Johnson, 1972) as elements in professionalisation. As Hugman (1991) argues professionalisation is the collective action of an occupation and can only be understood in relation to occupational control. Freidson (1973), Klegon (1978) and Turner (1987) define professionalisation as a strategy of occupational control involving occupational relations of dominance and subordination, and Larkin (1983) introduces the notion of

'occupational imperialism' to capture processes of dominance and subordination in, for example, the medical division of labour. Within the power approach researchers pursued neo-Weberian, neo-Marxist and Critical approaches.

Neo-Weberian Approach

The neo-Weberian literature (Collins, 1979; Crompton & Sanderson, 1989; Freidson, 1977; Larson, 1977; Murphy, 1988) focuses on market conditions; viewing society as an arena where competing groups struggle with each other and the state to gain power and status. Conflict is a catalyst for change, and segmentation creates a diversity of needs and wants which are central to forming an occupation's experience of professionalisation (Dietrich & Roberts, 1997). The relationship between the professions and the community is, therefore, explained by Weberian market explanations (Brint, 1993). The argument is that professions develop in response to capital's drive for further commodification in the division of labour. Neo-Weberian explanations start from the proposition that professions did not always assume their current form. As occupations become differentiated they compete for market position and social closure is the main means of competition.

As Freidson (1991, p. 197) comments the 'market project' of modern professions looks outward to the broader marketplace. Professions seek to establish a secure jurisdiction in the social division of labour (Abbott, 1988), a 'labor market shelter' (Freidson, 1982) or in Max Weber's terms a 'social closure' (Murphy, 1988; Parkin, 1979; Waters, 1989). The goal is to exclude potential competitors from outside the profession and protect members from dominance by clients or employers.

Social closure refers to the capacity for, and strategies of, social groups to exclude, or usurp, other groups in a struggle for control of scarce resources, valued social locations, and their associated privileges and status (Berlant, 1975; Flynn, 1999; Freidson, 1970, 1977, 1983, 1986; Larkin, 1983; MacDonald, 1985; Parkin, 1979; Parry & Parry, 1976, 1979; Waddington, 1977; Witz, 1992). As Parkin (1979) argues professionalism is viewed, therefore, as a strategy of exclusionary closure designed to limit and control the supply of entrants to an occupation in order to enhance its market value. The power of organised groups and individuals to influence prices and conditions in markets and to use their resources to dominate these markets, is an outcome of the process of conflict and accommodation. Moreover, the pattern of outcomes may be significantly reinforced if it is supported by the state through law and regulation (Crouch, 1979; Witz, 1992).

The professional project is, according to Larson (1977, p.vii), 'an attempt to translate one order of resources - special knowledge and skills - into another - social and economic rewards'. Larson (1977 p. xvi) sees:

> …professionalization as the process by which producers of special services sought to constitute *and control* a market for their expertise. Because marketable expertise is a crucial element in the structure of modern inequality, professionalization appears *also* as a collective assertion of special social status and as a collective process of upward social mobility.

Larson (1979) emphasises that the core of the professional project is the structural linkage it seeks to secure between education and occupation. Thus credentialist tactics, the use of educational certificates, the accreditation to monitor and restrict access to occupational positions, is

one of the major tactical means of professional closure. Indeed, Freidson (1986) suggests that the nearest we may get to identifying an 'essence' of profession is that professions are occupations which make formal education a prerequisite for employment as it is assumed that those qualified have the required skills and knowledge. Larson (1977), Freidson (1986) and Halliday (1987) all emphasise the importance of 'the modern university' in refining, elaborating and reproducing professional expertise once established. A vital accommodation between the occupation and the society takes place in the University. The institutional structures of universities confer legitimacy on the type and level of knowledge acquired by invoking ideas of academic freedom and the disinterested pursuit of learning, yet in powerful professions the validation of qualifying courses is heavily influenced or even completely controlled by professional associations (Aldridge, 1996).

As already indicated Larson (1977) isolates two key dimensions of the professional project. The first is the creation and control of a professional market, which is not structurally subordinated to the capitalist market or employers. The second is the negotiation of cognitive exclusiveness to a body of relatively abstract knowledge susceptible to practical application. Like Freidson (1986), Larson's focus is on both power and knowledge. Larson (1977) emphasises the role of training institutions, particularly the modern university, as the empirical arena within which the link between knowledge and the market is secured. Modern specialised professions have turned their knowledge into a powerful, self-serving, and often condescending form of property. They have become a new form of elite - an elite of experts (Larson, 1977).

Professionalisation therefore from a neo-Weberian power analysis is essentially about market power and the development of a formal knowledge base. The structure of the professionalisation process consists in the unification of these two elements, secured within the historical matrix of competitive capitalism and by means of capitalist institutions. As Rothman (1984) argues emerging out of this perspective has been a body of research focusing on the historical conditions and political strategies employed by specific groups in an attempt to gain professional status (Berlant, 1975; Freidson, 1970; Reader, 1966). Maximising power is seen as a matter of retaining as much discretion as possible over as many routines as possible (Barnes, 1986).

Johnson (1977), Reeser and Epstein (1990), and Forsyth and Danisiewicz (1985) criticise the neo-Weberian approach pointing out that the approach considers the social division of labour in abstraction from the specific and determining processes of capitalist social relations particularly state relations. According to Saks (1995) the autonomy of professional groups is overstated and Johnson's (1977) discussions of state-profession relation suggests how professions have been crucially dependent upon state sponsorship. There is a symbiotic relation between professions and the state. So although the neo-Weberian closure concepts capture the variety of strategies which characterise professional projects, they ignore the fundamental fact that professionalisation is grounded in the role of the state in the political economy.

Reeser and Epstein (1990) criticise the 'power' analysis arguing that control over the division of labour may be a necessary condition of professionalisation but it is hardly sufficient to claim professional status. Other occupational groups that enjoy exclusivity of access to their work

are rarely thought of as professionals. The approach therefore does not address the impact of capitalist structures and relations with regard to occupations.

Neo-Marxist Approach

The neo-Marxist analysis of professions centres on the social relations of production and emerges, in part, from the need to locate professionals in the class system. Aldridge (1996) argues that from the mid-1970s the notion of 'professionalism' as a discrete social formation was rejected and the concept was folded into the wider debate on social stratification and occupational control (Collins, 1990; Johnson, 1972, 1977; Parkin, 1979; Witz, 1992). Aldridge (1996) states that professionals argue for their position within society based on the ideology of professionalism. There is a broad spectrum of opinion within a neo-Marxist approach concerning the position of professionals. At one extreme professions are seen as a means of articulating the state and fulfilling the global functions of capitalism (Johnson, 1977; Poulanztas, 1975) while at the other they are seen as subject to proletarianisation and de-skilling, gradually losing status and power (Braverman, 1974; Derber, 1983; McKinlay, 1982). The position of professionals in the class structure has been an important focus of research.

A number of researchers Abercrombie and Urry (1983), Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich (1977), Rueschemeyer (1986), Johnson (1977), Compton (1990) and Carchedi (1977) have studied the relationship between professionals and the class structure of contemporary capitalism. Johnson (1977) argues that professionals are located in the new middle class and that professionalism follows the rise to power of an urban middle class in

the second half of the nineteenth century. Professionalism attains its most extreme expression in the organisation of law practice in England (Johnson, 1972). As Parry and Parry (1977) state professionalism has been a powerful ideology of a growing section of the middle class. Carchedi (1977) also places professions in the middle class while Abercrombie and Urry (1983) place professions in the 'service class'. Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich (1977) place professions in the 'professional-managerial class' and (Wright, 1985) argues that professions are a 'contradictory location within class relations'. Intellectually the professional-managerial class argument was criticised both within the Left and without for its naivety. The idea that a key group within the professional-managerial class would take a position of technocratic independence from capitalism instead of working within it was unrealistic (Krause, 1996). The vast amount of evidence indicated that the possibility within capitalism of upward mobility into management kept all but the technicians quiet. Professional groups attempt to use their power as exploiters to gain entry to the dominant exploiting class, and in turn this strengthens their professional position (Neuman, 1994).

As Glasner (1979) argues to adequately situate a definition of professionalism in class analysis a clear recognition of the nature of capitalism and of the functions of the capitalist state is required. Researchers like Dent (1993), Abercrombie and Urry (1983), Goldthorpe (1982) and Child (1986) therefore studied the relationship between professionalism, the state and the service class. Child and Fulk (1982) point out that the state plays an active part in determining the content and manner of professional practice. It is active as an employer and as a source of funds, both for payment of professional services and for the training of new recruits to the occupations concerned (Fielding &

Portwood, 1980). As Heidenheimer (1989) demonstrates professions, their structure, nature and autonomy are very much dependent on the nature of the state and the power relations of society.

Braverman (1974) explains the changes to the mode of production in society, what he calls the degradation of modern labour, by arguing that the practice of management focuses on the division of work process into the greatest number of constituted parts. This means that broader knowledge and skills are removed from workers who become deskilled operatives. Through this process, the major tasks of organisation and control of production become the sole prerogative of management. The application of new technologies in the workplace and the refinement of organisational structures across both industrial blue-collar and white-collar occupations facilitate these arrangements (Boreham & Hall, 1993).

Following the publication of *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, researchers such as Simpkin (1983), Bolger et al (1981), Jones (1983), and Joyce et al (1988) adopted an orthodox Bravermanian approach to the study of the social work labour process (Harris, 1998). The social work labour process is depicted as being underpinned by a form of scientific management, which is steadily encroaching on the autonomy of front line social workers as managers seize control over social work practice. Scientific management is a systematic attempt to analyse social work in order to identify the most efficient way to accomplish a task. This model of intensified managerial control through scientific management became the analytical framework for understanding the labour process within and against which radical social work is created.

The processes described by Braverman (1974), Clawson (1980), Zimbalist (1979) as deskilling were subjected to further critique and analysis of a number of dimensions. First, studies by Freidman (1977), Edwards (1979) and Burawoy (1979) indicate that control over the labour process impacts on the labour force in a much more uneven fashion than the unidirectional process of deskilling emphasised by Braverman. The general argument is that managerial practices range from direct personal control to strategies described by Freidman as 'responsible autonomy' in which workers central to the firm's operations are allowed a degree of discretion in return for adopting a responsible attitude toward their work (Boreham & Hall, 1993). Krause (1996) demonstrates that even in the most rationalised settings professionals maintain some control over their immediate work tasks.

Derber (1983) maintains that the distinctiveness of the labour processes of professional workers lies in their not having followed the scientific management model set out by Braverman. To substantiate this claim Derber distinguishes between two components in the labour process. The first component is lack of control over the process of labour or the means of labour. The second component is lack of control over the uses of the product or the ends of the labour process (Derber, 1983). The first component (the technical component) he argues highlights the tendency for the purchasers of labour power to impose their conception of how to organise and execute a job. The second component points to the purchaser's control over labour power with respect to what is produced and the purpose for which it is used. Derber emphasises that, in the labour process perspective, a focus on the technical component, the means of the labour process, and managerial control over the operation of the labour process, lead to neglect of control over the ends of work.

Derber refers to the latter as the ideological component, with managerial control exerted over the goals and purposes of work and the worker powerless to define the use to which work is put. In Derber's view (1983) it is the lack of control over the ends to which work is put, that in the current period, defines most centrally (professional) proletarianisation.

As Johnson (1972) points out it is rare for a single occupational group to have sufficient resources of power available to impose its own definitions of the content of production and its ends on all consumers. An occupational group, however, may be able to impose its own definitions of the context of production and its ends on all consumers if its resources of power are articulated with other and wider bases of social power. For Johnson (1972) because an occupational group rarely enjoys the resources of power which would enable it to impose its own definitions of the producer-consumer relationship, professionalism is a peculiar phenomenon.

Critical Approach

Neo-Weberian and neo-Marxist approaches sought to address power, professions and change within terms of the market, class structure and the capitalist system. Critical theorists such as Johnson (1977), Jordan (1990), Boreham, Pemberton and Wilson (1976), Throssell (1975), Connell (1977) and Ife (1997) analyse the issue of power and profession from the perspective of the control of the cultural hegemony of capitalism and the relationship of professions to the capitalist framework.

Larson (1977 p. 161) argues that ultimately:

> …it is the context of hegemonic power, which defines the significance, and legitimacy of the ideological resources, which justify an occupation's role and convince others of its importance.

Johnson (1977) for example argues that the analysis of change to professions commences from an understanding that the ideology of professionalism is part of the ideological hegemony of industrial capitalism.

As Agger (1998) states, critical social theory argues that domination is structural. That is, people's everyday lives are affected by large institutions such as politics, economics, culture, discourse, gender and race. Critical social theory illuminates these structures in helping people understand the national and global roots of their oppression. Following Marx, critical theory conceptualises the bridge between structure and agency as dialectical. That is, although structure conditions everyday experience, knowledge of structure can help people change social conditions. Critical theory builds this dialectical bridge by rejecting economic determinism. The role of critical theory is to raise consciousness about present oppression and to demonstrate the possibility of a qualitatively different future society. As Schroyer (1973) comments critical theory encompasses a three-fold task: to criticise existing exploitative and repressive social practices; to identify immanent trends and to point the way for emancipatory social action. Hough (1999) states that critical theory from the mid-1970s drew attention to the social, historical and political construction of knowledge, people and social relations.

Critical theorists locate the analysis of professions in an analysis of capitalist, social, economic and political relations. Critical theorists like O'Connor (1973), Johnson (1977), Larson (1977; 1979) and Navarro (1976; 1978) analyse the rise of professionalism within the historical and structural parameters of competitive, monopoly and welfare capitalism. Navarro (1976, p. 217) argues that:

> …the economic concentration typical of the present stage of capitalism… determines (a) an invasion by corporate capital of all spheres of economic, social and even private life in its quest for profits and (b) a specific type of technological development and industrialisation'. He argues that increased state intervention is required to stimulate and facilitate that concentration, as well as to rectify the dislocation of general well being created by that concentration.

From his study of the medical profession Navarro (1978) argues that the primary controllers and managers of medicine are not the professionals involved in medical practice, but the controllers and managers of capital. Both the concept of health and the nature of medical practice, for example, have changed and been redefined as the needs of the capitalist modes and relations of production have themselves changed. Whilst Navarro suggests that the medical profession intervenes in that redefinition he maintains that it does so *a posteriori*. Thus the extent to which the medical profession intervenes is confined to the influences associated with administration and interpretation but not with creation.

Jones (1999) and Wilding (1982) argue that critical theorists who study professions view the process of professionalisation as essentially concerned with the acquisition of power, status and autonomy. The ideology of professionalism, according to Jones (1999, p. 10) has been:

extensively critiqued in terms of excessive claims and limited achievements, failures of responsibility, neglect of rights, failures to achieve the espoused service ideals of the profession, lack of accountability and the disabling effects of professional interventions.

In the critical approach professionalism is a form of occupational control which reflects the hegemony of capitalism. Johnson (1972) argues that professionalism refers to control over work activity, which arises when the core work activities fulfil the global functions of capital. These are functions of control, surveillance and reproduction of labour power.

Larson (1977) locates the rise of professionalisation within the historical matrix of competitive capitalism, and explores the relationship between professional projects and capitalist institutions such as the state, the free market for services, the labour market, the bureaucratic organisation and the modern university system of higher education. Larson's core argument is that the rise of professionalism has been a phase of capitalist rationalisation. It was in the structural context of competitive capitalism during the latter half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries that the model of profession was first projected (Witz, 1992). While professional groups in the early nineteenth century developed in response to the development of competitive capitalism and coincided with the consolidation of the capitalist mode of production later models of professions emerge because of the ideology of professionalism (Larson, 1977).

There is an identifiable contradiction in the ideology of professionalism and the relation of the professional to the political economy. On the one hand professions develop in relationship with the dominant ideologies of

the political economy, however, they also seek to change the power relationships in accordance with the 'ethical' aspects of the dominant ideology (Halliday, 1998). Mendes (1999), Camilleri (1999), Cooper (1993) and Jones (1998) see this conflict as the dynamic which assists professions to develop and adapt to changing sociopolitical contexts. As Krause (1996) argues it is impossible to understand the function of professional groups independent of the social context.

CONCLUSION

It is argued that the critical approach to the study of professions and change provides a means whereby the impact of change in institutionalised control of occupational activity can be analysed and understood. This analysis of the development of the concept of 'profession' illustrates that 'professions' are occupations, which are engaged in continuous negotiations in the political economy (Krause, 1996). The thesis takes the critical approach to analyse the case of social work in the ADO. The impact of professionalism on social work in the context of the changing cultural hegemony (Sennett, 1998) is the focus for the analysis. The profession of social work in Australia according to McDonald and Jones (2000, p.4) 'embraced professionalisation as its principal strategy for occupational growth and development'. The specific elements of the professionalisation strategy included:

- the location of occupational training within the universities;
- the prescription and regulation of the length and content of these university courses by the professional association;

- tight regulation of overseas professional qualifications and entry to the professional association;
- the development of a professional code of conduct;
- state registration and licensing of practice; and
- articulation of an explicit knowledge and skills base;

Australian social work has not successfully achieved its professionalisation strategy. As McDonald and Jones (2000) point out the social work professionalisation project is contested. Elements of the strategy have not been achieved in particular state registration and licensing and the articulation of an explicit knowledge and skills base (Camilleri, 1996; Goldstein, 1990; Pease & Fook, 1999; Poulter, 2005).

The thesis, following the work of Johnson (1972), Witz (1992), Camilleri (1999), Mendes (1999) and Jones (1998) argues that professionalism reflected the dominant ideology as this impacted the political economy. The organisations in which social workers were employed were also impacted by the dominant sociopolitical context.

Chapter 3 reviews the literature on professionalism and proceeds to articulate professionalism and the professionalisation strategy, which it reflects within industrial capitalism. As Epstein and Conrad (1978) argue the ideology of professionalism is expressed in the professionalisation process. The features of professionalism provide part of the framework for the analysis of the case of social work in the ADO.

3.   PROFESSIONALISM

INTRODUCTION

T his chapter reviews research which addresses aspects of
professionalism. Professionalism influences occupational
groups in that they pursue the professionalising project in order
to demonstrate status and relevance to the political economy and the
society. Professionalisation is the related actions taken in accord with the
articulated beliefs about professional occupations and professional
behaviour. Larson (1977) argues that 'ultimately it is the context of
hegemonic power which defines the significance and legitimacy of the
ideological resources which justify the occupation's role and convince
others of its importance'. Hough (1999) comments that hegemony may
have no more intrinsic persuasive power than any other formulation but
in the contemporary world it has enormous powers when large numbers
of people are induced or compelled or choose to act in ways that produce
and reproduce it. The beliefs about what constitutes professional
behaviour are influenced by and coherent with the dominant culture.

Professionalism is part of the ideological structure of industrial
capitalism. As Heimer and Stevens (1997 p.133) comment:

> Professions, like organizations are deeply influenced by
> the environment in which they are embedded. For
> professions the most salient members of the environment
> are nearby occupations with whom they divide the work,
> the organizations that provide the immediate work settings
> and the clients who either directly or indirectly buy services.

This chapter looks at the research into the phenomenon of professionalism and the ideas and beliefs, which various researchers have identified as incorporated in professionalism. The chapter articulates six aspects of professionalism which concern the professional/client relationship, professional values and practice, boundaries, occupational norms of autonomy and status, accountability and knowledge and skill. These aspects provide a framework for assessing ADO social work and the pursuit of professionalism. Initially the chapter considers the relationship between industrial capitalism and professionalism.

CULTURAL IMPACT OF INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM AND THE IDEOLOGY OF PROFESSIONALISM

In the first instance researchers point out that professionals are impacted by their culture. Within industrial capitalism, 'the producer' society, the political economy operated in such a way that labour, structures and institutions were all impacted (Bauman, 1998; Gough, 1979). Marcuse (1972), Habermas (1972) and Douglas (1970) claim that science and technology operating within a particular social order reflected the values and norms of that society and, because they served the interests of the dominant strata must also be seen as ideological. As Pemberton and Boreham (1976) also claim the human services and their practical extensions - like psychiatry, psychology and social work - are non neutral ideologically laden activities. Professionalism reflects the dominant culture.

Johnson (1972) points out that the Industrial Revolution opened the floodgates of professionalisation. Scientific and technological

developments crystallised into new techniques, providing a basis for emergent occupations. The emerging urban middle class of nineteenth century Britain not only created an expanding demand for professional services but also provided recruits for the growing ranks of professionals. The model of profession which initially emerged in the late eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth century was superseded by the ideology of professionalism (Harries-Jenkins, 1970; Larson, 1977; Witz, 1992).

The ideology of professionalism cannot be considered independently of the dominant ideology in society within which it is formed. As Franklin (1986) argues professions are shaped by the social and political realities of their time and by the societies of which they are a part. The orientations and practices of professions, embedded in society, are reflections of the prevailing ideologies and values of the greater society (Goldenberg, 1971). The ideology of professionalism reflected the cultural hegemony and impacted on professions in ways, which ensured the progress of the capitalist project. As Perlmutter and Alexander (1978) comment, ideologies can be understood only in relation to the particular values which inform them, which reflect conceptions of what is deemed desirable or worthy for a particular group - what ought to be promoted and protected rather than treated with indifference.

Thorpe and Cullen (1983), considering social work, point out that social work accepts the structure of society and sees its role as working within it so that conservatising forces are implicitly imbedded within the profession.

Professionalism is used by the leaders of professionalisation projects and shared by the members of various occupations. It is also shared and sustained by the whole society, not excluding its social scientists (see also Boreham, 1983). As with all ideologies professionalism unconsciously obscures real social structures and relations (Larson, 1977).

Johnson (1977) comments professionalism, involving the colleague control of work activities can arise only where the ideological and political processes sustaining indetermination coincide with requirements of capital. Professionalism arises where core work activities fulfil the global function of capital with respect to control and surveillance, including the specific function of the reproducing of labour process.

As Reynolds (1951) and Klegon (1978) argue it is not the tasks themselves that professionals undertake that constitute the key occupational resources. It is the social meaning of the knowledge associated with tasks, and the ways in which the performance of tasks are significant to socially important groups. As Parry and Parry (1977) argue professionalism has for nearly two hundred years been a powerful ideology of a growing section of the middle class. Translated into practical activity it involves a quest by occupational associations for self-governing autonomy in which control is exercised collectively by the occupation over its practitioners and over occupational recruitment. There is a search for legitimacy from the state in which it is hoped that through legislation the occupation may be granted some degree of monopoly over the services it provides and recognition in legal terms of self-governing autonomy.

Ritti et al (1974) argue that professionals' work duties take place in the context of a specific, conscious and institutionalised belief system about the nature of their occupation and about the services provided by the profession to the society. Bauman (1998) states the ideological apparatus of industrial capitalism can be summed up in the 'work ethic'. In industrial capitalism the drive for profit, capital acquisition and productivity needed labour to harness the natural resources and to produce. It was necessary to engage every single adult member in productive labour.

As Penna and O'Brien (1996) state, capital accumulation was based on trained and disciplined workers. The welfare state and its institutions in industrialism capitalism were underpinned by policies for full employment and industrial growth and a policy framework based on easing the transition between work and non-work, whether the latter was a result of unemployment, sickness, age or education.

Boreham (1976) states that professionals, especially members of the personal service professions, played a vanguard role in creating and shaping the social and cultural climate of the society. Corporations, factories, hospitals, courts and educational institutions were personed by the helping professions carrying out vital tasks in the name and interests of the power elite to preserve the existing socio-political alignment (see also Freidson, 1970).

As Gilbert (1977) argues it is difficult to deny that many professional efforts involved in providing care and implementing change were aimed at getting people to behave in socially acceptable and productive ways. A substantial portion of professional activity conducted in the areas of child

welfare, probation, mental health and public assistance were concerned with social control.

Industrial production both efficient and necessarily large in scale engaged workers in production of commodities. It also engaged workers in services production either via coordination activities (as in the case in the managerial sectors of large corporations or government bureaucracies) or via the management of product exchanges (as in the case of wholesale and retail salespersons or financial and banking services). A further large proportion of workers were engaged in providing services for the population in areas such as education, health care, entertainment and personal services. Gough (1979) and Waters and Crook (1995) like Bauman (1998) argue that the ideological apparatus was focused on maintaining the labour force and 'reserve army of labour' for the capitalist project. It ensured a highly co-ordinated, regulated, bureaucratised and hierarchical society with specialists in the various areas of social, economic, labour and business activity. The state was highly developed and interventionist, and was an important agent of social regulation which it accomplished by means of administrative action and economic redistribution.

Professions too (as specialists) were instruments of capital and state power and control (Walsh & Ellings, 1972). As Morris (1974) points out the social structure and the various state organisation structures impacted significantly on both the role and practice of professionals. With regard to social work the state in industrial capitalism played a significant role in supporting professionalism (Camilleri, 1996; Thorpe & Cullen, 1983). The cultural impact of industrial capitalism supported the ideology of professionalism.

VISIBLE CHARACTERISTICS OF PROFESSIONALISM

The thesis looks at the various aspects of professionalism as articulated by theorists and researchers and generally accepted uncritically by professionals. The visible characteristics of the professional phenomenon are, according to Larson (1977), professional association, cognitive base, institutionalised training, licensing, work autonomy, colleague 'control', and code of ethics. Johnson (1972) similarly identified such features as fiduciary relationship, homogeneity of outlook and low degree of specialisation, professional association and monopoly, code of ethics and peer confirmation of technical competence.

The review of the literature on professionalism is structured in this chapter into six major features, which are most often expressed as characteristics of the professional phenomenon. These particular features are generally considered significant for the professionalisation project (Johnson, 1972). The features are interrelated reflecting professionalism. However for the purpose of analysing the case of social work in the ADO the 'virtualities' are articulated separately (Jamous & Peloille 1970).

Professional Relationship - Fiduciary

In industrial society as Bunning (1992) points out, the autonomy of the expert was perceived as being a necessity for a productive society. Johnson (1972) argues that under professionalism, the producer-consumer relationship was normally a fiduciary, one-to-one relationship initiated by the client and terminated by the professional. Consumer choice, a major element in consumer control, was weakened under such conditions and made ineffective by virtue of the consumer's heterogeneity and

individualisation. The professional controlled the interaction with the client and translated the client's desires into a professional meta-language. The professional explained to the client what was possible in their situation. Hughes (1963) provides a general example of the professional fiduciary relationship, while Cain (1983) illustrates the professional relationship in law, Porter (1990) similarly in medicine and Biestek (1961) and Morales and Sheaffor (1992) in social work (see also Ferard & Hunnybun, 1962).

Professionals argued that their actions were based on a trust relationship with clients. The professional's actions were subject to the approval, inspection and regulation by other professional peers alone (Daniels, 1973; Flynn, 1999). According to Middlehurst and Kennie (1997) trust of this sort was also accompanied by a degree of protection from the perceived rigours of the external world (particularly the structures, values and disciplines of the business environment).

Rothman (1984) claims that it was the idea of trust that traditionally differentiated client-professional relationships from other kinds of transactions (Berlant, 1975). In a strict sense, clients employed professionals to provide a service, but as Hughes (1963) notes, professionals sought to replace the usual stricture of *caveat empto* (let the buyer beware) with the norm of *credet emptor* (let the buyer trust). The essence of this claim was that in all situations where a professional provided a service the clients' interests were paramount and took precedence over any personal or commercial interests. 'Expert authority' was thus reinforced by assured dedication to client interests (Rose, 2000). Collingridge et al (2001) point out that the argument for confidentiality, an important value for professionals, was what might be termed the trust

argument. Within human services such as social work and social welfare, confidentiality was a central principle defining the relationship between the worker and the client. As Collingridge et al (2001) point out there was apparently scant conclusive empirical evidence for the claim that confidentiality was necessary for trust and hence effective practice (Neave, 1987).

As Harvey (1989) states the vision of the world in industrial society was positivistic, technocentric and rationalistic. There was a belief in linear progress, absolute truths, rational planning of ideal social orders and the standardisation of knowledge and production.

Johnson (1972) considered that elements of the ideology of professionalism were most forcibly and clearly expressed by those occupational groups 'making claims for professional status' and engaged in ideological struggle. Such occupations laid great stress on the need for occupational and individual independence as a precondition of fulfilling obligations to consumers. Among a number of service occupations this claim was associated with the emphasis laid upon the diagnostic relationship. That is to say, it was argued that only in an unfettered person-to-person relationship with the consumer could expert diagnosis take place and be successfully followed through. The diagnostic relationship was a control mechanism both within the occupation and in relationships with other allied occupations. Whatever the problem (mechanical, physical, psychological, or social), action (plans, therapy or policy) stemmed from the diagnosis and the diagnostician assumed an authoritative role (Howe, 1987; Hummel, 1987; Johnson, 1972; Mosher, 1982).

Cheek (1967) argues the professional-client relationship was governed by norms which required that the client initiated the interaction. While the client's motivation might be complex and varied, it was generally expected that the skills necessary to solve the client's problem were not directly available to him/her without the help of a professional. The norms governing the relationship also dictated that the professional initiate termination of interaction although the client was generally free to leave at any time and thus terminate the relationship. Professional norms suggested the time to break off the relationship so that the professional terminated the relationship either when the client's problem had been solved, or the professional had reached the limits of their capacity in aiding the client. Cheek (1967) states that once role incumbency was established relations between client and professional were governed by norms concerning the substantive content of interaction (see also Zaner, 1991).

Cheek (1967) claims that four interaction characteristics could be distinguished in the professional relationship. The first characteristic was that the content between the professional and the client was considered 'privileged communication'. The professional could not divulge the content of the relationship since the professional employed their skills to return the client to, or maintain the client in, a state of physical and ritualistic well-being. The client was assured that the necessary information that they transmitted to the professional would not become generally known. The second feature was that there was no intention on the part of the professional during the interaction to transfer techniques or skills to the client. The professional's expertise was based, it was argued, upon a body of knowledge, which the professional alone was capable of interpreting. Whatever transfer of learning did take place during the

interaction with the client was unintended. The third feature was that the professional's decisions were limited to the specific interaction period. The professional's decisions were confined to both the 'here and now' situation and to the particular client with whom the professional was currently interacting. The decisions were not applicable directly to a larger class of persons, which the client may have represented (Rose, 2000; see also Sokolowski, 1991).

As Cheek (1967) points out, decisions rendered by the professional were not ordinarily appealable to an 'outside' authority. The professional, as a member of a collegial body, acted autonomously in their interaction with their own clients. The professional was generally subject only to moral and ethical considerations as determined by their professional group. As long as the professional's behaviour fell within a normative range, their professional decisions remain unquestionable by both peers and outsiders.

The direct pressure of consumer scepticism upon individual practitioners was professionally controlled where equal competence in diagnosis was legitimated and where external evaluations of diagnosis were effectively eliminated (Johnson, 1972).

The client was assumed to lack the requisite knowledge to assess their own needs and judge the service provided and was therefore thought to be unable to diagnose their own needs and judge the professional service offered. Traditionally, the client *surrendered* to the professional authority of the doctor, lawyer, accountant, or social worker.

Eraut (1994) states that the traditional ideology of professionalism used the notion of specialist expertise to justify the assumption that only the

professional could determine the real needs of the client (Rose, 2000). The concept of service was profession-centred rather than client-centred and clients were not considered to have the social, pecuniary or intellectual resources to challenge the professional's definition of the situation.

The cultural influence of industrial capitalism according to Bauman (1998) was one of patriarchy, hierarchy and authority and this impact was reflected in the professional/client relationship.

Hasenfeld (1987) points out that the quality of the relationship between the worker and the client in terms of professionalism was axiomatically accepted as the cornerstone of effective social work practice. Professional service required not only special skills from the social worker but also a particular kind of relationship between the professional and the client. Daniels (1973) states that the social worker required a combination of training, experience and the ability to make creative extrapolations or follow hunches on the basis of some collection of evidence and these aspects of decisions could not be specified sufficiently for any non-professional to evaluate them adequately.

According to Hasenfeld (1987) and Hartman (1993) there was a tendency to understate the importance of power as a key factor shaping the process and outcome of the client-worker relationship. The theoretical bias arose because of the underlying assumption that there was a compatibility of interests between the client and the worker.

Professionals were, as Marshall (1939) and Green (1998) argue, expected to avoid giving attention to entrepreneurial activities such as competition,

advertising and profit. Professionalism required that professionals kept their distance from business (Elliott, 1972). This was reinforced by the cultural influence whereby the institutions were differentiated from each other and where professions also were differentiated into systems, which supported the capitalist project (Waters & Crook, 1995).

As Hasenfeld (1987 p. 476) states 'by using power to control most aspects of the helping process, social workers aimed to substantiate their personal and professional moral and practice ideologies'. Professionalism operated to perpetuate an unequal distribution of power within society. The differential ability to control the process and content of social work practice perpetuated the practice of social inequality.

Dominelli (1996 p. 158) comments on the ideological nature of professionalism. She states:

> The establishment of an 'appropriate client-worker relationship' through the intervention process has not engaged with a person as a real individual human being, but as a category of "client". This has been done with a detachment, which has been assumed to reflect well on the professionalism of the worker concerned.

The professional relationship was, in summary therefore a fiduciary relationship based on trust and confidentiality through which the professional having diagnosed the client's problem and determined the appropriate treatment provided a service. The client initiated the relationship but the professional terminated the relationship. In order to provide the professional service the professional was an independent

practitioner with regard to their diagnosis and treatment even independent of the professional's employment.

Values and Practice - Homogenous/Generic

In industrial capitalism structural complexity was controlled through the establishment of collective social units in which work tasks were performed. Hierarchical and bureaucratic organisational structures reflected the cultural impact. Social life encouraged occupations where the homogeneity of the work and social structures were reinforced (Waters & Crook, 1995). In traditional bureaucracy there was a focus on the process. The rules and regulations, which characterise a bureaucracy related to the nature of the transformation process, the professional process (Broadbent & Laughlin, 1997). Industrial capitalism encouraged hierarchy in institutions, organisations and structures. Hierarchy in turn was related to the creation of a stable environment, predictable processes and given output. This served the capitalist project (Ridderstrale & Nordstrom, 2002).

This dominant culture impacted on professions so that professionalism was associated with the understanding that a homogeneous occupational community was important for professional practice. As Johnson (1972) states homogeneity of outlook and interest is associated with a relatively low degree of specialisation within the occupation and by recruitment from similar social backgrounds.

As King (1968) comments professionalism created occupations with a high degree of self-consciousness and 'complete identity'. The core meaning of life was central to the work situation and occupational skills

were regarded as non-transferable - the property of a specific community. Under professionalism occupational ideologies laid great stress on the essential worth of practice (Johnson, 1972).

Cheek (1967) comments that professional training consists, on the one hand, of formal instruction - the teaching of theories and methods, and on the other hand, of an informal socialisation - the teaching of personal values and ways of behaving. Rose (2000 p. 407) states that her 'professional training and immersion in its prevailing paradigms required an identity that took me over, that demanded ownership of me'. Socialisation resulted in the student's development of a self-concept, which was tied to their profession. This internalised conception became manifest in overt behaviours, which communicated to others the professional competence of the actor (Broadbent & Laughlin, 1997). Professions attempted to ensure that persons not trained and not duly certified to membership were not allowed to practice the professional task (Becker, Greer, Hughes, & Strauss, 1960).

A highly developed community language or jargon performed the double function of maintaining internal homogeneity and increasing autonomy from outsiders, both competing specialists and lay people (Johnson, 1972).

As Hasenfeld (1987) argues social workers used power to control most aspects of the helping process to protect, in effect, the enormous investment and commitment they had made in their moral and professional socialisation. Social workers obviously relied on scientific knowledge to justify their activities and modify their tactics when they failed to achieve the desired outcomes. Nonetheless, they rarely stepped

out of the boundaries of their basic moral and professional ideologies and used their power to protect such boundaries.

As King (1968) suggests professions tried to develop and seek to maintain a particular identity for their members in the form of a collective self-image. For social workers this belief in a homogenous occupational community was sustained by members' adherence to the social work value base incorporated into the occupation's code of ethics. The Australian Association of Social Workers (AASW) code of ethics stated that it provided a set of standards by which the social work profession (or the social worker) could distinguish what was legitimate or acceptable behaviour within social work practice. The code identified standards of practice, which reflected the value base of the profession and stressed basic principles on which social work could make ethical decisions. The code sought to articulate the professional boundaries (Hancock, 1997).

Practice Boundaries - Monopoly

Gray and Jenkins (1995) state that the cultural influence of industrial capitalism encouraged monopolies, suppressed entrepreneurial behaviour and limited choice as part of the capitalist project.

Jamous and Peloille (1970) refer to the *virtualities* of an occupation, the basis of its mystique, the sources of its legitimations, the elements of its ideology.   It is these virtualities which create the conditions of uncertainty or indetermination and therefore, underpin the professions monopolistic position and successful resistance to external authority - whether that be client authority or some form of heteronomous authority.

Society in essence in granting professional authority gave up the right to judge the competence of professionals except in extreme cases of incompetent or unethical practice. Society depended on the members of a profession to determine the requisite entrance preparation and to be sure that those who practiced as members of that profession did so competently (Morales & Sheafor, 1992).

The ideology of professionalism maintains that it is the professional association, which was the authority for regulating and socialising professionals. Studies of professional associations (Gilb, 1966; Halliday, 1987; Powell, 1989) typically focus on the qualifications of associations to act as private governments for professions (Van Hoy, 1993). It was the practitioner association which carried out the major collegiate functions of the occupational group and which bestowed status and identity and attempted to sustain interests among the members and promote policies (Healy & Meagher, 2004). The professional association achieved this by imposing a monopoly on practice in the field and regulating entry to it (T. Johnson, 1972). Auerbach (1976), like professional monopoly theorists (see Berlant, 1975; Larson, 1977; Starr, 1982) views professional associations as a tool of elites. Auerback (1976) argues that ethics codes, prohibitions against solicitations and other regulations constructed by professional associations enabled elites to maintain control over the social composition of the profession.

In social work, articulating the monopoly on practice in the field particularly its own distinct theoretical base has been a source of criticism (Camilleri, 1996; Goldstein, 1990; Poulter, 2005). As Camilleri (1996) states social work is about working with clients who have troubles, helping and caring through relationship. Social work is emotional labour

involving *use of self* in contact with clients. The work with clients is meaningful talk about problems and providing help for these problems (Camilleri, 1996). It is argued that the issues with regard to the need for a distinct theoretical base reflects part of social work's professionalising project of monopoly of practice. As Krause (1996) comments, control over the market through monopoly over the skill provided is intimately interrelated to power over the relation between the professional association and the state. As Freidson (1986) argues the state itself routinely relied on private accrediting associations for determining the validity and reliability of the credentials of the occupations it regulated. Accreditation he argues established a system of market signals that formed the basis for credentialing both institutions of higher education and the individual credentials they issued to their graduates. Less obvious is the fact that, in the course of credentialing institutions, the system also produced a mandatory framework of credentialed jobs for the professionals working in them (Johnson, 1972).

The professional association also attempted to impose a uni-postal system of entry to the occupation in order to ensure that shared identity was reinforced by the creation of similar experiences of entry and socialisation (Johnson, 1972). An irreducible necessity for the professional project was to identify a shared expertise even if it did not guarantee its success. In turn, broad consensus on the range of skills and techniques to be acquired by would-be practitioners assumed an agreed definition of the task (Aldridge, 1996).

Freidson (1991) states that the professions also engaged in maintaining sufficient cohesion of the profession as a whole to be able to undertake

common action both to sustain its status and privilege and to enhance its own 'cultural' projects (Halliday, 1987).

With regard to social work, Allan (1983) states that 1946 saw the formation of the AASW as a national professional association. The AASW, he argues, went on to play 'a significant role in shaping professional education in Australia and in providing employers with the only general accreditation for professional qualified social workers'. By the early 1960s the minimum professional qualification was a three year course provided by four Universities and in 1974 a four-year degree course was set by the AASW as a minimum educational requirement for membership (Learner, 1974). In 1974 there was also a change to the function of social workers from predominantly caseworkers to social planners, administrators, community workers and coordinators due to the demand created by community development programs and the proliferation of self-help and consumer groups. According to Krause (1996) monopoly means not only control over the training of skill in the field, but also over its secrets or 'mysteries'.

Codes of practice according to Shardlow (1998) and Banks (1995) have as much to do with the establishment of a sense of professional identity for national or international social work professional organisations as they do with providing answers to questions such as 'how ought social workers behave towards their clients?' As Payne (1991) argues social workers in encounters with clients were constructed by occupational expectations ie the organised statements and understandings which said what a social worker was, and the social processes which defined someone as a social worker.

As Dennison (1989) argues social work's concern to be 'professional' and develop its credentials and its expertise was counterbalanced by those social workers who considered social work 'elitist' and out of touch with the ordinary person's needs. In 1972 the AASW was so concerned about the ferment of challenges and debate concerning the definition, role and training of social workers that it set up a Working Party to report on the aims, priorities, structures and membership of the Association. The AASW's main pre-occupation at that time was to maintain its territorial boundaries. One of the Associations most active committees was the Professional Education and Accreditation Committee established in 1969. As well as a more general responsibility for the standards and development of social work education the committee was specifically responsible for accreditation ie. of applying those standards to courses of social work education and to the qualifications of overseas graduates.

Freidson (1986) argues that the presumption was, that by virtue of possessing the requisite credential testifying to successful completion of a course of training in the discipline or formal knowledge represented by the profession, the work would be performed in a satisfactory fashion. In this way the formal knowledge represented by the profession was institutionalised and it was assumed that it was employed in dealing with the issues with which professional work was concerned.

In addition to developing in members values which put limits on self-interest and on the temptation to do shoddy work, Anderson and Western (1976) state that effective socialisation helped the professional to adapt to those aspects of work which often had a latent emotional content. Anderson and Western (1976) comment that professionals developed

professional detachment, which enabled them to apply specialised technical skills to the problem with the greatest efficiency.

Scott (1966) argues that professionals, therefore, valued their skills highly and were more concerned with getting and maintaining a reputation among their peers rather than with meeting the demands of organisational superiors.

Autonomy and Status - Continuous

Equal status and a continuous occupational career were considered important mechanisms for maintaining a sense of identity, colleague-loyalty and shared values in a profession.   All members of the profession were understood to share a continuous and terminal status. The myth of a community of equal competence was effective in generating public trust in a system in which members of the professional community judged the competence of one another (Johnson, 1972; Trice & Beyer, 1993). As Pavalko (1988 p. 27) states 'at the heart of the idea of an occupational community is the presence of a sense of common identity and common destiny'. While the shared norms and values of the occupation operated primarily to shape and control work behaviour, they also extended to non-work life as well and influenced choice of leisure time activities, political orientations and a wide range of interpersonal relationships (Ham & Hill, 1993).

Occupational norms were inculcated during lengthy periods of training. The assimilating institutions were characterised by close supervision within an apprenticeship system and peer-solidarity through the creation of vocational schools, which were directly or effectively controlled by

practitioners. Associational forms of organisation, a developed network of communication and a high level of interaction through branches, discussion groups, journals, 'social occasions' etc. all helped to maintain the subculture and mores of the occupation (Broadbent & Laughlin, 1997; Johnson, 1972; Morales & Sheafor, 1992).

Van Maanen and Barley (1984) argue that occupations that penetrate multiple aspects of a person's life also create conditions favourable to taking members of the occupation as one's primary reference group. Maintaining a social identity requires support and confirmation from others (Goffman, 1959; Mead, 1936). A feature of a professional occupational community is that members take other members as their primary reference group such that the membership comes to share a distinct pattern of values, beliefs, norms and interpretations for judging the appropriateness of one another's actions and reactions. This includes moral standards surrounding what work was considered good and bad, what work was 'real work' and, therefore in contrast to 'shit work', and what formal and contextual rules of conduct were to be enforced, what linguistic categories were to be used in partitioning the world. To say that an occupational community provided members with a value system was to say that members made use of a collective perspective in everyday matters, that they evaluated themselves in its light, and that such a perspective carried over to matters falling outside the realm of work itself.

Scott (1966) argues that because of this social workers took an instrumental view of the organisation to which they were attached. Their commitment to the employing organisation was conditional and depended

on their evaluation of the adequacy of the organisation's facilities and programs relative to others of which they had knowledge.

Anderson and Western (1976) state that professional socialisation performed two special functions for the professions 'exclusive competence to practice' and professional ethics. Professions typically claimed the right of exclusive competence to practise on the basis of long and involved periods of training. In addition, as laymen were not well qualified to judge professional competence, the normal methods of social control, bureaucratic supervision, or customer evaluation were inappropriate, so that the professions themselves judged professional behaviour and established codes of ethics. But while they set out the rules governing standards of work and the public interest and rules prescribing relations with clients and other professionals, professional control was only infrequently exercised through the formal apparatus of professional ethics, committees, and statutory boards. Socialisation ensured that the rules were internalised, so that by the time the recruit had become a fully-fledged practitioner, self-control was normally sufficient to maintain standards of performance and ethical behaviour.

As Brennan and Parker (1966) point out social work as a professional activity dated back to the last years of the nineteenth century. Within Australia the profession of social work became recognised as a profession (from 1929 with the establishment of the first social work training body) and an increasing number of Schools of Social Work were developed in Universities (Camilleri 1996). Higher degrees in social work were developed and social workers perceived their profession as providing them with continuous and equal occupational status (Lawrence, 1976).

Accountability - Ethics

As Macdonald (1995) argues in professional practice the quality of outcomes was regarded by the profession as more dependent on the 'potentialities and talent' of the practitioner than on 'techniques and transmissible rules'. In terms of professionalism professionals expected to be allowed maximum discretion in the selection of means for achieving desired results, being constrained in their operations only by internalised norms, which indicated accepted procedures.

Community-generated role-definitions and standards were maintained by a code of ethics and autonomous disciplinary procedures (Johnson, 1972). Professional codes of ethics identified the expected ethical behaviour of practitioners and established mechanisms for policing their membership regarding unethical or incompetent practice. It was understood that codes of ethics established and maintained professional responsibility (Bosk, 1979; Greenwood, 1957; Morales & Sheafor, 1992).

Roth (1974) points out there is no evidence that codes had any compelling power over members. On the contrary, he states, the evidence about lawyers, psychologists, physicians and other occupational groups with codes of ethics showed overwhelmingly that, although these codes sometimes served to curb competition among colleagues, they had almost no protective value for the clientele or the public. Indeed, the existence of such codes was used as a device to turn aside public criticism and interference.

In terms of professionalism ethics outlined by the professional association and professional colleagues were the primary reference point for

professionals regarding the appropriateness or quality of their practice. Clients were seen as lay people, na_ve consumers of the result of the professional production process and quite unqualified as to what constituted appropriate professional practice or sometimes in some instances in medicine, social work or agricultural extension for example, of 'even knowing what was good for them' (Bunning, 1992; Chafetz, 1996). Under professionalism the professional determined what the client actually needs.

Peers or colleagues, it was argued, were the only persons qualified to judge professional performance. They alone had the necessary background knowledge and technical training. As Daniels (1973) argues obviously much technical and theoretical expertise was involved in reaching professional decisions and only persons with proper training and experience could evaluate how this expertise should be used. 'An educated evaluation required a professional education'.

As Hancock (1997) argues a code of ethics was an essential characteristic of any profession. For social workers the set of statements made by the professional body in the code of ethics set forth the behavioural obligations laid upon social workers by the character of the work for which they were mandated by society and to which they were to be professionally committed. As Shardlow (1998) argues codes of ethics represented consensus of the profession's membership to define the nature and purpose of social work, to positively espouse some features of expected behaviour by professional social workers and to prohibit others. Dominelli (1997) points out that professional power and might were to be tempered through professional ethics and values which demanded respect

for the person and a due emphasis on 'client' self-determination (Butrym, 1976).

Boreham et al (1976) state that professionals' claims that they direct their services to the benefit of the general community were institutionalised in codes of ethics and were a significant factor responsible for the status accorded to professionals. However, there was little evidence to support the validity of claims that professionals were more concerned with, and sensitive to, community welfare than were members of other occupational groups (Boreham et al., 1976).

Knowledge and Skills - Esoteric

The ideology of professionalism centres on the development of a specialised body of esoteric theory and method-based empirical knowledge. This knowledge, it was argued, required a significant period of training to master for purposes of application. The knowledge required was often contrasted with more mechanical, non-theoretical knowledge employed by trades and other occupations (Boreham, 1983). Green (1998) argues that in terms of professionalism knowledge was also commonly treated as ethically and politically neutral, that is, derivable only from the rigours of objective value-free methods. Rothman (1984) argues that professions were organised around a comprehensive body of expert knowledge. It was this expertise - a resource not available to the public - that was probably the most fundamental factor used to legitimise professional prerogatives. Freedom from attempts at external evaluation and control - be it by clients, consumer advocates, or civil authorities - was defended on the grounds that laypersons lacked the knowledge to make substantive judgments concerning professional performance.

Through standardised and monopolised education, professional skills acquired an appearance of measurability and comparability in terms of years of schooling. Both length of training and tested competence were used as means to 'objectify' professional skills in the double sense that the skills acquired both a tangible, quantifiable expression and a 'universalistic' legitimation. While both years of schooling and credentialing were believed to relate to the market value of specific professional services, the relation was ideological. Years of schooling and credentialing functioned more as implicit justifications for the price of the professional commodity and for the privileges associated with professional work, than as the actual quantitative translation of 'average socially necessary labour time' into market value (Larson, 1977 p. 212).

To be able to operate within the authority of a given profession, each member had to master the knowledge and skills the profession had determined to be essential. Accreditation of educational programs and government certification were the basis on which the technical information and competencies fundamental to that profession were assured (Morales & Sheafor, 1992).

Under professionalism the occupational community regarded itself as the repository of specialised knowledge, guaranteeing the application of such knowledge for the common good. Prestige within the occupation was dependent upon colleague evaluation and, as a result, technical competence was a significant criterion of individual worth (Johnson, 1972). Occupations argued that they were based on formally, rational abstract utilitarian knowledge (Murphy, 1983). However, research into claims of expert knowledge showed that this is not necessarily so and

confirmed the ideological nature of professionalism (Boreham, 1983; Johnson, 1972).

According to Scott (1966), professionalism impacted so that professional authority vis-_-vis clients or subordinate occupational groups was based on the professional's superior competence, not on their occupancy of a particular organisational position. In all service-related matters the occupational community was believed to be wiser than the layman and from such beliefs the occupational community derived an ethical sense of full responsibility (Johnson, 1972).

As Baer (1986) argues professional expertise was believed to consist of a set of esoteric and abstract principles that had been mastered and organised by the profession into a theory (or at least a complex web of theoretical orientations) under its exclusive control. These were to be applicable to the concrete problems of living (Derber, 1982; Goode, 1969; Turner & Hodge, 1970). Gross (1969) argues that since professional knowledge was generalised, typical professional activity consisted of the application of general principles to a particular problem or case. Since each problem or case was different, the work of the professional was inevitably not standardised. It involved applying judgment to solve a problem and therefore required a certain amount of originality and imagination.

Moore (1970) points out, however, that if all problems were unique, then no theoretical knowledge could ever be developed. Nevertheless, there was a perpetual debate within professions about the merit of the abstract body of knowledge that the profession in general had accumulated versus the clinical knowledge that individual practitioners accumulated through

experience and their 'virtualities' (Jamous & Peloille, 1970). Reconciling these conflicting views of what was professional truth was another source of uncertainty.

Boreham et al (1976) state that characteristically, the professions also claimed to employ their skills and knowledge in an objective, unbiased way and to direct their energies toward the benefit of the community as a whole rather than for personal gain or sectional self-interest. The credence, which was granted to these claims was institutionalised in the legal sanctions which allowed professionals the exclusive right to undertake certain activities and to perform their services in a manner which was independent of the demands of the clients with whom they were working. In other words, the professionals had become the final arbiters of the need for, and the quality of, their own services.

The visible characteristics of professionalism are summarised in the following table.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PROFESSIONALISM

Influence on:	Professionalism
Relationship	. **Fiduciary** – based on trust . initiated by the client . terminated by professional . professional provides **service** . **diagnostic** relationship . independence of professional necessary for practice . **confidential** relationship
Values and Practice	. **homogenous** occupational community . **generic** practice . **low degree of specialisation**
Practice boundaries	. professional association imposes a **monopoly** . professional association regulates entry . professional association socialises into the the profession . professional association regulates behaviour of members through **socialisation**, accreditation, peer review, professional supervision and insistence of adherence to values and ethics
Occupational norms Autonomy/status	. status of profession **continuous** and **equal** . profession gives sense of identity - a **shared identity** . highly developed community language or jargon . community of **equal competence** generates public trust . **lengthy training** . close supervision
Accountability	. professional code of **ethics** . autonomous disciplinary procedures maintain role and standards . evaluation undertaken by peers . professional **supervision**
Knowledge and Skill	. professional community repository of specialised and **unique** knowledge . set of **esoteric** and abstract principles organised into theory under its exclusive control . prestige within profession based on **colleague evaluation** . professional **wiser** than lay person

CONCLUSION

While the critical analysis of the literature has focused on identifying the characteristics of professionalism it is acknowledged that some professionals challenged the cultural influence and control of professionalism. As Anleu (1992) comments professionals attempted to maintain control of particular activity by engaging in ideological struggles and the formation of counter images (Van Hoy, 1993).

Payne argues that anti-oppressive social work practice (Dominelli, 1998) or radical social work practice (Fook, 1993) for example was concerned about the way in which professionalisation of social work disadvantaged client's interests. According to Shardlow (1998) there were implications for both service provision and for professionals in an anti-oppressive practice approach. Anti-oppressive practice called for a redefinition of professionalism with expertise being rooted in more power-sharing egalitarian directions and in making explicit the professional's value system. Anti-oppressive practice challenged the traditional or 'maintenance' oriented view of professionalism in which a neutral expert exercises power over the 'client' and other workers lower down the labour hierarchy. As Mendes (1999), Camilleri (1999) and (Jones, 1998) point out professionals sought to change the power relationships in accordance with the 'ethical' aspects of the dominant ideology.

The conceptualisation of social work as an agent of reform and justice however encountered serious difficulties of public legitimation and practical operationalisation (McDonald & Jones, 2000). This was because most social workers were located in government agencies and

also because social work had historically aspired to professional organisation and standing. So while some professionals challenged professionalism it was the defining ideology for 'professional' occupations.

This chapter considered the cultural dominance of industrial capitalism and the ideology of professionalism. Following a review of the literature on professions, aspects of professionalism pursued as part of professionalisation were identified. The aspects identified form part of a framework to consider ADO social work and the impact of change.

The thesis argues that industrial capitalism has given way to late capitalism and a new cultural influence impacts professions and the identity and practice of professionals. According to Kellner (1988) late capitalism is not a new stage in history but a new configuration or constellation within capitalism. He argues that although it has changed dramatically, capitalism remains predominant in the contemporary world. The new cultural influence is not however continuous with the ideology of industrial capitalism but gives meaning to new behaviours and understandings (Goudzwaard, 1984). As part of the political economy of late capitalism a new hegemony has emerged. According to Healy and Meagher (2004) the meaning of professionalism itself will change in the process. They refer to such a change as new professionalism.

Chapter 4 reviews the literature, which addresses the professional project of new professionalism. New professionalism is not a static concept, however, as an expression of the dominant culture of late capitalism it is possible to discern features of new professionalism.

In Chapter 4 both the cultural dominance of late capitalism and the emergence of new professionalism are considered. The chapter articulates six of the emerging features of the cultural impact of new professionalism. Professional/customer relationship, professional values and practice, practice boundaries, occupational norms, accountability and knowledge and skill are all impacted by the changed cultural influence and against this framework ADO social work is analysed.

4.   NEW PROFESSIONALISM

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 3 considered how professionalism as a particular cultural expression of industrial capitalism was articulated in the literature. Six aspects of professionalism were identified and discussed. This chapter argues that the now dominant culture of late capitalism (Martin & Schumann, 1997) has a significant impact on professions and that professions change in ways that are consistent with and supported by the dominant cultural influence. As Healy and Meagher (2004) point out, within the professional social work literature a new professionalism is being articulated (Healy, 2000; Leonard, 1996; Lymbery, 2001). This chapter reviews the literature with regard to the emerging features of new professionalism and discusses six aspects of new professionalism. The six aspects of new professionalism together with the six features of professionalism provide a framework to consider ADO social work and change.

Initially the chapter addresses the relationship between the culture of late capitalism and change.

THE CULTURE OF LATE CAPITALISM AND NEW PROFESSIONALISM

Critical theorists such as Harvey (1989) argue that all social structures and relationships will change in the direction of support to capital because the relationship to capital is the basis of power in the social structure.

The features of new professionalism as already stated reflect the dominant culture. In response to the capital crisis of the mid 1970s significant cultural change began. It is generally agreed that a transformation is occurring in society at the economic, social and cultural levels (Bauman, 1998; Crook et al., 1992; Giddens, 1999; Hall et al., 1992; Harvey, 1989; Huyssens, 1984). There has been rapid social, economic and political change (Bessant, 1995). Jameson (1984) argues that it is the logic of late capitalism, which transforms society (Dominelli, 1996; Hough, 1999) and Feigenbaum et al (1999) argue that 'the changes are systemic and far reaching and permanently change the relationship between groups in the society'.

Harvey (1989) states that the dominant societal value is no longer 'production' but 'consumption' and there has been a shift from 'ethics' to 'aesthetics' as the dominant value system. Bauman (1998 p. 24) claims that the differences between the 'producer society' and the 'consumer society are so deep and ubiquitous that they fully justify speaking of our society as a society of a separate and distinct kind - a consumer society' (see also Marginson, 1997). Dunsire (1995) says there has been a true 'culture change' - the old order is swept away.

The dominant world-view throughout the industrialised world is that of 'neo-liberalism' which asserts the values and preferences of the market above other ways of organising society (Tooze, 1997). This puts a particular kind of national economy - one in which market forces are dominant and limitations on market-based economic activity are minimal - as the driving idea and objective. This is the view, which is the basis of the changes in the world economy that we have come to call 'globalisation' ie deregulation of domestic industries, liberalisation of

international trade and privatisation of public activities (Goldsmith, 1995; Hil, 2001).

The range of rapid social, economic, political, cultural and technological transformations impact upon populations around the world and include trends toward increasing marketisation, privatisation and fragmentation of services in a contract culture (Bauman, 1999; Hil, 2001; McCann, 2001).

The cultural impact of late capitalism which supports the direction of the economic, social, political, cultural and technological change is often described in terms such as 'global corporatism', a 'new world order', the 'new economy', 'ultra-capitalism', 'turbo capitalism', 'market capitalism', 'liquid modernism' and 'time/space compression'. This cultural shift signals huge and lasting changes at all levels of society (Beck, 1992; Harvey, 1989; Hil, 2001; Martin & Schumann, 1997; Waters, 1994). The cultural impact supports the belief that flexibility, consumption, privatisation, the control of the market, continual change, 'just in time', economy, efficiency and effectiveness are critical values for the profitable society. All institutions (including the education/training ones) mediate in support of the value of choice. They promote the model conduct which individuals, if they are to be responsive to market pressures, need to adopt (Bauman, 1999).

The impact of late capitalism according to Smyth (2000) is expressed in the public choice theory of economic rationalism, the belief that the reality of human nature is that everyone is self-interested, that we need to create a competitive environment as the basis for social relationships. On the basis of this ideology attempts are made in all spheres of society to make room for markets. 'Choice' is believed to be an important value.

Choice, it is argued, fosters competition and competition provides the best economic outcome for all. The market place provides the arena for 'choice'.   Bauman (1999) says that the code of choosing, like the agenda of choices, is shaped and reshaped primarily by market pressures (see also Sturdy, 1998). As Kerr and Savelsberg (1999) comment economic-rationalist politics and free-market ideology may be regarded as satisfying the social and economic prerequisites of capital (Carroll, 1992; Cousins, 1987; Fabricant & Burghardt, 1992; Pusey, 1991).

As Patrickson (1994) states early indications are that organisations in the twenty-first century will be more concerned with operating in global environments through adding value, achieving competitive advantage, maximising employee competence and integrating diversity. Emerging themes include faster decision-making, control of quality and the development of strategic alliances. The themes are summarised by Galbraith and Lawler (1993 p. 298) as:

NEW	OLD
Dynamic learning	Stable
Information rich	Information scarce
Global	Local
Small and large	Large
Product/customer oriented	Functional
Skills oriented	Job oriented
Team oriented	Individual oriented
Involvement oriented	Command/control oriented
Lateral/networked	Hierarchical oriented
Customer oriented	Job requirements oriented

or

OLD	NEW
Bureaucracy	Flexibility
Hierarchy	Market
Patriarchy	Globalisation
The state	Outcomes
Seniority	Performance
Truth	Competition
Save	Economic Rationalism
Socialised	Privatisation
Tradition	Partnership
Service	Freedom
Monopoly	Innovation
Limited Choice	Post bureaucratic
Re-driven	Entrepreneurial
Institutions	Diversity
Authority	Mentor
Supervision	Teams
	Creative
	Mission-driven
	Choice

These themes can be also discerned in the changes within professions as professions introduce continuing professional education, evidence based practice, focus on customers needs, competencies, team-work, competition and flexibility (Healy & Meagher, 2004; Jordan, 1990; Pease & Fook, 1999).

The culture of late capitalism reflected in marketisation, neo-corporatism, economic rationalism and managerialism (or corporate managerialism) (Pollitt, 1990; Wood, 1989) in turn informs practices such as new public management (Pollitt, 1995), market-based public administration (Lan & Rosenbloom, 1992) and entrepreneurial government (Osborne & Gaebler, 1993).

There is a change in the relationships of the political economy ie the relationships between capital, state and labour. As Exworthy and

Halford (1999) point out the shift from a needs-led professionally determined model of welfare provision, for example, to a market led managerialist model is one means through which a new legitimation of capitalism, rooted in the conditions of the 1980s and the 1990s is achieved. Under industrial capitalism the state was significant with regard to establishing structures, providing services and funds and providing control and reproductive support for the capitalist project. However, under late capitalism as Harris (1998) argues, the welfare state and its delivery agencies are seen as inefficient, wasteful and unbusinesslike with a lack of concern for efficiency and value for money (Butcher, 1995; Flynn, 1993; Harris, 1998; Stoker, 1989; Walsh, 1995a). The growing trust in markets comes as the expense of parallel doubts about the state. Whereas the state had been a leading means of ordering economic life (Goldsmith, 1995) other parties besides the state have now acquired important roles in the process of world governance (Scholte, 1997). Whereas the state once guaranteed social entitlements for their citizens, under attack from the capitalist project (Bryson, 1992) the state has now become responsible for deregulating and encouraging markets so that capitalists are free to pursue profit globally (Bauman, 1998; Considine, 1988; Penna & O'Brien, 1996).

The overall picture throughout the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s in Australia was one of the Australian state locked into a program of economic management dictated by an increasing global commitment to accommodate the prerequisites of market capitalism (Kerr & Savelsberg, 1999). As Davidson (1992) states the market is now the regulatory apparatus, which takes the place of the state and tradition. Aldridge (1996) also argues that reducing the scale of the welfare state has been in the foreground of policy for both fiscal and ideological reasons.

Harris (1999) in articulating the dominant ideologies of late capitalism argues that where a contestable market is more efficient, in the broad sense of that term, there are good arguments for the government to withdraw from the market in favour of private sector providers. The argument is that there is not much in favour of a government remaining in the market as a provider in competition with the private sector as the state cannot be as efficient as the private sector. The state is not viewed as efficient, economic, effective and able to take risks. The state is inflexible and risk averse.

The welfare state was the primary supporting institution for the different projects of social work. Now the state must be either reconstructed or de-constructed depending on the perspective adopted. The state, professions and the family are no longer perceived as supporting the capitalist project (Kerr & Savelsberg, 1999). The relationships of the past are now impediments to capitalists' power and the maximising of profit (Bryson, 1996; Castles, 1996; Castles & Pierson, 1996; Jamrozik, 1994; Watts, 1996). The state, family, professions as constructed within industrial capitalism increasingly are no longer considered to be the loci of control. Now the loci of control in society is 'the market' (Bullock, Stallybrass, & Trombley, 1988).

As the dominant culture impacts on the role and function of the state it also impacts on the role and function of labour. Hoggett (1991) states there is a need for a new managerialist labour process in the public sector which mirrors developments in the private sector. Features of the new managerialist labour process are computerised financial systems, decentralised management, devolved budgets, contracts and individually-tailored services, existing in a new mode of 'marketised-state' provision

(Edgell, Hetherington, & Warde, 1996; Walsh, 1995b). Parton (1994) refers to the change as 'welfare pluralism' (see also Johnson, 1987). The features of 'welfare pluralism' include an emphasis on plural provision. Voluntary agencies, private organisations and community initiatives provide a greater proportion of social care. The predominant mode of provision is community-oriented, implying flatter structures and a different interpretation of professionalism - recognising that the consumer or user 'knows best'. Contractual rather than hierarchical accountability is introduced so that relationships within and between welfare organisations are specific and formal. Services are contracted out to voluntary and private agencies wherever possible (Valentine, 1999).

Rifkin (1996) argues that the impact of the dominant culture is that labour is deemed as a cost not as an asset. This means that the capitalist project demands that every possible device should be used to eliminate labour. The goal is presented as increased prosperity and leisure. Whereas the 'work ethic' was a dominant and defining expression of industrial capitalism with regard to the construction of work and professional practice in the hegemony of advanced capitalism the dominant and defining expression as previously argued is 'choice'. The understanding of the nature and role of labour has changed. 'Knowledge' rather than labour is the source of capital growth (Ridderstrale & Nordstrom, 2002). Rifkin (1996) points out that the importance of the knowledge class to the production process continues to grow while the role of the two traditional groups of the industrial era - labourers and investors - continues to diminish in importance. Knowledge workers are a diverse group united in their use of state of the art information technology to identify, process and solve problems. They are the creators, manipulators and purveyors of information and ideas that make up the advanced capitalist global

economy. New solutions to problems, new services etc., are continually sought. Information technology also provides a means of accountability. Hough (2003) points out that public welfare in Australia has been the site of the greatest investment in information technologies to reorganise practice systems. The prime structuring force in workers' practice, he argues is now the software programs within which workers enact and record their work.

The emphasis on marketisation also has significant consequences for the social work labour process (Harris, 1998). Marketisation as a central trend requires social services not just to define their new managerial role in the market but also to change substantially their internal managerial cultures. Thus, in the social work labour process as elsewhere in the welfare state, a key component in realigning services and structures has been managerialisation (Clarke et al., 1994; Pollitt, 1990).

As Jones (1999) states the central issues shaping the future of Australian social work are to do with issues such as change to the boundaries of the profession, relations with other professions and occupations and the structures of state and market within which these relations develop. This is related to the fact that social work is an organisation based profession ie most professional social workers are employed in organisations and as Preston (2004) states improving organisational performance means enhanced managerial effectiveness, development of skills and competencies. In Australia the mid-1980's the social work practice environment was beginning to change significantly. Budgetary constraints and cutbacks, accountability concerns, demands for improved organisational efficiency and effectiveness, privatisation and contracting, technology and devolution of Commonwealth responsibility were major

transformational trends (Preston, 2004). Hearn (1982) points out that in the transformed society, a new professionalism followed closely on the heels of the new managerialism.

The emergence of a new dominant culture exerts powerful control over society. Its very emergence changes the configuration of the actors and their respective relationships and new discussions and negotiations become possible (Harris, 1998; Howe, 1992). New professionalism is emerging in response to this change. The impact is reflected in changes to the professional client relationship, values, norms, status, accountability and knowledge and skills. A review of the literature illustrates the impact.

Professional Relationship - Quality Customer Service and Programs

Because of the dominance of markets as previously argued there is a shift in social activities toward contractualism in terms of purchase and personnel, devolution of financial and management responsibilities, and competitiveness on both a national and global scale. As Hood (1990) and Stewart (1997) point out there is an increase of accountability through a focus on outputs rather than process and an increase in consumer choice. The professional/customer relationship in a market culture is a relationship based on contractual understandings. The nature of the consumer/professional relationship and the focus of the work is therefore spelt out in a contract which is subject to regular monitoring and review (Parton, 1994). In a contract relationship the professional does not act on their own behalf but on behalf of another in their interaction with the customer. Contracts minimise misunderstanding and counter some of the

negative effects of being service users (Exworthy & Halford, 1999; Nixon, 1997; Pollitt, 1995).

In order to market social work services and to demonstrate the outcome of interventions the contractual approach to social work ie agreements or contracts and the process of exchange of view, which precedes them is therefore encouraged (Corden & Preston-Shoot, 1988; Preston-Shoot, 1994). Alston (2002), Carroll and Manne (1992), Horne (1992), and Rees and Rodley (1995) argue however that the view that market principles rather than poverty alleviation are determinant factors in providing assistance to clients should be challenged. The reason for this they argue is that market principles do not address equality and the unjust power structures (Biehal & Sainsbury, 1991; Jowell, 1989). Hummel (1987), however, comments that critics hold that the professions often proceed with their own notion of what is good for people rather than seeking and responding to the interests and demands of the general public, agency clientele or elected officials (Chafetz, 1996; Mosher, 1982).

Cannan (1995) argues that this consumer democracy is supposed to challenge the sinecures which unenterprising professionals and administrators have apparently created for themselves in the welfare state, it is designed to undermine privilege and professional authority (Keat & Abercrombie, 1991).

In a market/contract environment consumer's needs are met within the context of a variety of legal constraints that help to define the relationship between the professional and the consumer (Eve & Hodgkin, 1997). Contractual relationships provide clarity and transparency. Because of

the complexity of problems and specialisation of providers collaboration and partnerships between agencies, professions and across sectors are also required (Miller & Ahmad, 2001).

From their study of lawyers and change, Hanlon and Chapland (1997) show that the relationship between the professional and the customer is no longer the most important aspect of the relationship as it was in terms of professionalism. The most important feature now is the outcome of the exchange (Eve & Hodgkin, 1997). Broadbent and Laughlin (1997) also confirm that now the important feature of the relationship between professional and customer is the output, which is the subject of the exchange.

The impact of the changing ideological control of late capitalism is seen in the changing terminology used in with regard to professions. Hugman (1998), Healy (1998) and McDonald and Jones (2000) draw attention to the impact of competition in the change of - 'client' to 'consumer' or 'customer'. As Broadbent and Laughlin (1997) point out from their study of the education, medical and accounting professions in the public sector the relationship between professional and customers is now perceived as one of provider-customer (see also Carter, Klein, & Day, 1992) .

Essentially, as Hugman (1998) states, the reconstruction of the service production system means that along with the reconstruction of clients to customers, social workers are reconstructed from professionals to producers. Key processes in this reconstruction are the erosion of boundaries between social work and other human service occupations, the relocation of professional practice to new and often unfamiliar sites, contraction and expropriation of modes of intervention, the rise of

competencies, increased specialisation and fragmentation (McDonald & Jones, 2000).

Lloyd (1998) argues that amongst social workers, the desire to find a way of responding more effectively and more rapidly to the expressed needs of users is strong, and dissatisfaction with bureaucratic controls has prompted social workers to grasp at consumerist approaches. In his view the concept of 'user-centred' and 'quality' practice moves into professional standards very easily and Dutt (1990) argues that the concepts of 'choice' and 'independence' are in 'full accordance' with the beliefs of equality and expectations and aspirations of Black and ethnic communities for options, choices and independence.

However, Patti (1984) discussing the transformation of social agencies and the work of social workers claims that this transformation is characterised by a displacement of previously paramount values, such as individualism, mutuality and social change with such values as productivity, efficiency and compliance.

The impact of the ideologies of late capitalism on professional/customer relationships can also be discerned in the change to the understanding of trust on which professional/client relationships were based in terms of professionalism. Trust based on professional mystique now changes to trust built on transparency about the nature of professional competence and accountability for professional services to both direct and indirect beneficiaries or sponsors (Middlehurst & Kennie, 1997). The customer shapes the professional-customer relationship (Flood, 1991; Hanlon & Shapland, 1997). This means as Abercrombie and Keat (1991) point out, that one of the key changes in the 1980s was the decline of professional

dominance in the professional-client relationship. In a contractual market relationship customer and provider are considered equal.

In his research on the relationship of professions to the political order Brint (1994) found that there had been a reversal of the older forms of professionalism. The older forms of professionalism were founded explicitly on a connection between community and authority. Brint (1994) argues that the current 'principles indifference' which is found in current professional activity is an indication of the extent to which the laissez-faire ethos of the market now shapes the politics of professionals. Social trusteeship no longer shapes the politics of professionals.

Addressing changes to social work in particular, Shardlow (1998) argues that the ideology of managerialism is the means by which over recent years a new set of ideas such as advocacy (Simons, 1992), consumerism (Allen, 1988), empowerment (Adams, 1990), and participation (Office of Public Management, 1994) have influenced social work ideology (Shardlow, 1998).

Under new professionalism therefore the professional/client relationship is understood as being in the nature of a contractual relationship.

Values and Practices - Specialist Practitioners

Aldridge (1996 p. 187) states that 'the justification for markets is that competition produces both greater efficiency and effectiveness'. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s there was considerable emphasis placed on improving the delivery of public services by creating markets in which delivery agents would compete against each other (Industry Commission

Australia, 1996; McCarrey, 1993; Office for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 1995; Ryan, 2001).

Competition and contestable markets are viewed as policy instruments which are capable of achieving more efficient and effective systems of service delivery (Domberger, 1997; Hodge, 1996; Hough, 2003). Hanlon's (1997) study of accountants, lawyers and advertisers, for example, demonstrates that in terms of this ideological understanding professionals began to engage and welcome commercialism and entrepreneurialism in order to gain control of work areas and skills. The impact of this as Krause (1996) shows, is that the unitary coherence of many professions was fractured by splits between elites and masses, generalists and specialists. This in turn impaired the ability of professions to mobilise collectively because of weakening solidarity, differing market positions and associational dispersion.

Jones (1999) argues that social work should develop in accordance with the ideology of new professionalism and become an 'enterprising profession'. One way of describing this kind of profession for the third millennium he states is 'a profession with many faces'. The new social work, 'the social work of many faces', will embrace the following qualities: diversity, permeability, pro-activity and transparency.

McDonald and Jones (2000) claim that social work should be a profession less concerned with boundaries and identity, and more focused on seeking out emerging contexts for practice as this is required in the new environment. They argue that in order to survive, prosper and effectively pursue its historical mission in the emerging milieu, social

work needs to move beyond the template embedded in a traditional professional project.

Whereas professionalism supported the idea of the independent professional, Hafferty and Light (1995) found in their study of doctors that in less than a generation of medical providers, the solo practitioner gave way to the group practice. The group practice itself became part of a mosaic of practice networks, institutional arrangements and organisation schemes (e.g. health maintenance organisations, preferred provider organisations, third party administrators and integrated service network). They found that managed care arrangements and practice networks were supplemented by practice protocols, treatment guidelines and requirements for prior authorisation (Kelly & Toep, 1994; Luce, Bindman, & Lee, 1994). Related to this, was specialisation among professionals. Practice was no longer generic practice. The needs of increasingly sophisticated consumers require specialisation if their needs are to be met. Aldridge (1996) argues that social work was and is not one but a portfolio of tasks. Hough (1999) also states that social workers should conceptualise their work as entrepreneurial projects not in terms of fixed roles and tasks. According to Morales and Sheafor (1992) social workers are developing specialised practice eg practice with unique population groups (age, ethnicity, gender), particular fields of practice (developmental disabilities, mental health, services to families), unique social problems (family violence) or specialised practice roles or intervention modes (practice with families, community planning).

One of the implications of permeable boundaries is the growing importance of teamwork as a means of operationalising new professionalism. Flexibility is important in a competitive environment to

meet changing consumer demands and market relationships (Cole, 1995; Heckscher & Donnellon, 1994; Manley, 2001) and, while professional specialisation, it is argued, ensures improved services to clients, the complexity of change in society also means that interprofessional collaboration is necessary to maximise client services (Morales & Sheafor, 1992). According to Lloyd (1998) 'teams' constitute the new organisational form. When organisations are structured on a team basis, team activity is focused on combining work tasks and worker skills in whatever manner best completes the work or meets the outcomes (Vogel & Patterson, 1986). The team structure is therefore highly flexible and adaptable, assuming clear and free communication.

As Pollitt (1995) argues decentralisation and non-bureaucratic control enable the team to work together utilising all team skills to provide services. The two strongest benefits of the team approach according to Gummer (1990) are (1) the greater diversity of experience, perspectives and knowledge that can be brought to bear on problems and (2) the capacity for teams, over time, to become self-directed and capable of managing significant cross-disciplinary concerns. Pacanowsky (1995), and Mullender and Perrott (1988) comment that, 'teamworking' has now in many professions replaced individual practice. The responsibility for the quality of the output is shared between all members of a multi-skilled and non-hierarchical team.

Organising outcomes through teams supports the capitalist project for flexibility and new combinations of knowledge and skill. As Ridderstrale and Nordstrom (2002) argue, wealth comes to those that excel in developing innovative concepts and ideas about how to combine and recombine. New ideas, they argue do not emerge from hierarchical and

closed groups. 'New ideas' are necessary for profitability, efficiency and effectiveness.

In such an environment the pursuit of monopoly is seen as wasteful. Monopolies are not in the interests of good outcomes for clients (Healy & Meagher, 2004). According to Morales and Sheafor (1992) clients are the primary losers when there is professional specialisation without interprofessional collaboration. The committed professional must be prepared to engage in collaboration with other disciplines to maximise client services. The social worker, for example, who is responsible for paying special attention to both person and environment, should according to Morales and Sheafor (1992) give leadership to this inter-professional collaboration.

Ife (1989) comments that if social work is to survive and play a useful role in society it will be necessary to emphasise those elements of social work which are in opposition to the professional paradigm of industrial capitalism. For example, emphasis on:

- empowerment through skill sharing, rather than exclusivity through registration and accreditation;
- emphasising common interests with others in the human services field, including both workers and clients, rather than differences of status, training and specialisation;
- more concern for working on the task at hand and less concern with who does it or where they come from;
- the investment of resources (time and money) into dealing with issues and problems, empowerment and social change, rather than into the maintenance of professional identity and interests.

All professions are impacted by the dominant culture. For example, Eve and Hodgkin (1997) in their study of medicine found that, there was an increasing acceptance within the medical professional that adequate clinical knowledge was not enough. In order to act effectively in the best interests of patients, doctors, now widen their horizons and do not self-reference. They attempt to have a thorough working knowledge of the system in which they are working. They expand their range of skills so that in addition to clinical competences they are financially competent, able to work within teams - demanding greater inter-personal skills and a broader and deeper understanding of other professionals' roles, are proficient in the art of management, delegation, negotiations and liaison with other agencies. Eve and Hodgkin (1997) claim that all of these issues are part of a new professionalism and have changed professionals' ideas about what it means to do their work.

Practice Boundaries - Serving the Mission

In terms of professionalism considerable effort was made by professions to develop and maintain professional practice boundaries. Under new professionalism flexible boundaries are demanded.   Whereas monopolies were once encouraged now monopolies are discouraged. Flexibility of labour and practices are demanded in order to meet organisation outcomes. As Hough (1999) states, choice is provided through competition and the nexus of choice, competition and efficiency means that monopolies among producer groups of any type (including for instance those producing 'education' or 'social work') are highly undesirable. All staff are 'entrepreneurs' (Du Gay, 1996).

Feldstein (1971) points out that as technocratic society becomes increasingly dependent on 'knowledge' as part of the capitalist project, complaints against professions take four forms. They are that:

1. Professions have excluded too many from entry.
2. Autonomous expertise is anti-democratic.
3. Professions make public policy through their control of larger territories.
4. The professions have not 'delivered'.

Hough (1999) states that managerialism, which he claims, should be seen as an ideology, a philosophy, a culture and a set of practices had by the end of the 1980s, become the taken-for-granted management style in the Australian public sector. The principles of managerialism include an emphasis on linking policy analysis (strategic choices) and management planning with the executive taking responsibility for overall planning and tying outcomes to resources through the control of program budgets. The emphasis is on outputs rather than inputs and bureaucratic controls are replaced with controls based on goals and objectives laid down at the top of the organisation (and technically implemented further down). All activities are integrated under a guiding corporate plan. Rule-based administration is replaced with management by objectives. In addition, there is an emphasis on flatter management structures, performance-based appraisal and incentive systems based on merit and tied to transparency in job design and specification. There is a reliance on technical expertise rather than value-based practice. A form of accountability is established which indicates a lack of trust in (both the devolved control of participatory democracy and the procedural integrity of bureaucracy) (Ife, 1997; McTaggart, Caulley, & Kemmis, 1991; Rees & Rodley, 1995).

Bartlett et al (1992) argue that the beliefs about societal and government reforms which have occurred and are occurring are grounded in and drawn from certain dominant discourses: those of neo-corporatism, economic rationalism, managerialism (or corporate managerialism) and human capital. Government is intersected in those elements of the strategy, which contribute to greater efficiency and productivity (Bartlett et al., 1992). In the public sector, managerialism stresses efficiency and economy, effectiveness and performance, and outputs.   Brunetto and Farr-Wharton (2005) found that the emerging trend across a number of western countries is that the implementation of managerialism within public universities, schools and hospitals has been associated with three outcomes: a general reduction in per capita funding, increased efficiency, and the implementation of a new type of professionalism aimed at achieving stated government goals irrespective of the values and beliefs associated with professional culture (see also Hood, 1995). The ideological impact is seen in managerialism and new professionalism.

Broadbent et al (1997) argue that one of the significant elements in the drive to achieve and demonstrate efficiency and effectiveness is not only the function of management but also the importance of organisation missions, visions and goals. In examining the professional areas of medicine, education, law and accounting they found that in the current context the nature of professional activity changed so that decision-making power shifted away from the holders of specialised knowledge and towards clients and managers. They argue that although this signifies an end to traditional notions of professionalism involving trust, responsibility and self-organisation, these concepts are part of the transparency, responsibility for outcomes and entrepreneurialism (self management) included in the understanding of new professionalism. The

issue is, they claim, a restructuring of the significance and functioning of professionalism.

Broadbent et al (1997) go on to argue that the corporatism of decision making has implications for professionalism. The move is away from action based on professional ethic towards action based on organisational strategy. The organisation has an overarching mission statement, which articulates the vision, purpose and goals of employees of the organisation. Everything is planned to achieve the mission. The corporate plan is a set of practices, techniques, technologies, culture, philosophy and ideology. Mission statements, strategic plans, statements of objectives and performance indicators are the basic components of performance management (Jones, 2001).

Dominelli and Hoogvelt (1996) confirm that the cultural paradigm for contract government includes: the definition of overall strategic goals and identification of sequential performance objectives within these; operationalisation of performance targets; clear and detailed specification of input and output measures and the costing of these, including a critical scrutiny of value for money; concrete specification of the relevant contributions and responsibilities of all the actors involved; and, among other things, the formulation of reporting and monitoring tools. This means that for social work, for example, in the changing environment, social work functions are no longer an end in themselves, rather, they are subordinate ends. Social work functions thus become a means to the accomplishment of the overall organisational goal (Garvin & Tropman, 1992).

Individual performance management therefore is an important facet of outcomes (Furlong, 1985). The professional's loci of accountability changes. This change in the loci of accountability in turn heralds a change in ideas about appropriate professional practice. Loyalty is to the employing organisation's mission not the profession. The accountability is reinforced by the declining employment in positions, which are classified as for example social worker, psychologist, engineer. Organisations increasingly identify positions as mental health worker, child protection officers, security systems officer for example (Franklin & Eu, 1996). The professional body also is no longer the controlling mechanism for non-occupational behaviour. The employing organisation is responsible for such control through the development of a particular organisation culture articulated in the organisation's vision statement. It is the employing firm or organisation that bestows status and identity on the professional. The occupational or professional group no longer provides identity. As Broadbent et al (1997) point out this new ideology of professionalism requires a shift in previous professional practice towards accepting organisational identity and change.

Occupational Norms: Autonomy/Status - Flexible, Competitive

Gray and Jenkins (1995) comment that markets encourage competition, maximise choice and freedom, increase efficiency (in its various forms) co-ordinate fragmented activities via the price mechanism and create conditions for entrepreneurial behaviour to flourish. The norms reflect the dominant culture and are seen in the actions taken in the Australian public sector structure reforms. These reforms sought to foster economic productivity and capital growth and they included such things as purchaser/provider splits, cross program approaches, contracting in/out

and outsourcing/commercialising/privatising/competition policy (K. Walsh, 1995b). The Australian public sector reforms are based on new commercial and managerial philosophies (Wanna, O'Faircheallaigh, & Weller, 1994). The reforms include benchmarking, quality programs, totally quality management, risk management and performance management (Public Sector Management and Policy Commission, 1997). The focus is on high efficiency program results (Wanna et al., 1994). The move is from process-oriented toward performance based management for all employees including professionals (Tilbury, 2004; Yeatman, 1990).

Pengilly (1981) states that the changes to the Australian Trade Practices Act (1974) for example was a trigger which caused widespread re-assessment of the alleged public benefits which 'ethical' codes were said to deliver. The Trade Practices Act calls into question anti-competitive activity (Hilmer, 1993). As Aldridge (1996) argues in the 'enterprise culture' and quasi-market conditions of contemporary society one of the preconditions for success is the ability to adopt a competitive posture. A public presence and an organised voice are necessary if the professional group wished to participate in the market. In a competitive environment, marketing individual expertise and collective professional services is of paramount importance (Middlehurst & Kennie, 1997).

Social work is similarly impacted by this need to be competitive. As Hancock (1997) comments recent literature encourages social work to define what it has to offer and actively promote its skills and contributions (Franklin & Eu, 1996; Laragy, 1996). Laragy (1996) states that social work needs to reassess its achievements and actively promote them if it wants continued involvement. She states that some of the

managers in her study of professional social work did not know what social work was, or what it had to offer. Laragy (1996) argues that the previous low profile, enabling role that social work has often adopted is not going to win it a place in future. Social work she says needs to be assertive and confident and to convince others that it can make a worthwhile contribution.

Crimeen and Wilson (1997) state that professional associations are located outside of the work places promoted by market models such as the funder/purchaser/provider split. However, Hanlon and Shapland (1997) argue that the history of professional regulation in the last few years has been one in which professional associations have embraced an increasing consumerist perspective. Professional associations have taken this action, it is claimed, to protect clients from their members. This has involved stronger requirements to inform clients of progress and remedies and more proactive monitoring of individual practice, as well as greater compulsion toward continuing professional development. Allaker and Shapland (1994) state that government has encouraged self-regulation, and professional associations have acted to raise and declare standards to distinguish the profession more clearly from current competition and possible future competitors. Such regulation it is argued has not only been achieved but has become internalised as the proper activity of professional bodies.

Healy and Meagher (2004) speak in terms of the convergence of new unionism and new professionalism. Tools such as performance appraisal and performance management developed by professional associations for use by professionals, help professionals, managers and customers evaluate the outcomes of professional practice. Despite this, as Van Hoy

(1993) points out, professional associations find it difficult to represent the diverse views and needs of increasingly specialised groups within a profession. Because of the increasing lack of homogeneity within professions, Van Hoy (1993) maintains that the function of the professional association as a regulator of practitioners for the protection of the public must be called into question. Heinz and Laumann (1993) also argue that professional associations with diverse memberships are limited in their ability to make decisions and govern the profession.

Calleja (1997) outlines the AASW's strategy to increase the self-regulatory mechanisms of the AASW in response to the micro economic reform strategy of the Australian government. There are four planks to the self-regulation strategy: accountable practice, Continuing Professional Education (CPE), community education and regulation of the whole profession.

Accountability - Outcomes for Customers

In the market environment of late capitalism outcomes as previously illustrated are the most important aspect of any relationship between professional and customer. Authority and autonomy are subsumed into the notion of accountability (Gray, Jenkins, Flynn, & Rutherford, 1991). In a market-based system, the notion of accountability is met through the measurement of outputs (Broadbent & Laughlin, 1997). The outputs are articulated in the strategic focus (mission) of the organisation, which establishes the contract between the organisation and consumers as to what services will be provided. All staff in the organisation work to achieve the stated outcomes.

Wanna et al (1994) state that results in client delivery and improved efficiency are the criteria for success on the 'new corporate ledger'. Curtin (2000) similarly argues that a number of features can be discerned in the new ideological controls. There is now a more explicit focus on results, management is decentralised, efficiency, productivity and competition are paramount and flexible approaches to achieving cost-effectiveness policy outcomes are strongly encouraged (Office for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 1995).

Gray et al (1991 p. 81) also state that new ideology has 'brought with it a new epistemology, a redefinition of accountability'. Accountability is established through such mechanisms as goals, outputs, performance and productivity. The reconceptualisation of accountability means, according to Gray and Jenkins (1995) that in a decentralised, target-driven world of public management, responsibility and performance are redefined in individualistic ways. That is, they are driven by particular concepts of terms such as efficiency, effectiveness and quality which reflect 'the beliefs and values of the new faith' (Jackson, 1993; Likierman, 1993). Ernst (1995) highlights the challenge for the reinvention of social work in advanced capitalism. It is argued that economic rationalist policies such as privatisation and marketisation represent a paradigm shift that challenges the ethical base of modern Australian social work. Accountability requires that professionals evaluate their own objectives and performances through the criteria of marketisation and/or entrepreneurial values (Miller, 1992).

'Accountability' is according to Brunetto and Farr-Wharton (2005) one of the changes that impacts employees the most. Degeling et al (1999) found for example that within Australia and New Zealand all medical

personnel in public hospitals experienced 'negotiated accountability arrangements' which added 'explicit accountability to management' to already established professional accountability measures.

Zastrow (1999) concerned for the development of social work urges social workers to become skilled at evaluating the extent to which they are being effective in providing services. He states that a wide variety of evaluation techniques are now available to assess effectiveness of current services and to identify unmet needs and service gaps. If goals are not being achieved, the worker should examine the underlying reasons (Zastrow, 1999).

Changes to the notion of accountability have increasingly led social workers to develop evidence-based-practice according to Corcoran (2000) and as Newman and Turem (1974) argue systematic evaluation requires the ability to state goals in objective, measurable terms. Evading such a statement leaves the social worker open to the accusation of masking ineffectiveness or of committing a form of fraud. The lack of evaluation of social work practice leads to a discounting of claims of credibility that may be sound. As Tilbury (2004 p. 237) comments that counting something can make it 'important' in resource and practice terms. Conversely, not counting an activity or process makes it invisible in performance assessment, even though in practice it might be important.

Middlehurst and Kennie (1997) illustrate the changing balance of responsibilities and duties associated with a professional role in the transformed environment. They point out that traditionally the main role and duty of a professional was to their primary clients with management being construed largely in terms of 'office administration'. Increasingly,

however, professionals in all professions are required to undertake a new balance of roles. These roles include responding to the needs of an increasingly sophisticated and educated client base and they include providing appropriate accountability and value for money in the services offered. Professionals including public sector professionals are responsible for managing in a complex modern enterprise which includes covering a range of practice management matters, from tax and accounting conventions, to personnel legislation and health and safety regulations. Power (1997) refers to the 'audit explosion' which he states results from societal concerns about the production of risk and the erosion of trust. In the new environment of advanced capitalism new forms of management control are necessary. Previous hierarchical forms of control have declined and greater value is now placed on measurable activities and outcomes.

Hoggett (1991; 1994) states that the distinctive feature of contemporary change is that rather than attempting to strengthen 'management' in order to control 'professionals' the strategy is shifting toward creating managers out of professionals. Professionals are required to combine technical expertise with managerial competence (Hoggett, 1991). The managerialist influences of advanced capitalism as Exworthy and Halford (1999) and Harrison and Pollitt (1994) illustrate heralds new patterns of professionalism. Tilbury (2004) points out while quality has historically been defined with reference to professionalism, qualifications, professional standards and ethics, it is increasingly being defined in terms of a new professionalism (a management discourse) of benchmarks, service standards and quality assurance. These are issues, which are of concern to customers.

Parton (1994) points out that in the new environment, notions of management frame and supplant the central activities of professionals themselves and the forms of knowledge they draw upon. No longer are social workers for example constructed as therapists or caseworkers, but as care or case managers coordinating and operationalising care packages, where their knowledge of resources and networks is crucial and where, notions of monitoring and review are central.

Causer and Exworthy (1999) state that the increased emphasis on care management for example demands that social workers possess managerial skills and places managers and supervisors in a situation where their role is increasingly defined in terms of managing and deploying resources. They argue that it is clear that present trends in social work are pushing the occupation itself in a direction where the acquisition of managerial skills will become increasingly important for both the exercise of social work roles and for longer-term career progression (Causer & Exworthy, 1999). Harris (1998) argues that the transformation of social work requires new skills in setting standards, specifying services, awarding contracts, monitoring performance and taking action if performance falls short of specifications.

According to Wistow et al (1994), new skills in setting standards, specifying services, awarding contracts, monitoring performance and taking action if performance falls short of specifications are part of the transformation of social work which is required if social work is to continue to participate in providing services. This new managerial approach has been significant for all social workers not only for strategic managers. It implies a move away from previously existing approaches to the operational management of social work and towards a view of

social workers themselves as managers increasingly redesignated as 'care managers' who put together 'packages of care' (Harris, 1998).

Just as professionalism 'masks' power relationships so does new professionalism. Biehal and Sainsbury (1991) state that the presupposition in the market approach is that all consumers in the market of community care start from the position of being autonomous individuals able to make unfettered choices. In reality these people are likely to be poor, vulnerable, perhaps isolated, perhaps lacking knowledge and analytical skills, and perhaps unable to relate together the short- and long-term implications of choice. Questions of economic inequality and the assumptions about gender underpinning notions of informed care are similarly ignored.

However, as Jowell (1989) points out, the freedom of the market is non-existent to most of the people who seek to supplement their own caring resources from government and voluntary services. They use these services precisely because they cannot exercise the conventional freedom of choice which consumers in the marketplace enjoy (Biehal & Sainsbury, 1991).

The cultural hegemony 'masks' the relationship of the majority in the society to resources and power, and demands that people without such resources be managed through systems and processes that support the power structures and capitalist project. According to Alaszewski (1995) one striking feature of the changes to social work instituted in the early 1990s was the restriction of the client base. The client base was restricted to 'the vulnerable and dependent who need special protection, in particular children who are at risk, people with learning difficulties,

physical disabilities and mental illness and certain groups of elderly people'. Social worker roles in relation to these groups are increasingly defined in a new way, stressing the role of managerial or quasi-managerial activities. The introduction of a purchaser-provider split - particularly in the area of community care is designed to secure a cost-effective use of resources through the use of a professionally informed purchaser allocating resources to buy, for example, domiciliary support of residential care on behalf of the customer.

Alston (2002) states that social workers have a role in advocating against the view that the fate of the poor is sealed. Their role is to posit an alternative based on equity and access pointing out the failure of the market place in providing for the health and well being of all Australians.

While some researchers call for professions to challenge the dominant culture Eve and Hodgkin (1997) in their analysis of professionalism and medicine in the UK found in medicine for example the response was that professionals moved towards Evidence-Based Medicine (EBM). Professionals responded to cultural change by changing their understanding of professional practice and medical practice.

While critical theorists encourage the 'unmasking' and challenging of ideological control the challenge for professionals is how to articulate particular professional values within the dominant culture. Dunston and Sim (2000) point out that both Australian federal and state government departments have strongly incorporated evidence-based-practice into their thinking about how professional practice can and should be developed and justified. Professionals must demonstrate evidence-based-practice as part of their funding and accountability. 'The short message is - before

we fund or support - evidence of practice standards and directions is required' (Dunston & Sim 2000). Evidence-based-practice asks the question 'how do we know' and 'how can we show' that our practice and our practice standards make a positive difference.

Evidence-based-social work-practice according to Dunston and Sim (2000) is critical to the future of social work practice and social work advocacy. They argue that 'evidence literacy' must be developed if the social work profession is to demonstrate that their practice makes a positive difference to the community and those who are vulnerable in society.

What is changing is the belief in the loci of control. Previously in terms of professionalism the professional was viewed as having control of practice, accountable to each other for meeting professional standards and norms. The ideological basis on which the community acquiesces power to professions has changed. Trust is now based on transparency, accountability to the consumer and output.   Professionals understood in the past that it was not possible, because all problems were unique, to define outputs or to quantify and define professional judgment. Because of this only another professional from the same profession could determine whether professional practice standards had been met (Broadbent & Laughlin, 1997). However, in terms of new professionalism Baguley (1991) argues that quality and customer satisfaction can be articulated and the articulation and assessment of professions' performance to achieve these outcomes can be measured.

Bunning (1992) studying the change to professions in the Australian public service states that quality is defined as 'continually satisfying

customer requirements'. Quality is a customer perception, rather than a technically defined issue and quality standards are dynamic, as customer needs and desires change (Laza & Wheaton, 1990). Aldridge (1996 p. 179) when discussing the future for professions, says that 'with regard to knowledge, all claims to knowledge are judged programatically in terms of their outputs rather than being privileged a priori'.

Manley (2001) argues that instruments such as surveys that measure levels of customer satisfaction have become widely used in professional service organisations and are now a part of management strategies to influence professional practice in the clinical setting, the classroom and other locations of professional service work.

According to Hafferty and Light (1995) who studied medicine and change, assessments of quality were once privately conducted almost exclusively by peers in a ritualistic and cordial fashion (Bosk, 1980; Freidson, 1975; Millman, 1977). They have now been replaced by, among other things, physician 'report cards' and related assessment tools developed and deployed by employers and payers to measure, and control provider behaviour (Brouillette, 1991; Winslow, 1994). In the field of medicine national organisations now collect and disseminate information on hospital mortality and morbidity rates, physician performance indicators, and even patients who have filed malpractice claims (Irving, 1993; Maier, 1994; Millenson, 1993).

Tierney (1985) addressing the Biennial conference of the AASW stated that evaluation and forms of quality assurance have an essential role in promoting practice standards for social workers. In the first place, they are tools for helping social workers increase productivity, redefine

problems and isolate what is known from what is not known. In the second place these tools open up professional practice to peers and to others. In the third place, they arm social workers with information so that they are able to contribute to ongoing debates about purpose in the various fields of service and to constructively criticise program proposals, which lack evidence as to credibility. Tierney (1985) argued that it is possible to build evaluation onto ongoing practice and Schumacher (1985) commented that organisationally, performance appraisal is an accountability process, an aspect of management control systems developed to measure resource use in relation to goal achievement. He argues that as such it is a professional management tool.

Jones (1999) argues that by embracing transparency social workers will finally come to terms with the reality that they must convey clearly to others the nature and significance of their work, and the outcomes they achieve. Social work will become he argues an evidence-based profession, which can clearly account for its activities and interventions. It will not be possible he argues to sustain and develop a profession in the new millennium based on hunch and belief. As Broadbent (1997) comments all of this indicates a change in the nature of the professional-client relations. Institutional control is achieved by introducing a system of individual customer reaction.

As Ouchi (1977; 1980) argues, the main issue for a market is having the information required to facilitate exchange and for the norm of reciprocity to prevail. For this to occur there must be information about prices and costs. Advances in technology now allow information to be produced and made available. Information can be made accessible to a variety of audiences. Middlehurst and Kennie (1997) point out that

developments such as the identification and satisfaction of customer requirements and the measurement and evaluation of performance (both part of the machinery of quality and accountability) could not have been furthered without technological advances. As customer and sponsors alike become better informed, they have become more demanding about the services delivered by professionals.

In terms of professionalism, ethics, norms and codes controlled behaviour. Many researchers have shown that this ideological control has increasingly changed. Asquith and Cheers (2001) for example, studying social worker's practice point out that research that focuses on decision-making indicates that increasingly moral reasoning and judgments are influenced by several factors not only professional ethics and norms. These other factors include the practitioner's personal moral perspective, power imbalances, organisational policies and practices and moral capacity. Practitioner capacity includes, the willingness and ability to take personal moral responsibility for action; the quality of ethical judgment; one's perception of self, role and power; courage; independence; and concern for doing the right thing (Landau, 1999).

Asquith and Cheers (2001) argue that professional norms and codes of ethics may not influence practitioners' moral and ethical decision-making as strongly as might have been assumed. For instance, Landau (1999) found that professional socialisation did not significantly affect ethical judgments made by social work practitioners and students. Similarly, Jayaratne et al (1997) found that practitioners appeared to act independently of professional ethics, which led the authors to suggest that 'social work education and current practice standards are out of touch with the realities of practice'. Social workers are basing their practice

behaviour on an ideology of new professionalism, one which does not place the profession as the loci of accountability (Jayaratne et al., 1997).

Professional accountability under new professionalism is now focused on outcomes for customers.

Knowledge and Skill - Skilled and Competent

The cultural impact of advanced capitalism as Aprhys (1999 p. 29) states is encapsulated in the slogans 'knowledge equals competitive advantage' or as Ridderstrale and Nordstrom (2002) state 'talent makes capital dance'.

Aldridge (1996) argues that in late capitalist society expertise exists but it is situational. Any mandate or privileges based upon it must be continually justified and renewed. Cannan (1995) states that the educational system, through for example modular and credit accumulation and transfer systems, socialises students to become the mobile worker, with a portfolio of skills and knowledge, taking charge of their career, personal development and training needs. As Middlehurst and Kennie (1997) point out, the impact of the change in the external environment means for individuals that their expectation of:

- a 'job for life',
- generally with a single employer, and
- requiring the development of a single specialist skill and career planned with vertical/hierarchical promotion,
  changes to the reality that:
- 'no job is safe',
- they will have multiple employers (and potentially multiple careers),

- they will need to be adaptable, flexible, with multiple skills, and

- they will need to plan their own career, which will include horizontal/lateral development.

If individuals are to retain skills for employment they must become lifelong learners in an era of rapid skill obsolescence and a fluid labour market (Ball, 1990). Professionalism through which professional knowledge and skills were considered esoteric requiring lengthy education and socialisation is now culturally obsolete.

In advanced capitalism new developments in knowledge and technology shift the boundary between routine and novel professional procedures and problems. While choice and consumption are dominant values it is in the area of 'aesthetics' that choice is provided while there is increasing standardisation of procedures, products and services (Bauman, 1998; Ridderstrale & Nordstrom, 2002).

Standardisation of procedures in professional practice is increasingly mandated as this meets the agreed outcomes for customers, provides equity and consistency. As Spangler and Lehman (1982) state, standardisation assists both competition and customer choice in the market. Whereas, in the period of industrial capitalism and professionalism, autonomy not standardisation gave professional status. In terms of new professionalism, however, autonomy is demonstrated to be inefficient and more likely for professional misjudgments to be made (Bunning, 1992). As Imai (1986; 1991) comments the development of competencies, which emerges from the concept of continuous improvement requires standardisation in practices and processes. It is

necessary to have an agreed standard in order to be able to measure current process performance.

King (1985) found in his study of accountancy, medicine, engineering, dentistry, nursing and social work that as part of the drive for performance, proscribed methods for various professional procedures and practices are increasingly defined to meet outcome standards. New professionalism views professional judgment as part of the entrepreneurial and the self-management practices of professionals. As Middlehurst and Kennie (1997) state continued professional development, management expertise and leadership capability is deemed necessary for professional competition. New professionalism demands that professionals are skilled and competent to deliver the agreed outcomes. If professionals are to meet the needs of customers with accountable, competent practice they must actively pursue new knowledge so that they can provide measurable outcomes. Standardised procedures and processes will increase effectiveness and efficiency.

CONCLUSION

Pusey (1992 p. 47) argues that reality has been:

> …stood on its head as the market has been made a surrogate for universal values and universalistic norms and procedures of allocation and thus for social justice and indeed for intelligent deliberation.

This chapter has briefly considered the literature with regard to the cultural impact of late capitalism and new professionalism. New professionalism guides the professional project.

The new professional practice includes competition, market relationships, entrepreneurialism, competency, case/project management, quality, efficiency, effectiveness, goals, outcomes and customer satisfaction (Ridderstrale & Nordstrom, 2002). As King (1968) states 'the "ideological" deposit filters through to the rank and file professional and becomes a tacit professional ethos'.

The features of new professionalism are presented in the following diagram. Professionals displaying these characteristics might be considered to be 'good' professionals.

IDEOLOGY OF NEW PROFESSIONALISM

Influence on	New professionalism
Relationship	. **contract** . initiated and terminated by client . exchange . trust based on **transparency about competence** and accountability . customer shapes relationship . customer articulates quality and standards
Values and practice	. **specialisation** to meet customer's needs and knowledge for consumption . **teams** . professional **competition** . **flexibility**

Practice boundaries	. **mission** of organisation provides identity
	. primary duty and responsibility to the **organisation**
	. employing organisation controls non professional
	  behaviour through mission statements
	. professional goals subordinate to organisation
	  mission
	. professionalism no longer process of achieving
	  status for life
	.competition requires flexibility

Occupational norms Autonomy/status	. **competition** . organisation structured around **programs** not individual skill . continuous new knowledge development . product definition and marketing . seeking out new roles . **entrepreneurialism**
Accountability	. **outcomes** . **quality and customer satisfaction** . **performance** appraisal . evidence based practice . accountability for **outputs**
Knowledge and Skill	. **competencies** . **standardisation** of procedures . continuous improvement - Continuing Professional Education (**CPE**) . diverse knowledge sources . mentoring (tacit knowledge)

It is argued in this Chapter that the cultural impact of late capitalism brings far-reaching permanent change to the relationships between groups in the society through new ideologies.   New professionalism impacts on and changes the identity and practice of professionals.   Professionalism no longer drives the professional project. In order to test this, a case study of professional social work in the ADO from 1957 to 1996 was undertaken. Given the significant cultural change, it was proposed that social workers in the ADO would increasingly, during the 1980s and 1990s, reform their practice and shape their identity in terms of features of new professionalism. Changes to institutions and relationships would facilitate the professional change. While new professionalism represents an ideal type, like professionalism, it is a dominant influence, which it is argued, determines the identity and practice of professionals and their relationships in the society, organisations and labour.

Chapter 5 outlines the methodological approach undertaken to collect and analyse the data on ADO social work to determine whether professional identity and practice was shaped by professionalism or new professionalism. Chapter 5 argues for a critical approach using case study methodology and addresses the rationale for the qualitative, explanatory strategy.

5.   THE CASE OF SOCIAL WORK IN THE AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE ORGANISATION

INTRODUCTION

The goal of the thesis was to analyse the response of social workers in the ADO to the changes in the dominant culture, testing the thesis that professional identity and practice would increasingly reflect the dominance of new professionalism rather than professionalism. This chapter outlines the methodological approach taken to consider the response of ADO social workers to change - a critical case study. While researchers in social work more generally utilise a postmodern approach an argument is presented for the use of a critical approach in this research which sought to address ideology with a focus on future possibilities for social work within the political economy. The orientational qualitative focus of the thesis is also explained together with the relevance of the case study methodology to the data collection and analysis. The various research procedures undertaken as part of the research are articulated together with discussion of the actions taken to ensure the research validity.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS

The critical review of the literature on professions undertaken in Chapters 3 and 4 and the collection of data on change to systems, policies and practices in the ADO lead to an appreciation of the impact of the changing culture and ideologies on social work practice. It is argued that the new culture impacts on professional identity and behaviour so that

professions and professionals change. The research therefore sought to investigate how social workers in the ADO change, i.e. has social work practice understood in terms of professionalism or was new professionalism the goal of the professional project.

The framework for the analysis is developed in Chapters 3 and 4. It articulates features generally agreed to reflect the ideological constructs of professionalism and new professionalism.

Ideology (see Gouldner, 1979, 1980) refers to any organised belief system that represents social change as impossible, even if it suggests modes of individual betterment within the frame of reference of the existing social system. As Agger (1998) argues to be effective in reproducing people's conformist behaviours, ideologies must not be sheer illusion but must in some respects correspond to 'reality' as people experience it. It is argued that the ideologies impact on the role, status and practice of professionals (Milner, 1991).

George (2000) states that the literature shows substantial international agreement about the effects of globalisation, economic rationalism, managerialism and consumerism on professional practice so that the relationships among professions, the market and the state have changed (Aldridge, 1996; Brazier et al., 1993; Dominelli & Hoogvelt, 1996; Hugman, 1996). Essentially, it is claimed, professionals have lost what Lorenz (1997) calls their 'cushy' relationships with the state, in which the state supported self-regulation and protected professions from market competition. The effect of globalisation, however, is to remove this protection, resulting, for example, in a focus on technical 'competencies'

rather than autonomous professional knowledge and skills (Dominelli & Hoogvelt, 1996).

Based on the understanding that professional behaviour is shaped by the dominant world view the thesis is concerned with how social workers in the ADO understand their identity and practice (Patton, 1990). The aim of the study therefore was to examine the extent to which, over time, professionalism and then new professionalism impact on social work in the ADO. Healy and Fook (1994 p. 35) give a picture of how they perceive social work identity and practice may have changed. They state:

> …whereas a modern social worker was required to be a well-socialised professional truly committed to helping and using proper methods, a post-modern social worker will need to be a flexible, innovative and creative responder; a boundary-crosser and a 'discourse traveller'; a listener-amplifier; an entrepreneur and marketeer of knowledge, skills and values; a critical and reflective thinker able to acknowledge explicit contradictions; an explicit user of power and a de-professionalised professional.

While the context of social work practice is significant the focus of the thesis is on the ADO social workers' understanding of the practice of professional social work in the ADO. As Ife (2000) states social work has traditionally defined itself primarily within the professional discourse, involving practice that delivers largely individualised 'services' to 'clients', membership of an exclusive professional group, accountability through self-regulated codes of ethical practice, and practice based on codified knowledge and expertise. As Ife (2000 p. 142) points out:

…this discourse, however, has little currency in the present climate and is being increasingly marginalised by the dominant discourses of managerialism and market.

By considering the problem of change for professions from a critical perspective rather than a postmodern perspective the impact of both the micro and macro issues of the dominant capitalist culture emerge. A critical understanding also contributes to the 'counter hegemonic' consciousness of the masses (Larson, 1977) i.e. understanding of the possibility of another 'reality'. While most studies into professions and change as highlighted in Chapter 2 take a market/power approach they do not address the impact of the changing cultural and ideological context of professional practice. They do not address adequately, it is argued, the change to the power relationships in society which impact on the very understanding of 'profession'.

According to Guba (1990) all research is interpretive, guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied. At the most general level according to Denzin and Lincoln (1994) four major interpretive paradigms structure qualitative research: positivist and post-positivist, constructivist-interpretive, critical (Marxist, emancipatory) and feminist post-structural.

Guba and Lincoln (1994) point out that in critical theory the aim of the inquiry is the critique and transformation of the social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender structures that constrain and exploit humankind, by engagement in confrontation, even conflict. The criterion for progress is that over time, restitution and emancipation should occur and persist. Advocacy and activism are key concepts. The inquirer is

cast in the role of instigator and facilitator, implying that the inquirer understands a priori that transformations are needed. This thesis, therefore, argues that those, whose lives are most affected by transformations, the research participants themselves, should make judgments about what transformations are necessary.

As Gabrielian (1999) points out the critical perspective is not value-free. It is explicit about the values that inform the approach and actively advocates an emancipatory, empowerment ethic.

Ideology, it is argued, can only be understood in terms of the world-view or beliefs about the nature of social relationships. In that respect the choice of framework for analysis and approach reflect the ideological assumptions of the researcher. Kincheloe and McLaren (1994) comment that research in the critical tradition takes the form of self-conscious criticism. Criticism is self-conscious in the sense that researchers try to become aware of the ideological imperatives and epistemological pre-suppositions that inform their research as well as their own subjective, intersubjective and normative reference chains. Thus critical researchers enter into an investigation with their assumptions on the table, so no one is confused concerning the epistemological and political assumptions they hold. Upon detailed analysis these assumptions may change. Stimulus for change may come from the critical researchers' recognition that such assumptions are not leading to emancipatory actions.

In this thesis the basis for analysis is the patterns of behaviour and belief about behaviour that stem from the dominant world-view. The thesis therefore seeks to reveal the way in which ideological control is expressed ie through the features of the ideologies.

The thesis articulates some features of professionalism and new professionalism and seeks to determine whether social work in the ADO has changed or continues to understand 'reality' as professionalism. The articulation of aspects of new professionalism is viewed as part of the critical process highlighting the directions by which social workers, both personally and collectively, are able to challenge the dominant culture with a view to the transformation of society.

Peile and McCouat (1997) state that the popularity of the critical approach in social work has suffered under the shift to relativism/postmodernism. While the thesis pursues the critical approach the contribution of the relativist approach is acknowledged. Discourse is a useful concept to address issues of power and dominance within the profession. As Poster (1992) states the relativist critique has alerted people to the dogma of approaches which, supposedly are about liberation and to the new forms of oppression and control that can flow from universalistic or essentialist views of truth.

Larrain (1994) states that postmodernism is particularly interested in ideology which originates in Marx in order to criticise it and show that it has lost meaning in the contemporary world. Larrain (1994) goes on to explain that postmodernism is a complex cultural phenomenon which is characterised by its distrust of totalising discourses, of both reason and universal truth. Postmodernism propounds indeterminacy, the primacy of difference and the incommensurability between discourses, which are supposed to have their own regimes of truth. This is why postmodernism is suspicious of the critical concept of ideology, because according to its tenets it is impossible to pass judgment on a discourse from the perspective of another discourse. Hence, the postmodernists argue that

the critical concept of ideology must be abandoned (Baudrillard, 1975; Cousins & Hussain, 1984; Michel Foucault, 1980; Kellner, 1988; Lyotard, 1984). Foucault (1980), Baudrillard (1975; Baudrillard, 1998) and Lyotard (1984) show, however, that they unwittingly end up re-introducing the concept of ideology through the 'back door' thus contradicting themselves. While they doubt the validity of total discourses and of their ideological critique they must assume the validity of their own critique of total discourse (Larrain, 1994). As Peile and McCouat (1997) argue a common criticism of relativism is that it is self-referentially inconsistent and paradoxical. Implicit in the relativist claims and critique of alternative positions is an assumption that their approach is true, but since they claim truth is relative, their own position is thus negated or relativised (Bernstein, 1983).

Relativism it is argued reflects the dominant culture. It is a complex cultural phenomenon, which is characterised, among other things, by its distrust of totalising discourses, of reason and of universal truth (Larrain, 1994). As Harvey (1989) states 'obsessed with deconstructing and delegitimating every form of argument' post modernists end up doubting their own legitimacy to the point where no solid basis remains for rational action. Thus postmodern theories become very one-sided and insensitive theories unable to see the positive sides of modernity, unable to understand how those positive sides are articulated with and coexist in opposition to the repressive and alienating features they 'absolutise' (Larrain, 1994 p. 812). The post-modern relativism and distrust of reason make it impossible for anyone to believe in a better future or in the possible resolution of major societal problems.

As Larrain (1994) comments, in openly attacking the concept of ideology but secretly using it to unilaterally criticise the theories (metanarratives) which propose critical concepts of ideology, postmodernism not only contradicts itself but also becomes a convenient ideology of the status quo. By suspecting those who suspect the established system, postmodernism explains away the problem of, and hence cannot but implicitly support, the status quo. Peile and McCouat (1997) state that the relativist trend appears to affirm and strengthen the fragmentation and separateness that already exist in our society. While opposing the domination of universalising approaches, its success may well serve the interest of powerful forces and result in further marginalisation and fragmentation of the interests of the powerless.

Poster (1992) states that relativism does not offer clear norms to guide practice or a vision of a better future and Walby (1992) suggests that the relativists see power as being so dispersed that the possibility of recognising how one social group may oppress another is precluded.

While Peile and McCouat (1997) argue that social work has moved in a relativist direction it is argued that such an approach has led to inaction, disunity and a sense of pointlessness within many areas of the profession of social work. As Peile and McCouat (1997 p. 355) state:

> In a context where the value of social work is continually being questioned by governments, a move in the direction of relativism may well play into the hands of those who would like to limit its influences.

The case study considers ADO social work from 1957 to 1996 almost four decades during which significant cultural change occurred. It is

argued that a critical approach assists in both understanding the forces and impact of change and in giving direction to possible ways of addressing oppression in the current context. The critical approach recognises the historical specificity of knowledge. Ideas are a product of the particular material conditions of the times. It holds to a notion that there is one truth for everyone within a given historical period, a truth which, it seeks to capture via the development of grand theories. While the processes of oppression obscure the truth, it can be recovered so that an oppressed group is enabled to 'escape the situation' they are in (Fay, 1987; Peile & McCouat, 1997).

Critical theorists such as Agger (1998) argue that false consciousness is fostered by positivist social sciences such as economics and sociology that portray society as governed by intractable laws, suggesting to people that the only reasonable behaviour involves accommodation to these allegedly fixed patterns. While the thesis does not debate this aspect of positivism the chapter continues to consider the debate between positivistic and phenomenological inquiry in order to articular the approach taken in the thesis.

Positivist/Phenomenological/Qualitative

Philosophers of science and methodologists have been engaged in a long-standing epistemological debate about how best to conduct research (Cook & Reichardt, 1979; Fetterman, 1988; Filstead, 1970; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 1986; 1990). This debate has centred on the relative value of two fundamentally different and competing inquiry paradigms: (1) logical-positivism, which uses quantitative and experimental methods to test hypothetical-deductive generalisations, versus (2)

phenomenological inquiry, using qualitative and naturalistic approaches to inductively and holistically understand human experience in context-specific settings. There are several extensive reviews of various aspects of the debate (Cook & Reichardt, 1979; Fetterman, 1988; Filstead, 1970; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 1986, 1988; Peile, 1994; Peile & McCouat, 1997). Positivists seek the facts of causes of social phenomena apart from the subjective states of individuals. Social facts or social phenomena are considered as 'things' that exercise an external influence on people (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). In the quantitative or experimental method standardised measures are used so that the varying perspectives and experiences of people can be fitted into a limited number of predetermined response categories to which numbers are assigned (Patton, 1990).

Patton (1990) argues that the advantage of a quantitative approach is that it is possible to measure the reactions of a great many people to a limited set of questions, thus facilitating comparison and statistical aggregation of the data. This gives a broad, generalisable set of findings presented 'succinctly and parsimoniously'. Camilleri (1999) states that the positivist research method has been the usual response to the professionalising project of social work as the search for 'scientific respectability' has been an ongoing concern.

Agger (1996) argues that critical social theory's critique of positivism is 'its central and most enduring feature'. Positive social theory differs from critical social theory in that positive theory attempts to formulate social laws explaining variations in social behaviour, whereas critical social theory rejects the concept of social laws and instead attempts to explain social history in order to gain insights into how history can be changed.

Where positive theorists emphasise causal explanation critical theorists emphasise historicity. Critical theorists argue that positivism is no longer simply a theory of knowledge but has become an important new ideology in late capitalism that counsels adjustment to the everyday, which is experienced through invariant cultural and epistemological categories and is fundamentally unalterable.

The second theoretical perspective is described as phenomenological. The phenomenologist is committed to understanding social phenomena from the actor's own perspective. The researcher examines how the world is experienced and the perception of people is important (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). The thesis is located in the phenomenological qualitative, naturalistic perspective.

Qualitative designs are naturalistic in that the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the research setting. The research setting is a naturally occurring event, community, relationship or interaction that has no predetermined course established by and for the researcher, rather, the point of using qualitative methods is to understand naturally occurring phenomena in their naturally occurring states (Patton, 1990).

Gabrielian (1999) comments that qualitative research defies easy classification. It is a loose assortment of complex and interconnected concepts, terms and assumptions that crosscut disciplines, fields and subject matter and which assume different meanings in different historical contexts (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

A qualitative strategy of inquiry proposes an active, involved role for the researcher where understanding is arrived at by being on the inside of the

phenomenon to be observed. It is participation in an activity that generates interest, purpose, point of view, value, meaning and intelligibility, as well as bias (Wirth, 1949).

The qualitative perspective (which includes participant observation, depth interviewing, detailed description and case studies) specifies that it is crucial for validity and, consequently for reliability, to try to picture the empirical social world as it actually exists to those under investigation, rather than as the researcher imagines it to be (Filstead, 1970).   A qualitative inquiry strategy emphasises and builds on several interconnected themes, naturalistic inquiry, inductive analysis, direct personal contact, a holistic perspective, emphatic neutrality and design flexibility (Patton, 1990). As with all research perspectives there are weaknesses, however, in this perspective.

The weakness and problems with qualitative data are according to Miles (1983) the highly labour intensive operation of collecting and analysing the data. Miles (1983) comments that in his view the most serious and central difficulty in the use of qualitative data is that the methods of analysis are not well formulated.

As Stake (1994) points out, however, case studies (where qualitative inquiry dominates, and where there are strong naturalistic, holistic, cultural phenomenological interests) do follow a method. He states (1994 p. 242) that:

> …perhaps the simplest rule for method in qualitative case work is this: Place the best brains available into the thick of what is going on. The brain work ostensibly is observational but more basically, reflective. In

being ever reflective, the researcher is committed to pondering the
impressions, deliberating recollections and records.

Another limitation of qualitative research according to Patton (1990) is
the reduction in generalisability. Qualitative methods typically produce a
wealth of detailed information about a much smaller number of people
and cases than quantitative methods. 'This increases understanding of the
cases and situations but reduces generalisability' (Patton, 1990 p. 14).
According to Yin (1984) however, qualitative research (eg case studies)
like experiments are generalisable to theoretical propositions and not to
populations or universes. In this sense, Yin (1984) argues the case study,
like the experiment, does not represent a 'sample'. The investigator's
goal is to expand and generalise theories (analytic generalisations) and
not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalisation). Yin (1994)
states that general applicability results from the set of methodological
qualities of the case, and the rigour with which the case in constructed.
Case study satisfies the three tenets of the qualitative method: describing,
understanding and explaining.

Feagin et al (1991) comment that in spite of the fact that the case study,
for example, makes it virtually impossible to make generalisations about
the population, it has its uses. When researchers focus on a single case
they can make detailed observations over a long period of time,
something that cannot be done with large samples without a very high
cost. Because case studies allow an intense focus on social behaviour,
they are the preferred research design for those who use an interactionist
perspective (Yin, 1984).

Qualitative methods are particularly oriented toward exploration, discovery and inductive logic. An evaluation approach is inductive to the extent that the researcher attempts to make sense of the situation without imposing pre-existing expectations on the phenomenon or setting under study. Inductive analysis begins with specific observations and builds toward general patterns. Categories or dimensions of analysis emerge from open-ended observations as the researcher comes to understand program patterns that exist in the empirical world under study. Inductive analysis contrasts with the hypothetical-deductive approach of experimental designs that requires the specification of main variables and the statement of specific research hypothesis before data collection begins (Patton, 1990).

The qualitative inquiry from a critical perspective aims to describe and explain manifestations of already presumed ideological operation (Patton, 1990). Critical analysis is a research approach that has developed within the qualitative tradition. The project of critical research is not simply the empirical re-presentation of the world but the transgressive task of posing the research itself as a set of ideological practices. Empirical analysis needs to be interrogated in order to uncover the contradictions and negations embodied in any objective description. Critical researchers maintain that the meaning of an experience or an observation is not self-evident. The meaning of any experience will depend on the struggle over the interpretation and definition of that experience (Giroux, 1983; McLaren, 1986; Saleeby, 1990; Weiler, 1988).

This thesis abstracts from the statements made by ADO social workers in their documents in the ADO and to the social work profession, ADO social workers' understanding of the particular professional project. The

research seeks to ascertain ADO social workers' understanding of what constitutes professional social work practice. From this information the research seeks to determine whether ADO social workers' understanding is congruent with that expressed by professionalism or new professionalism. It is argued that professionalism and new professionalism reflect the cultural impact of different capitalist projects - industrial capitalism and late capitalism. Professionalism and new professionalism, it is argued, impact very differently on the identity, understanding and practice of professionals. In Chapters 3 and 4 a framework was developed by which the data collected on ADO social work could be analysed in terms of professionalism or new professionalism. In so far as they are ideologies professionalism and new professionalism can never fully be realised. However, the expressions of the ideologies, as the goal of different professional projects, do provide a key to the interpretation of a changing and complex reality whose symptoms can be detected and identified (Thomas & Rosenzveig, 1982).

Clarke (1979) argues that the approach of critical theory tends towards an abstract structuralism and functionalism which denies the possibility of action, and which fails to focus closely enough on the processes, contradictions and struggles involved in social work practice. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) agree that there is a tension between humanistic cultural studies stressing 'lived' experiences and more structural cultural studies projects stressing the structural and material determinants (race, class, gender) or experience. The cultural studies paradigm uses methods strategically as resources for understanding and for producing resistances to local structures of domination. In response to Clarke's criticism it is argued that what is *critical* about critical theory is precisely the idea that knowledge exists in history and can change the course of history if

appropriately applied. It is possible through the critical approach to consider the macro-micro connection of the phenomenon (Vaughan, 1992). Converse (1964 p. 206) states that:

> …belief systems have never surrendered easily to study or quantification. Indeed, they have often served as primary exhibits for the doctrine that what is important to study cannot be measured and what can be measured is not important to study.

The perspective of the thesis is orientational and qualitative with its disciplinary roots in study of professions, particularly social work, ideologies and the political economy. The central question is how is the critical ideological perspective manifest in this phenomenon? As Patton (1990) points out orientational qualitative inquiry is a legitimate and important approach to theoretical or ideological elaboration, confirmation and elucidation. What is required is that the researcher is very clear about the theoretical framework being used and the implications of that perspective on study, focus, data collection, fieldwork and analysis.

METHODOLOGY

Case Study Approach

The choice of methodology to investigate the phenomenon is based primarily on methodological appropriateness (Patton, 1990).   Schatzman and Strauss (1973) comment that a method of inquiry is adequate when its operations are logically consistent with the questions being asked. It is adequate when it adapts to the special characteristic of the thing or event being examined, and when its operations provide information, evidence,

and perspective on the questions being posed. Case studies become particularly useful where there is a need to understand some special group, or unique situation in great depth. A case study is useful where the researcher can identify cases rich in information - rich in the sense that a great deal can be learned from a few exemplars of the phenomenon in question (Patton, 1990).

The methodological approach chosen to collect the data is the qualitative explanatory case study approach. As Yin (1984 p. 17) states 'how and why' questions are more explanatory and likely to lead to the use of case studies and histories as preferred research strategies. Gabrielian (1999) states that explanatory case studies seek to explain the forces causing the phenomenon in question and to identify plausible causal networks shaping the phenomenon. The questions are what events, beliefs, attitudes and policies are shaping this phenomenon? How do these forces interact to result in the phenomenon?

According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994) the case study method relies on interviewing, observing and document analysis. The case study allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events - such as occupational, organisational and managerial processes (Yin, 1984). Case study research involves an in-depth examination of a few people, organisation or groups over time (Neuman, 1994). The general analytic strategy of this case study was to follow the theoretical proposition, of the ideological nature of professionalisation (Yin, 1984). The purpose of the case study was to show the impact of change on ADO social work understanding and practice. The theoretical orientation guides the case study analysis. In this case the group who were part of the investigation were ADO social workers. The number of

social workers varied over the period from 1957 to 1996. In 1973 there were twenty-five social workers while in 1994 there were eighty-nine, decreasing to eighty in 1996. A quantitative researcher usually gathers specific information on a great many cases (eg respondents, subjects) however by contrast, a qualitative researcher may use a case study approach, in which a large amount of information is gathered which relate to one or a few cases. The researcher goes into greater depth, and gets more detail on the case to be considered (Neuman, 1994). In a case study there are no survey techniques such as interview, questionnaires or attitude scales. Qualitative data collection techniques are used.

Yin (1984) states that the case study's unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence - documents, artefacts, interviews and observations.

From the case study approach the researcher was able to elicit the activities and understanding of ADO social workers in order to determine if these reflected the features of a particular ideology. This is a very subjective process. As Gabrielian (1999) states the most important tool of qualitative research is the researcher themself, who employs multiple methodologies and very often has multi-focused tasks. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue, human beings possess unique qualities as instruments of research. Human beings have the capacity to respond to a wide range of hints, to make often, unpredictable mental associations and references, to see the phenomenon from a holistic perspective, while detecting atypical features, to process data on spot and test out the new knowledge immediately. Strauss and Corbin (1990) define this as 'the attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn't'.

Routine ways of thinking and paradigmatic blinders can however constrain methodological flexibility and creativity by locking researchers into unconscious patterns of perception and behaviour, that disguise the biased, predetermined nature of their methods 'decisions' (Patton, 1990).

In this research the researcher was a professional social worker with almost thirty years of practice experience in the Australian government. The researcher's professional experience included post graduate study in social work and positions in the professional social work association, the AASW and the industrial union representing professionals in Australian government employment, the Professional Officer's Association (POA) later the Community Public Sector Union (CPSU). This involvement/socialisation within the profession and professional practice in the ADO 1987-1997 both assisted in data collection and understanding but is also recognised as providing particular bias to the research process.

The case study approach allows the phenomenon to be analysed using differing sources of data (mainly documentary but also observation/personal experience and interviews). The macro-micro connection of the phenomenon is also addressed by means of the case study method (Vaughan, 1992). In the case study approach, method and theory are intertwined in a process of analytic induction. As Glasser (1978), and Strauss and Corbin (1990) comment a case study tends to generalise inductively, but by a particular form, analytic induction. Generalisation are built from the ground up and offered tentatively on the basis of their ability to contain fully the data in hand. In the ideal, no variance remains unexplained (Bulmer, 1986). The case study approach permits the analysis of change. Because the case study incorporates a historical dimension it is possible to look at sequences over time, as well

as the interconnections of variables at one point in time. The analytical framework has an orientation to change and process.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

Unit of Analysis

In order to determine the 'unit of analysis' discussions were initially held with a variety of professionals in the ADO (engineers, doctors, dentists, lawyers, psychologists, social workers and military personnel). These discussions highlighted the fact that the question of change and professionalisation was an urgent and challenging question for all professionals in the organisation. It was decided, however, that to inductively consider each profession represented in the ADO as separate cases for the purpose of analysis was an extremely large undertaking. As the professional and research interest of the researcher was the impact of change on the profession of social work in the ADO, the unit of analysis subsequently chosen was the profession of social work (ie those staff employed in positions designated as requiring recognised professional social work qualifications). The research focused on ADO social workers' statements about practice and the impact of cultural change. Although ADO social workers were employed in separate social work organisations i.e. Navy, Army, Air Force and the Australian Defence Families Information and Liaison Staff (ADFILS) during the period 1957-1996 the unit of analysis was all ADO social workers. It was determined that one unit of analysis (ADO social workers and their understanding and practice of social work) allowed both the phenomenon of professionalisation and the impact of change to be addressed. In order

to enhance the analysis, however, it was decided to use a variety of methodological strategies as part of the case study.

Explanatory Strategy

As previously stated the strategy for pursuing the thesis topic was explanatory (Gabrielian, 1999). The explanatory approach seeks to explain the phenomenon under study. The process is as Marshall and Rossman (1995) comment 'to explain the forces causing the phenomenon in question and to identify plausible causal networks shaping the phenomenon'. The thesis question, therefore, was what shapes ADO social work practice – professionalism or new professionalism? Can the cultural impact be observed in ADO social workers' understanding of professional practice by analysing expressions of features of professional identity and practice?

Critical Perspective

As Yin (1984) states in most existing case studies explanation-building occurs in narrative form. Because such narratives cannot be precise, the better case studies reflect some theoretically significant propositions. In this case study the proposition is that the cultural impact of capitalism still operates albeit in a changed way. The ideological framework of the new culture of late capitalism impacts on both the nature and practice of occupations commonly known as professions. The research therefore demonstrates the continuing efficacy of the critical approach to analysis of society. This critical perspective determines the focus of the study (Patton, 1990).

Schatzman and Strauss (1973) state that if the research process can be thought of as beginning with a rough idea and ending with the publication of refined ideas, then it can be shown that similar, if not identical, processes are performed in all modes of original research. The difference is mainly in the sequence of their occurrence. In field research a re-fashioning of design goes on through most of the work.

Case Study

The process of undertaking the case study means that generalisation and observation are interdependent. As Bulmer (1982 p. 38) comments 'there is a constant interplay between the observation of realities and the formation of concepts, between research and theorising, between perception and explanation'.

The initial difficulty in the research was to determine the extent to which the phenomenon of ideology should be studied. The dilemma was whether to study many questions in less depth or to focus on a few questions in depth (Patton, 1990). This is what Guba (1978) refers to as 'the boundary problem' in naturalistic inquiry. As the data from the fieldwork was amassed and was interpreted a decision was made to develop a framework addressing various aspects of the operationalisation of the ideologies in professional practice and understanding. This provided some boundary around the emerging questions and continuing data collection. While the research investigates ADO social work practice no details of social work cases or information about particular cases are used as part of the analysis. While the researcher, as a practising social worker in the ADO, undertook social work practice and supervised social work practitioners, confidentiality and security issues

were deemed critical to continuing service delivery. The researcher therefore decided that information from cases would not be used as data. Some data however was obtained from service users as reported in public submissions and reports by user organisations to reviews of social work (Pratt, 1994). The research was not focused on obtaining users' appreciation of professionalism and new professionalism.

As Neuman (1994) comments with a loosely formulated idea for a topic and a social group and site for study selected, the field research proceeds by observation, note taking and writing. What is observed is considered and ideas are refined and focused. As stated previously, this was the process undertaken in this research. The research focused on ADO social work from 1957 to 1996. Social work journals of the period were reviewed together with social work texts written in the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s and used in Australian schools of Social Work and by Australian social workers. The aim was to understand the debate within social work on professionalism and new professionalism to determine the impact of professionalism and new professionalism on social work identity and practice in Australia. Journals and texts were mainly from the UK, USA and Australia although social work practice and discussion from European, Middle Eastern, and Asian countries were also reviewed. The researcher attended the Australian Association of Social Workers (AASW) Biennial Conferences, the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) AASW annual conferences, the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) International Social Work Conferences 1994-2000 as part of dialogue with social workers on change and social work practice.

The literature review, which proceeded simultaneously with the field work and data collection, was used to focus the study. The aim of such

an approach was to enable a creative interplay among the process of data collection, literature review and research introspection (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Reports on professions and change, professions and crisis were critiqued. Newspaper articles criticising professions and professionals were also critiqued. Because social workers in Australia were generally employed in the government sector, Australian public sector reforms (Commonwealth, State and Local government) were of particular interest and literature on the reforms was reviewed. It was anticipated that social work practice would continue to be impacted by reforms and this would require social workers to adapt their practice approaches in some way (Smyth & Cass, 1998). Through this useful but time consuming approach a large amount of data was collected. The study of 'professions' is a broad area of research and research into professionalism and new professionalism was located in the literature of particular professions, as well as labour studies, organisational studies, management studies and studies in the field of expert knowledge and its control.

Through the broad literature review a large volume of literature critically analysing professions, together with continuous public complaint about unaccountable and incompetent professionals in the Australian press throughout the 1990s directed the study to the question of the impact of professionalism and new professionalism and their relationship to social change.

From a critical review of the literature it was discerned that the ideological control of a changing culture was significant with respect to a change to understanding of 'profession' and professional practice. A critical analysis of research on the practice and understanding of

professionals attempting to develop their professional identity and practice to address the technological, economic, social and political changes revealed the cultural impact of new professionalism. While a wide variety of professions were critiqued because the thesis is concerned with social work practice the literature review focused on social worker's response to change. From this critical analysis the researcher articulated the features of new professionalism. The features of new professionalism have a resonance with other professionals (social work, engineering, medical, academic) and further analysis and consideration of the impact of the dominant culture on professional groups will be helpful as professionals seek to address the impact of changing power structures and oppression in society.

Considerable attention was given to the presentation of the case study findings because of the large amount of material, which was part of the case study. According to Yin (1984) the single narrative is often used to describe and analyse the case. While this was an option the desire to highlight the operationalisation of ideology in ADO social work professionalisation and to assist emancipatory action the case study presentation focused on the professionalisation project ie the illustration of the features of professionalism and new professionalism in social work documents, statements and practices. Instead of following the traditional narrative therefore the case is presented in terms of the features of professionalism and new professionalism (Yin, 1984).

Data Collection

As part of the case study, data was collected on the relations and actions of ADO social workers with regard to their professional identity and

practice. Social workers have been employed in Defence since 1957. They have only been employed in one organisational structure, the Defence Community Organisation (DCO) within the ADO since 1996 and were at the time of the research undergoing organisational restructuring. From 1957 until 1995 the Royal Australian Navy employed social workers. In 1973 the Royal Australian Army first employed social workers. The Headquarters of the Australian Defence Force (HQADF) and the Royal Australian Air Force first employed social workers in 1987. The four social work organisations in the ADO provided social work assistance to the relevant organisation and clients eg ADO social workers in Army Community Services (ACS) undertook social work practice with Army personnel and their families.

The research took both a historical approach with regard to the impact of professionalism and new professionalism on ADO social work and a participatory observation approach to contemporary changes (Brannon, 1994).

Punch (1994) states that qualitative research employs a host of techniques for collecting and analysing data. Three are central - observation, interviewing and documentary analysis (Patton, 1990). Observations, conversation and documentary analysis were used to collect data for the case study. However the observation and conversations related to the period 1995-1996 only and while informing the case were not the focus of detailed analysis.

Observation

As Marshall and Rossman (1995) comment observation entails 'the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviours and artefacts (objects) in the social setting for study'. Observation proceeds in two stages (1) unfocused and description; and (2) focused, when the research question becomes clearer (Adler & Adler, 1994; Jorgensen, 1989).

The data from the observations consists of detailed descriptions of people's activities and behaviours and organisational processes (Patton, 1990). As Jorgensen (1989) comments participant observation focuses on human interaction and meaning viewed from the insider's view point in everyday life situations and settings. The methodology of participant observation involves a flexible, open-ended, opportunistic process and logic of inquiry through which what is studied is subject to redefinition based on field experience and observations. Participant observation generally is practised as a form of case study that concentrates on in-depth description and analysis of some phenomenon and phenomena. Participation is a strategy for gaining access to otherwise inaccessible dimensions of human life and experience. Direct observation and experience are primary forms and methods of data collection, but the researcher also may conduct interviews, collect documents and use other methods of gathering information.

Peile and McCouat (1997) advocate for action and participatory research methods in the critical approach.

With regard to ADO social work practice the researcher was a participant-observer. As Yin (1984) comments participant-observation is

a special mode of observation in which the investigator is not merely a passive observer but may take a variety of roles within a case study situation and may actually participate in the events being studied.

Participant observation provides certain unusual opportunities for collecting case study data, but it also involves major problems. The most distinctive opportunity is related to the investigator's ability to gain access to events or groups that are otherwise inaccessible to scientific investigation. The other distinctive opportunity is the ability to perceive reality from the viewpoint of someone 'inside' the case study rather than external to it. According to Yin (1984) many have argued that such a perspective is invaluable in producing an 'accurate' portrayal of a case study phenomenon.

Participant observation is the most comprehensive of all types of research strategies according to Becker and Greer (1970 p. 133). They argue that the 'most complete form of the sociological datum, after all, is the form in which the participant observer gathers it'.   Datum such as an observation of social event, the events which preceded and follow it, and explanations of its meaning by participants and spectators, before, during and after its occurrence, gives us more information about the event under study than data gathered by any other sociological method.

As Patton (1990) states the purpose of observational analysis is to take the reader into the setting that is observed. The data must be sufficiently descriptive that the reader can understand what occurred and how it occurred.

The researcher, as the senior social worker in Defence working in the ADFILS organisation as Deputy Director Operations 1987-1996, and as the Director of Social Work in the DCO in 1996 had opportunity to observe and participate in the changing cultural impact on ADO social work practice.

Data and observations were recorded in a diary together with written material, which reflected the social worker's professionalisation project. Reports of meetings of social workers on the change issues were also recorded.

The major problems related to participant-observation relate to the potential biases produced (see Becker, 1958). Some of the problems such as the participant role requiring too much attention relative to the observer role were overcome by the researcher undertaking periods of leave without pay from the ADO social work position. This enabled the researcher to maintain contact with social workers in the organisation, participate in activities affecting social work in the ADO (industrial), at the same time releasing the researcher from the supervisory and managerial responsibilities of the senior social work position. The periods of leave were annual holidays of 4 weeks, leave without pay for eighteen months and long service leave 4 months. Every attempt in the research was also made to articulate the researcher's position and assumptions.

Critical research is not aimed at finding whether certain things influence behaviour but rather understanding what causes the behaviour - what are the existing structures that shape behaviour (historical realism) and change these (Gabrielian, 1999). According to Gabrielian (1999) the change is achieved through a dialogue between the investigator and the

participants, which helps to educate the participants (professionals) so that they are informed about the impact of ideology and can work toward transforming those understandings, structures and practices which are oppressive. The researcher participated with social workers in the ADO in discussing practice and the impact of change on social work practice. During the research i.e. in 1997 the researcher moved from the social work area in Defence into a position with responsibility for civilian personnel. This meant that the continuing dialogue with social workers with respect to practice and change was more limited.

Conversations

The researcher, the Senior Social Worker in the ADO 1995-1996 had conversations with ADO social workers during 1995-1996. Notes of these conversations were recorded as records of conversation in the thesis diary and informed the 'case'. The case analysis focused on the documentary data, which was publicly available. The discussions and conversations between the researcher and ADO social workers on ADO social work related to the need to accommodate organisational reforms, the direction of change and the dilemmas of undertaken professional practice in a period of change. The information from conversations together with information from the literature and broader discussions in the social work profession was reviewed as part of the development of the framework for analysis. The issues raised by the conversations and participation in discussions within social work were recorded as part of the thesis diary. The discussions and conversations with all ADO social workers helped inform both the questions and interrogation of the documentary data.

Documents

The researcher analysed documentary and historical data produced by ADO social workers. ADO social workers developed handbooks, reports and statement about ADO social work identity and practice throughout the period of the case. The documentary data provided an understanding of the professional project pursued by ADO social workers.

Patton (1990) comments that document analysis in qualitative inquiry yields excerpts, quotations or entire passages from organisational, clinical or program records, memoranda and correspondence, official publications and reports and personal diaries. Hodder (1994) calls data gathering of written texts the collection of - 'mute evidence'. Data for the thesis was gathered from a wide variety of documentary sources and this data formed the basis of the analysis. The ADO held all documents accessed. Some reports, academic thesis and speeches are also located in Australian University collections, Commonwealth government departments and the records of the Community and Public Sector Union (CPSU). The analysis focused on the documentary evidence. This focus ensured that the impact of the researcher on responses was greatly reduced. There was also commonality in the data throughout the period i.e. interviews could only be held with more recently employed social workers whereas documents existed which covered the entire history of social work in the ADO until 1996. The documents provided evidence of the professionalising project over the period. The documentary sources were selected as the basis of the analysis as the documents reflected the public statement of ADO social workers to the ADO, the professional community and clients and customers. Documents written by social

workers gave information about their professional status, practice and socialisation and provided evidence of their understandings and actions in terms of professionalisation.

ADO social workers have provided professional services to ADO Members and their families since 1957. The long history of social work services is recorded in documents relating to the service, including reports on the need for social work services, papers relating to the work value of social work services, and reports and papers relating to the re-organisation of social work services. The data was collected from ADO records held by the Defence Library and contained in Departmental files.

Data was taken from documents, which include:
- Defence documents
- Defence reports
- Defence studies
- Defence social work practice manuals and handbooks
- Histories of social work practice in the ADO
- Reviews of ADO social work

The sources of the data were the ADO (Navy, Army, Air Force and Defence) the AASW, the CPSU (Professional Division), the Department of Workplace Relations and Small Business, the AASW, and professional social work journals.

Data Collection and Recording

The goal of the case study was to be able to analyse the data by building an explanation about the case.

To ensure that the construct validity and reliability of the case study were achieved the researcher followed three principles of data collection outlined by Yin (1984 p. 89-97). These principles included using multiple sources of evidence, creating a case study database, and maintaining a chain of evidence.

One of the major strengths of case study data collection as previously explained is the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence. The opportunity to use multiple sources of evidence far exceeds that in other research strategies such as experiments, surveys or histories (Yin, 1984). Included in the data in this thesis are the literature reviews and records of discussion and participation with those who research in the social work field. The use of multiple sources of evidence in the case study allowed the researcher to address a broad range of historical, attitudinal and observational issues.

The most important advantage presented by using multiple sources of evidence was the development of converging lines of inquiry.

It was argued that the finding or conclusion in this case study is more accurate because it is based on several different sources of information following a corroboratory mode. The multiple sources of evidence essentially provided multiple measures of the same phenomenon (Yin, Baterman, & Moore, 1983).

The case study material was selected on the basis that it reflected ADO social workers' understanding of professional practice. The case study notes which are a result of the researcher's conversations, observations, document analysis and literature review are handwritten assembled on

index cards with cross reference to a separate document/source system. The notes were stored in such a manner that they can be efficiently retrieved. From the case study notes those from documentary evidence were analysed. A bibliography of the documents was prepared so that case study notes could be cross-referenced to the relevant document or source.

To ensure that a chain of evidence was evident in the report of the analysis specific documents, correspondence and comments are cited in the thesis bibliography. By quoting ADO social workers readers can identify the way the evidence was used to explain the thesis findings.

The documentary data collected was assessed as to whether the statements and practices of ADO social workers reflected professionalism or new professionalism. The categorisation was done on the basis of the explanation of the features of professionalism and new professionalism provided in the framework outlined in Chapters 3 and 4.   The question used to categorise the data was - whether the expression of practice or statement of social work identity or practice could be categorised as being informed by professionalism or new professionalism?

Professionalism and new professionalism are 'ideal' types and the various features within professionalism and new professionalism are related to each other as part of the ideological expression. It was difficult to clearly categorise the data into the six features. For example in terms of 'professionalism', the professional is understood to hold knowledge and skills that are specialised and unique, and professional prestige is based on colleague evaluation of knowledge and skills. Statements that indicated that ADO social workers perceived expert knowledge and skill

to be part of the professional project were noted in 'knowledge and skills' in the framework. However 'peer evaluation', as part of the professionalisation project is understood to be part of accountability in terms of professionalism so that the evidence can also be included in 'accountability'.

Initially the data was duplicated so that it could be included under different headings within the framework. This became very repetitious. As ideology is an expression of the understanding of the world it cannot effectively be expressed as separate and distinct forms of operationalised behaviour. The features were separated for analytical purpose only. While many ADO social workers' statements fitted into a number of the understandings which, were anticipated in professionalism or new professionalism each statement was eventually placed in only one feature. As Kincheloe and McLaren (1994) point out what we call information always involves an act of human judgment and from a critical perspective this act of judgment is an interpretative act.

Data was analysed in terms of the operationalisation of professionalism and new professionalism with regard to the social worker/client relationship, social work values, practice, boundaries, norms, authority, status, accountability and knowledge and skills.

Critical researchers understand that ideologies are not simply deceptive and imaginary mental relations that individuals and groups live out relative to their material conditions of existence, but are also very much inscribed in the materiality of social and institutions practices (Kincheloe, 1993). As Horkheimer (1972) argues critical theory and research are never satisfied with merely increasing knowledge (see also Giroux, 1983,

1988; Quantz, 1992).   The source of emancipatory action involves the researcher's ability to expose the contradictions of the world of appearances accepted by the dominant culture as natural and inviolable (Giroux, 1983; Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994; McLaren, 1989). Critical research can be best understood in the context of the empowerment of individuals. Inquiry that aspires to the name critical must be connected to an attempt to confront the injustice of a particular society or sphere within the society. 'Research thus becomes a transformative endeavour unembarrassed by the label "political"' (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994). The data collected demonstrated the nature of ideological control of social work and the fact that the current challenge to professionalism experienced by social workers is also driven by the ideologies of the capitalist project.

It is anticipated that by understanding the changing professional project ADO social workers will be assisted in addressing new professionalism within the cultural context of late capitalism. This is viewed as the first step in developing emancipatory approaches to working with ADO Members and their families in the 'reformed' environment. ADO social workers have in the past with regard to their professionalisation project sought to 'unmask' the oppressive nature of the dominant culture in order to transform both practice and society. This is a continuing process in the reformed environment.

VALIDITY

In qualitative inquiry the researcher is the instrument. Validity in qualitative methods, therefore, hinges to a great extent on the skill,

competence, and rigour of the person doing fieldwork (Patton, 1990). As the naturalistic inquirer is the instrument, shifts in knowledge, and cooptation as well as variations resulting from differences in training, skill and experience among different 'instruments' easily occur. But Guba and Lincoln (1994) argue that this loss in rigour is more than offset by the flexibility, insight, and ability to build on tacit knowledge that is the peculiar province of the human instrument.

To maximise the validity of the research a combination of data types were used. While each type and source of data had strengths and weaknesses e.g. observations, histories, documents by using a combination of data types validity was increased as the strengths of one approach can compensate for the weaknesses of another approach (Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Patton, 1990).

Validity in critical research means much more than the traditional definitions of internal and external validity usually associated with the concept. According to Anderson (1989), Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Reinharz (1979) trustworthiness is a more appropriate word to use in the context of critical research. One criterion for critical trustworthiness according to Kincheloe and McLaren (1994) involves the credibility of portrayals of constructed realities.

Lather (1991) introduces the notion of catalytic validity which points to the degree to which research moves those it studies to understand the world and the way it is shaped in order for them to transform it. Research that possesses catalytic validity will not only display the reality-altering impact on the inquiry process; it will also direct this impact so that those under study will gain self-understanding and self-direction.

As Peile and McCouat (1997) comment knowledge for the critical theorist grows out of action and is tested in action.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Social work involvement with particular individual cases is not analysed as part of this thesis. ADO social workers' statements about their practice process in documents are the source of information on social work practice.

ADO social workers employed between 1994 and 1996 were aware of the research being undertaken. The topic was expressed as professions and change, the case of social work in the ADO and professionals' response to change. The researcher's position in the DCO was undertaken by social work colleagues during periods of leave from the ADO to undertake the research. The ADO approved the research and the research was supported through the Defence Studybank Program.

CONCLUSION

This chapter provided details of the methodological approach taken to collect and analyse data for the case of ADO social work. A variety of methodological issues were considered and the rationale for the critical analytical case study provided.

The data collection and analytic process were explained. A variety of approaches and techniques suggested by authors such as Denzin and

Lincoln (1994), Yin (1984) and Patton (1990) were established as part of the methodological approach.

Chapter 6 analyses the findings of the case study particularly with regard to the impact of professionalism. It was anticipated that from 1957 to the mid 1980s that the professional project for ADO social work would be professionalism and the data would reflect this. The findings are reported in terms of the six features of professionalism articulate in Chapter 3.

6. PROFESSIONALISM AND SOCIAL WORK IN THE AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE ORGANISATION

INTRODUCTION

T his chapter discusses the findings of the analysis of the impact of professionalism on ADO social work. It is argued that ADO social workers built their professional practice in terms of professionalism during the period 1957 to 1996. The analysis of data confirms the view of O'Connor et al (1995) who state that social work has long been preoccupied with its professional status - its 'professionalism'.

Professionalism provides the norms by which practice boundaries, occupational activity, occupational and practitioner accountability and knowledge and skills are defined. The question was asked. Are these norms of professionalism reflected in ADO social work?

Professionalism impacts on professionals' understanding of:
- the relationship between professional and client;
- the values and practices of the occupational group;
- the practice boundaries of the occupational group;
- the nature of autonomy and status of members of the occupational group;
- the accountability mechanisms for the occupational group;
- the code of ethics; and
- the knowledge and skill of members of the occupation.

The analysis considered whether professionalism impacted on the professional relationship, values, practice, practice boundaries, occupational norms, accountability and knowledge and skill. The data from the case of social work in the ADO were analysed in terms of these various aspects of professionalism and the discussion is correspondingly presented in this chapter under these aspects. For example, with regard to 'relationship' the discussion is presented under four headings: fiduciary relationship based on trust; confidentiality of the professional relationship; independence of the professional; fiduciary relationship – diagnostic relationship; professional relationship and professional service. These reflect the features of professionalism considered in the analysis. The framework for the discussion follows the framework below.

ADO SOCIAL WORK

Relationship	Fiduciary, confidential, independent, diagnostic, service
Values and practice	Homogenous and generic
Practice Boundaries	Boundaries, monopoly and socialisation - professional association
Autonomy and status	Shared, equal, continuous professional identity and lengthy professional training
Accountability	Code of ethics and professional supervision
Knowledge and skill	Unique, esoteric, professional wisdom and colleague reference

The various expressions of professionalism are not discreet entities but are in fact interrelated beliefs or understandings of the professional project. By being articulated as separate components they provide a

structure whereby social workers' statements about their practice and identity can be evaluated. A judgment was made in terms of the descriptions of the particular feature of professionalism as to whether the evidence of social workers' identity and practice demonstrated the ideological control of professionalism.

ADO SOCIAL WORK - FIDUCIARY RELATIONSHIP

Fiduciary Relationship Based on Trust

In terms of professionalism, a professional relationship between the professional and the client is fiduciary in nature. The client trusts the professional. The professional provides the professional service through the professional process. The professional process in social work practice includes referral, making assessments, planning an intervention, implementing a plan of action, terminating an intervention and evaluating it.

Because of the importance of the professional relationship, its confidential, diagnostic nature and the professional's independence and authority in ADO social work, social work supervisors regularly encouraged social workers to focus on establishing fiduciary social work relationships with members and their families as part of quality professional practice.

The Naval Social Work Manual (1993 p. 38), for example, in a section on clientele states:

> Contact with spouses and families of origin should be encouraged. It is in this way that many problems are detected at an early stage and deterioration in social functioning prevented. Furthermore, through these contacts, the Naval Social Worker can create helpful relationships with spouses and families so that reference will be made to Social Workers on future occasions.

The principal social worker as evidenced in the excerpt encouraged social work colleagues to establish fiduciary relationships. In social work practice trust between social worker and client is necessary if social work intervention is to be effective.

The professional relationship, controlled by professionalism is one where the client contacts the professional for help with a problem. It is the professional however who terminates the relationship when they determine the intervention is complete. Social workers determined the nature and extent of social work assistance to a client or clients. They reported on activity in terms of new, continuing and closed cases and community work activities. The social worker determined when a case was 'closed' or social work involvement was no longer required. For ADO social workers decisions to terminate a 'case' or 'social work involvement' were made in terms of their understanding of social work practice and intervention.

As professionals, social workers were responsible for decisions with regard to the nature and extent of social work assistance. Hugman (1991) points out that while professions are constructed in relation to service users, they are based around an exclusion of the latter in a way which reinforces both the professional self image as 'competent' and the image of the service user as 'needy'.

In order for help to be given, the confidentiality of the relationship must be assured.

Confidentiality of the Pofessional Relationship

Confidentiality is an important aspect of a fiduciary relationship. As Johnson (1995) comments the relationship between the professional social worker and the client is critical to the outcome of the encounter so that all exchange between the client and the social worker 'is to be treated with utmost confidentiality'. Confidentiality in the social work relationship is central to all of social work practice (Biestek, 1961; Brennan & Parker, 1966; Compton & Galaway, 1994; Germain & Gitterman, 1980; Keith-Lucas, 1972; Lindenthal, Jordan, Lentz, & Claudewell, 1988; O'Connor et al., 1995; Perlman, 1956; Pincus & Minahan, 1973).

ADO social workers understood the relationship between themselves as the professionals and clients to be critical to the outcome of the encounter so it was continually argued that all exchanges between the client and the social workers were to be treated with utmost confidentiality (Johnson, 1995). The 'confidential' nature of social work relationships was stressed in ADO in publications informing ADF Members and families of the social work service, ADO social work interviews with clients, in community development activities and in ADO social work manuals of practice. The Naval Social Work Manual (1993 p. 20) comments:

> The Naval Social Work Service while administratively linked to and
> located in the Personal Services Organisation is a discrete service in itself.
> Referrals to the service whether self referrals or from the various Naval

Commands are for the purpose of receiving a social work service. Because the service is firmly grounded in the knowledge and ethics of the profession of social work, social work clients have to be guaranteed the highest levels of confidentiality and be provided with a quality service. Hence the professional social work structure is to be discrete and separate from the Personal Service Organisation administrative activities. 'All Naval Social work is highly confidential and stress has been laid in ANO (Australian Naval Order) 190/73 paragraph 76 on the confidential nature of reports.

The Program Evaluation and Review (PER) of the DCO undertaken by the Defence Inspector-General Division (Defence Inspector-General, 1999) commented on the importance of confidentiality for ADO social workers and stated that the majority of social work staff hold the view that:

…confidentiality is integral to their relationship. Clients, particularly serving members, are in the most cases 'self-referral' and are assured by social workers of confidentiality from the Command chain. Social workers saw themselves as acting according to the Standards of Practice of the AASW. The Code of Ethics 1998 Section 4.4 provides that the social worker must inform clients fully about the limits of confidentiality/privacy in any given situation, the purpose for which information is obtained and how it may be used.

The requirement for a confidential relationship had implications for ADO social work practice in terms of the need for confidential interviewing accommodation, procedures for preparing and forwarding social work reports and for filing social work notes and case files.

ADO social workers' concern for confidentiality with regard to professional social work support for members and their families meant

very strict guidelines were introduced to ensure that social work reports were 'confidential' and remained so. For example, the RAAF Director of Social Work (RAAF Directorate of Social Work Services, 1989a, 1991) states in the social workers' professional manuals:

> Reports raised by social workers may be marked "Social-Work-In-Confidence' or 'Staff-in-Confidence'. Access to reports marked 'Social-Work-In-Confidence' is restricted to professional members of the Directorate of Social Worker Services - Air Force. These reports may be forwarded with appropriate markings between Social Work Sections or the Director of Social Work Services - Air Force. With permission of the member, information contained in reports marked 'Social Work-In-Confidence' may be interpreted by a social worker to Service management. Social work reports on members and or their families for release to other RAAF Personnel areas should bear the privacy marking 'Staff-in- Confidence' with access on a need to know basis only.

Because of the importance of confidentiality in establishing a trusting relationship within which professional social work could take place, social workers argued and lobbied for confidential accommodation to interview clients. In November 1993 ADO social workers in Army Community Services (ACS) locations and co-located Service situations became increasingly concerned about the problem of confidentiality of client's situations. Social workers reported that there was often no provision for confidential accommodation for interviewing clients. The perception by Service and Administration staff was that clients could discuss their personal problems in an open plan environment seated with the social worker at a work station. It was stated that 'ACS staff (military) were involved with people with problems all of the time'. The comment reflects ACS staff's view that everyone in the ACS should have

access to all information about personnel and their problems. 'Because Members and problems were an ACS concern no staff member would be shocked or concerned about any problem, behaviour or statement which they may see or overhear'. Social workers were not, however, concerned that staff would be shocked about the case but were concerned for the 'confidentiality' of the professional social work/client relationship.

ADO social workers perceiving the professional relationship to be the significant aspect in professional practice argued for confidential interviewing facilities and made arrangements with clients to interview and meet in confidential situations.

Thompson (1986) comments that although social workers are formally part of the system, they operate in a virtually independent manner keeping separate and confidential files on particular clients which are not normally made available to the military administration. ADO social workers maintained confidential social work case and community work files. ADO social work reports were, in accordance with professional practice as outlined in the relevant social work manuals provided to Command not to the client (Naval Social work Manual 1976 refers).

It appears from the data (social work reports, social work conference reports, records of meetings and community work reports) that confidentiality was also a very important issue for Defence members and their families. As Hamilton (1986) reported while Members and their families sought professional social work assistance for a wide variety of problems there were those who were loath to contact ADO social workers because of concern that the contact would appear on their Service record. Members' concerns it appears further reinforced ADO social workers'

claims that in order to undertake professional practice their social work relationships with clients should be 'confidential'. As Collingridge et al (2001 p. 9) comment clients desire a *very high* level of confidentiality when they require airtight guarantees that the unsolved problems will not be disclosed.

Nicol (1988 p. 7) in a paper on the review of Defence Instruction Navy PERS 90-2 (1988 p. 7) comments:

> Whenever a member or a dependant wishes to discuss a general situation or specific problem with a Naval Social Worker such a person is to be assured that all consultations are confidential. No official record needs to be kept of the contact if so desired by the person involved. However, should a report back to the Divisional system be required for administrative purposes, the Member will be acquainted with this information by the Naval social worker and confidentiality aspects discussed. Moreover, to preserve the confidential nature of Social Workers' reports Commanding Officers are to ensure that they are handled only by those officers directly concerned.

But confidentiality was also a much-debated topic between ADO social workers and within the social work profession particularly with regard to social workers' responsibilities to the organisation and the wider community (Collingridge et al., 2001). The Naval Social Work Manual (Naval Social Work, 1993 p.30) gives an indication of the difficulties that social workers confronted.

> The military probably presents the most extreme example of the conflict in society between the right of privacy of the individual and their obligations to the organisation to which the member and the Naval Social Worker both belong. The Naval Social Worker needs to be aware that any

information that is attached to a sailor's personal file will remain there for the remainder of his career. It is not inconceivable that negative information, despite having been obtained years before could be used to substantiate a more current problem:

- to guard against invasion of privacy in a system which affords its members very little and which sometimes fails to make a distinction between a member and his family;
- to be aware that it is not possible to provide an absolute guarantee of confidentiality. This means that information may be shared in both written and oral form within the Command. It also means that the Navy can ultimately demand access to case records. Finally under the Freedom of Information (FOI) legislation, Naval Social Work records do not figure as having any particular protection of exemption;
- to obtain informed consent;
- to respect the individual's right to know assessment recommendations;
- to conscientiously impose time limitations on information held. This may mean the destruction of old files in line with departmental archival regulations; and
- to treat all clients and colleagues with the same degree of respect and consideration.

The AASW Code of Ethics (Australian Association of Social Workers, 1988) significant in terms of ADO social workers' professional accountability states:

The Social Worker will respect the confidentiality of information obtained in the course of professional service. The social worker will not share confidences revealed by clients without their consent except when compelling moral or ethical reasons exist.

Social workers claimed that professional, ethical, social work practice demanded that the client always be informed and counselled when confidential information was to be forwarded to a relevant authority. However, the Section Head in the ACS, a military officer, viewed the relationship of the Member to the ADF from a different professional perspective. The ACS Operations Manual 1992 (Army Community Services, 1992) for example states that:

> Client contact and association with the ACS is handled 'welfare-in-confidence' at all times even after a case is closed. This does not preclude consultation with a member's unit and other relevant welfare agencies. As a general rule this would be done with the client's approval. However, on occasions there will be a requirement to pass on confidential information with or without the client's approval or knowledge eg drug abuse, child sexual abuse, life threatening situations etc. When the client does not give approval to divulge confidential information it is at the discretion of the section head after consultation with the social worker as to what information can be passed on.

ADO social workers raised their concerns that clients would not be informed that 'confidential information' had been forwarded to another authority. Social workers, in terms of their ethical practice process informed their clients of such action in accordance with the AASW Code of Ethics (ADFILS NT, 1994). The issue of confidentiality was a matter of discussion on many occasions between ADO social workers and Army. Social workers also raised their concerns in the industrial arena at the time of the creation of the DCO in 1994 -1995. Social workers working for Army argued for professional social work supervision and salary increases. They argued that the nature of social work (confidential

client/social work relationship) meant that they were required to accept high levels of responsibility for decisions about diagnosis and action.

With regard to the social worker/client relationship therefore the understanding that the relationship is a confidential one is understood to encourage trust. The other aspect of professionalism is that the relationship undergirded by trust and confidentiality must also be one where the professional is independent.

Independence of the Professional

In terms of professionalism the professional must be an 'independent' agent in the professional relationship (Payne, 1991).

ADO social workers understood that in order to undertake their practice they required autonomy, the ability to act as independent agents in their relationships with clients in order to undertake the social work process.

ADO social workers expressed the view in case conferences, social work conferences, supervision and discussions with the Deputy Director Operations/Director of Social Work (DDOPS/DSW) that they were in situations where they had to take action to be clear that their professional practice was based on their independent assessment of problems. They had to resist directions from Commanders and others (including clients) as to how a problem should be solved. In referring a Member to the social worker for assistance the person who made the referral often prescribed the action the social worker should take. For the social worker a direction to implement a solution to a problem assumed that the individual referring the case for social work assistance had already made

an assessment. ADO social workers maintained that it was the social worker's professional responsibility to make assessments and undertake appropriate interventions (Middlehurst & Kennie, 1997).

Command often challenged the independence of the social worker and the social worker's authority to insist on their professional view. A Naval social worker in a paper in 1990 entitled "Social Work in One Isolated Setting the RAN - Strategies to improve Social Work practice" (Navy Social Worker, 1990 p. 3) writing for colleagues states that social workers should:

> Defend and articulate your role - others may try to superimpose a role on you; that is, Naval administration may expect the social worker to carry out duties that the social worker considers inappropriate. This does not mean refusal to do 'welfare type' work when there is no one else to do it, discretion is needed, some self assertion is needed.

Command and those from other professions within the ADO when making referrals, from time to time provided a plan for action, which they expected the social worker to execute. Generally as discussed above ADO social workers acknowledged these suggestions and then proceeded with their own assessment and intervention in terms of their professional practice. ADO social workers reinforced their professional independence in terms of their understanding of their identity, knowledge and skills and professional authority (ACS ACT/DDOPS Meeting June 1991). ADO social workers, therefore in terms of professionalism, followed their professional process in making the decisions about interventions (Naval Social Work, 1976; Payne, 1991).

Conflict emerged between ADO social workers and other ADO professionals from time to time because of the social workers' understanding that they were independent professional practitioners and that they were responsible for their professional practice. For example, conflict between medical officers and social workers flared because medical officers understood that they had authority to assess social situations and to direct social workers to implement their directives. The social workers, however, took referrals from medical officers and then proceeded to gather information to make a diagnosis of the social situation before implementing the appropriate social work interventions. Medical officers, however, issued orders that social workers were not to consult other professionals on case matters.   The medical officers held the view that social workers would 'do as instructed'. The principal social worker represented the social workers' concerns to Command and after many meetings and minutes, an Australian Naval Order was issued on 1 February 1968 p.3. The Australian Naval Order entitled "Medical Officers and Social Workers - Co-operation" reinforces the social workers' authority to discuss and obtain information in order to undertake professional social work practice. The Naval Order (Naval Board, 1968) states:

> In dealing with applications for compassionate leave and with the
> domestic problems of married personnel it is recognised that in many
> instances the Service aspects and the domestic situations are inter-related.
> Consequently there is a need for the fullest co-operation between Naval
> Social Workers, Naval Medical Officers and Naval Consultant
> Psychiatrists. Naval Social Workers are to be given every opportunity to
> confer freely with medical officers and consultants, if necessary.

Social Workers also objected strongly to the practice, particularly within Army, of senior military personnel vetting or rewriting social work reports.

The Social Work Delegate (Social Work Delegate Department of Defence, 1995) in a report to the Director General DCO on 7 December 1995 states:

> It has become a common practice in ACS offices for the Senior Military Officer to vet, and in some cases alter the reports written by the social worker. There is no difficulty with an officer disagreeing with the social work report or in putting in a contradictory report. But professional practice and integrity must demand that the professional report remain as written and be passed on without alteration to the relevant authority requesting the report.

The supervision of, and involvement in, ADO social work professional practice issues by military members were not only of concern to social workers working for Army. The Principal Social Worker Navy in a Minute to the Deputy Chief Naval Personnel on 6 October 1965 states:

> …the amount of interference and supervision by the Navy Authority of social workers is unacceptable and in its present form violates social work's standards of social work practice (Principal Social Worker Navy, 1965a)

Not only did ADO social workers take action to address the military's involvement in their professional practice but social workers also challenged directions that access to professional social worker services was by Command referral. In terms of professionalism ADO social

workers resisted this, maintaining that it is the client who contacts the professional for assistance. In some instances a referral by Command or other person was appropriate but any Member or their family should, it was strongly asserted, be able to contact the social worker service directly.

While the right of the client to contact the social work service directly as part of the military organisation, ADO guidelines were provided to Members in Defence Instructions on how members were to access all services including social work services. The Director of Naval Personal Services (1992) Divisional Handbook Navy referring to the Defence Instruction (Navy) PERS 90-2 (Navy, 1990) states:

> The role and functions of the Naval Social Worker (NSW) are
> contained in the Reference; however, proper procedures must
> be followed when requesting their assistance.

The procedures required the Member seek social work assistance through their Divisional Officer. The Defence Instruction (Navy) PERS 90-2 continues:

> In cases where a Divisional Officer decides a Navy Social Worker's report
> is needed to support a compassionate or welfare related problem the
> Divisional Officer is immediately to advise the Commanding Officer by
> way of a Divisional Officer's report of the problem and proposed remedy.

While the above was ADO policy social workers encouraged members and their families to contact the social work service directly. Social workers perceived themselves to be independent practitioners able to operate autonomously with regard to professional decisions. In a paper

on 'Social Work and Family Life in the RAN' (1965b) the Principal Navy Social Worker states that 'any member or his/her family could contact the social worker directly. Social workers could see people in the office, at their home or at other appropriate places by arrangement'. In terms of professionalism there was an assumption by social workers that families and personnel would contact them directly for social work assistance. The professional literature and social work colleagues supported this understanding as appropriate professional practice (Cohen, 1985; O'Connor et al., 1995).

The Naval Social Work Manual (Department of Navy, 1976) states that:

> Wives and families are free to contact Naval Social Workers without reference to any authority, and it is important that this freedom of contact should be preserved and encouraged. It is in this way that many problems are detected at an early stage and prevented from getting worse.

ADO social workers advocated through a variety of channels for Members and families to have direct access to social work assistance. In the Handbook on Personnel Information Navy (1988) Members are advised that they can contact Naval Social Workers directly. For example The Personnel Information Handbook Navy (1988 p. 3) advises that:

> Members and their families may approach the Naval Social Workers directly for advice and assistance. If the matters discussed require official action, then the member must make an appropriate request through the Divisional officer.

In terms of professionalism therefore the professional relationship was understood to be a fiduciary relationship, which was confidential and where the professional was an independent practitioner able to make the appropriate expert diagnosis of the problem.

Fiduciary Relationship - Diagnostic Relationship

In terms of professionalism the professional relationship is therefore understood to be a diagnostic relationship. Concepts such as trust, confidentiality, independent professional and diagnostic convey the professional/client relationship in terms of professionalism.

ADO social workers as case workers, group workers and community workers subscribed to the importance of the professional process. The diagnostic relationship was fundamental to this professional process. This understanding motivated social workers to take action to secure professional independence and maintain confidentiality of the social worker/client relationship.

ADO social workers for example articulated their role in responding to referrals for action with regard to compassionate postings for example as being one of assisting Members seeking resolution of problems 'of a compassionate nature'. The resolution of problems required the 'exercise of professional judgment in making an assessment and recommendation' (Naval Social Work, 1993).

Because ADO social workers believed in the importance of the professional relationship the practice within ACS of the Senior Military Officer making professional judgment with regard to referrals was

challenged by social workers. The Social Work Delegate in a letter to the Director General DCO on 7 December 1995 represented ADO social workers concerns about the ACS practices:

> It is the practice of Army Community Services for the senior military officer in the unit to make the decision about allocation of cases. This allocation is based on that officer's unprofessional perception of which cases should be allocated to social work staff and which should be allocated elsewhere. This is done with no consultation with the social work staff.

ADO social workers understood that they were responsible for assessing the 'problem' to be solved and for determining the appropriate person to take action. They understood through their professional socialisation that this is often the role of the 'intake worker' (Shulman, 1992). In social work the 'intake worker' is the professional social worker who makes the first contact with a client and conducts an assessment of suitability for social work services. The records relating to the discussions on the structure of the various ADO social work sections show that at different times 'intake workers' (social workers) existed in social work sections and some multi-service offices within the ADO.

ADO social workers as professionals used professional terminology in their referrals to other social workers both within and outside the ADO. They used professional terminology in their case notes and discussions of social work practice in the ADO. These were consistent with the terminology of professional social work. ADO social workers regularly articulated the theoretical basis for their case plans and community work (ADFILS supervision) and the terminology used by ADO social workers

in their reports reflects the language commonly used within the social work profession.

Pucilowski (2000 p. 105) in his study of ADO social work community development confirms that ADO social workers practised their community work in terms of the understanding of social work practice promulgated by the Schools of Social Work, AASW and social work theorists. He states that:

> The community development activities used constantly by workers in the study were characterised by behaviours relating to 'encouraging' 'enhancing' and 'teaching'. These behaviours are consistent with and feature in the definitions and principles of community development articulated by various authors. Ross (1955) spoke of the role of 'the experts' in teaching competencies. Biddle and Biddle (1965) saw the role of the worker in the community process as being that of an 'encourager' or 'enabler' and Rothman (1987) 'the enhancement of democratic procedures and voluntary cooperation'. Likewise, in the accounts in practitioner studies Falappi et al (1984) and Lane (1992) emphasised all three behaviours above as being fundamental to their work in and with the community.

The use of professional language reinforces the power of the professional with regard to the client. In the social work professional literature the issue of the power of the social worker vis a vis their clients was regularly discussed (Abramson, 1985; Hasenfeld, 1987; Jordan, 1975; McKnight, 1977; Studt, 1959). There was little evidence in the data that ADO social workers discussed the issue of the power of social workers with regard to clients. Most discussions of power in relationships were focused on the relationship of the Member to the ADF. ADO social workers understood

that they were responsible for addressing issues raised by the relationship of the Member and the ADF ie the impact of the requirements of the military organisation and culture on Members and their families.

The social work principle of client self-determination was important however for ADO social workers in their practice (Australian Association of Social Workers, 1988; Biestek, 1961; Shardlow, 1998) and they sought to act as advocates for clients within the Defence system. Clients were considered powerless in the military system and also often powerless with regard to the civilian community because of their need to continually relocate to new areas. Community Development Officers (CDO), social workers, acted as advocates on behalf of ADF families helping to present their needs to government organisations (Commonwealth, State and Local) and voluntary organisations as well as military authorities. As the social workers report in the ADFILS Vic/Tas Operation Report 1988-90 (ADFILS Vic/Tas Coordinator, 1990):

> A CDO is assisting Facilities located in a married quarter patch in South
> East Melbourne to remedy the problem of excessive noise levels which is
> affecting the quality of life. In Sunshine the CDO is acting as a resource
> person and facilitator to assist Service families establish a Community
> House. In Diggers Rest the CDO has assisted service spouses with poor
> self-esteem and skills who were isolated from community resources form
> a group which with the assistance of workers from the Shire of Melton
> will continue to organise social events, outings and activities they so
> desire.

ADO social workers understood in terms of professionalism that their professional actions were a professional service. This was a feature of the professional relationship.

Professional Relationship and Professional Service

In terms of professionalism the professional is understood to provide a service, the 'professional process' (Goldstein, 1984; Smalley, 1970). Reflective practice (Schon, 1983) is necessary to provide this professional service. It is through reflective practice that the professional addresses the indeterminancy involved in both the problem and its solution (Jackson, 1970). The process of social work practice (Chetkow-Yanoov, 1997; Hollis, 1965; Payne, 1991) is expressed by ADO social workers in their documents about social work practice in the ADO, discussion of case work, community work projects and their role within the ADO.

In social work the social worker determines the interventions to be undertaken in the process of relating with the client. As a professional, the nature of the process is not discussed. Social workers, in terms of professionalism, articulate their activity as providing a social work service or professional service. No statement is made of the particular outcome to be achieved prior to the social work activity and details of what is achieved are confidential to the client and the social worker. Davies, (1986) in the proposal to implement ADFILS explains why a more definitive statement of the outcomes to be achieved by CDOs and Community Development Coordinators (CDCs) (all social workers) in the proposed ADFILS organisation is not provided. Davies states:

> …the functions of CDOs are expressed in broad terms as CDOs must be able to assess their role according to the needs of the community and to complement support already provided. Their tasks would vary according to the needs and resources of areas and would change over time.

ADO social workers understood community development work as focusing on helping:

> …people with shared interests to come together, work out what their needs are among themselves and then jointly take action together to meet those needs, by developing projects which would enable the people concerned to gain support to meet them or by campaigning to ensure that they are met by those responsible.
> (Hamilton Report Implementation Team (HRIT), 1987; Kenny, 1994; Payne, 1995).

In the document 'ADFILS Liaison with Defence' (Australian Defence Families and Liaison Staff (ADFILS), 1987) ADO social workers describe their professional community development practice in the following way:

> Community work is a type of activity practised by people who are employed to help others to identify problems and opportunities that they have and to come to realistic decisions to take collective action to meet those problems and opportunities in ways that they determine for themselves.

ADFILS social workers in particular report that they were often asked by Commanders, 'What do social workers do?'

This questioning of what social workers 'do' is expressed in the Submission to the Support Services Review Team (1994) by the National Consultative Group of Service Families (NCGSF) who states:

> As a group we were confused about the role of community development officers. As a support service they were the service considered to be the

least of value. The reason for this was related to the way they approached their support of ADF families. The consultation role of the community development officer is as an expert to facilitate effective skills of others. This model implies:

1. Community Development Officer as expert
2. ADF families/spouses as clients;
3. Spouses are needing support or remediation to develop effective skills or knowledge;
4. The process, developing effective skills is the Community Development Officer's major goal, not the goal of the project.

For ADF families and spouses the goal (eg establishing a Community Centre), not developing effective committee skills is the goal. Therefore Community Development Officers appear to have different goals to the spouses and this can be frustrating and a wasted resource.

The NCGSF representative reflects the challenge to ADO social work practice in terms of professionalism where as Maister (1997) comments 'professionals think they know what clients want of them, but frequently this differs from what the client truly wants (or at least expects)'.
ADO social workers including those who were CDOs understood that they provided a service - a 'Social Work Service'. Social workers described their service in general terms, which indicated some aspects of the 'helping' nature of social work.

In an attempt to assist clients ADO social workers outlined those situations where they provided a social work service. For example, the Personnel Information Handbook, Navy given to Navy members states (Director of Naval Personal Services, 1986 p. 2) that:

Social workers are available in the following administrative situations.

(a) applications for Discharge at own request where compassionate grounds exist;

(b) compassionate leave and travel when definition is required;

(c) leave without pay where compassionate circumstances exist;

(d) special postings or leave;

(e) applications for priority housing, removals on compassionate grounds, temporary rental allowance or housing for compassionate reasons;

(f) special consideration for other entitlements for compassionate reasons;

(g) assistance to members and families at the time of accident, illness or death, including the use of the AUSDIL Scheme;

(h) advice on applications for re-engagement, entry and re-entry;

(i) assistance to members and families who have problems in resettlement after discharge;

(j) the provision of reports relating to offenders where compassionate or social factors have a bearing on the offence and subsequent punishment; and

(k) assistance in emergencies, crises and natural disasters affecting Naval personnel and families.

In addition to these administrative functions Social workers are available to assist members and families in a wide range of matters, which include:

(a) the provision of information about and referral to community agencies in local areas including schools, child care, play groups, hospitals and health services, recreation facilities and services available to assist children with special needs;

(b) advice and/or counselling on financial, legal and marital matters;

(c) arranging emergency housekeeping assistance to families at the time of crisis or emergency;

(d) support to Navy families while members are absent at sea and on course;

(e) contacting members by signal to pass on urgent information such as illness, hospitalisation or death of a family member, birth of a child or urgent financial matters;

(f) providing support services to Navy families; and

(g) familiarising Navy families, especially new spouses with Navy life in general.

In terms of professionalism and the professional relationship social workers expressed their professional practice in terms of the 'input' they made to the relationship between the client and professional as part of providing a professional service. For example:

The major professional duties of Naval social workers are to:
-    provide a comprehensive case work service for members and their families;
-    provide a preventative/support service to members and their families; and
-    conduct educational programs for Command Divisional staff and families on socially relevant issues. (Naval Social Work Manual 1993 p.26)

ADO social workers throughout the period of the research discussed their role, the areas in which they should be involved in providing support to the ADF, its Members and families and the need to continually articulate and defend their professional position. For example the Naval Social Work Manual (Naval Social Work, 1993 p. 26) outlines the social worker's function as being:

….to assess and intervene where appropriate in the personal and social circumstances of members, their spouses, dependants and relations for whom a member has a direct responsibility. Naval Social Workers act as a link between the RAN, members, families and community organisations and aim to provide positive interventions to prevent unnecessary stress

arising from the special conditions of service life. This may involve one or more of the following:

- individual, marital or family assessment, counselling and support development of group and community activities; and
- referral and liaison within the RAN and with other governmental and community services.

Summary

With regard to the nature of the professional relationship in terms of professionalism ADO social work practice was informed by the understanding that the professional client relationship is a fiduciary, confidential, diagnostic relationship through which as independent professional practitioners they provided a service. ADO social workers took action to ensure that the professional/client relationship was developed as a fiduciary, confidential, diagnostic relationship. Such action as part of the professionalisation project reflects professionalism. The next aspect of professionalism impacts the values and practice of professionalism in that the professional body is a homogeneous community with a low degree of specialisation.

ADO SOCIAL WORK - HOMOGENOUS VALUES AND PRACTICE

Homogenous Occupational Community - Generic Practice

Professionalism impacts on professional occupations so that the values and practices of the occupations are homogenous and generic with a low degree of specialisation. Blanchard (1979) states that as well as delineating the profession's responsibility to the client and the

community, professional values define conduct between members of the profession. In this way they provide a regulating force which allows the profession autonomy and freedom from the necessity of external supervision. Such norms promote the integration and identity of the profession. Homogeneity of outlook and interest is in turn associated with a relatively low degree of specialisation within the occupation and by recruitment from similar social background (Johnson, 1972).

In terms of professionalism it is understood that while there may be different fields of practice in a profession the occupational values and practices are generic. This was certainly the case for ADO social workers. All social workers in Australia are trained in generic social work practice and develop expertise following graduation in all or any field or method depending on their inclination and agency. While there may be different fields of practice the nature of the occupational values and practices are generic.

While ADO social workers were part of the Navy, Army, Air Force and the ADF Headquarters organisations their values, principles, and skills were based on the same professional understanding. Only social workers with qualifications recognised by the AASW were employed in positions classified as social work positions in Defence maintaining the profession's monopoly.

The monopoly was reinforced in 1985 by the Professional Officer's Association (Australian Public Service)(POA) which sought a variation to Determination number 255 of 1969 to convert the Determination into an Award. The salaries of social workers were established with a range from Social Worker Class 1 to Social Worker Class 5 with Class 5 being the highest paid social work classification. Special provisions covered hours

of duty and overtime. All social workers in the APS were therefore on similar salary, status and conditions across the classifications. The Award helped to reinforce the monopoly of the social work profession in particular areas within the support organisations of the ADO.   ADO social workers were active in the POA and were expert witnesses on the practice of social work at the various Industrial Relations Commission hearings on work values.   Professional monopoly was an important issue for all ADO social workers.

In their statements and practice ADO social workers identified with the profession of social work although they were employed within the ADO. The RAAF Commander's and Manager's Guide (Royal Australian Air Force, 1997 p. 183) in a section prepared by the Director of Social Work Air Force for example states:

> Social workers, professionally trained and eligible for membership of the AASW have been employed by the ADF since 1957 and provide support to individuals, groups, families and communities in the area of the personal/military interface. The unique circumstances of Service life with its posting cycles, frequent and sometimes long separations of ADF members from their families, constant disruption to family life, and the stress caused by the nature of duty and training are areas where social work support assist members and their families in addressing their particular issues. Social workers work with individuals, families, groups, communities and base management to provide social support.

He confirms the monopoly of the profession of social work in certain activities within the ADO. In terms of professionalism ADO social workers understood that they were part of a professional community who

although working in different organisations of the ADF provided professional social work services generic to the profession of social work.

The impact of professionalism, as Mosher (1978) argues, is that those within professions perceive and structure problems and solve them in common ways. Professionals share their views of the world and of the place of the profession in it; they also share a common and more or less unique, bundle of techniques, skills, knowledge and vocabulary.

ADO social workers (Navy, Army, Air Force and Headquarters ADF) as shown by their statements about their professional practice and duties understood in terms of professionalism that they were members of a homogenous professional occupation (Naval Social Work, 1993; RAAF Directorate of Social Work Services, 1991).

ADO social workers practised in various methodologies including individual (casework), group (education/therapy), community (community work), social work organisation (research/policy).
As Mrs Pratt (who holds a social work qualification), Head of the Review of Personnel and Family Support Services (Pratt, 1994 p. 11), states:

> …there should be no impediment to social workers providing professional service to clients, other than in their parent Service. Furthermore, their training promotes the use of several methods of intervention, not just casework.

Mrs Pratt was recommending that ADO social workers were professionally qualified to provide social work services to all ADF clients and confirming that professional social workers practised in a variety of

methodologies. This statement was based on the generic social work training and practice in Australia and the homogeneity of Australian social work ie like-minded professionals sharing a common culture and common experiences.

Within the ADO because of the generic nature of practice and values social workers were able to transfer between the various ADO social work areas. For example, ADO social workers recruited to social work positions in Navy transferred to positions as community workers in ADFILS and community workers transferred to caseworker positions in the single services as vacancies in different locations occurred.

In 1987 there was considerable discussion among ADO social workers with regard to the establishment of ADFILS. Discussions focused on the nature of social work practice and the relationships of ADFILS social workers to social workers in Navy, Army and Air Force (Australian Defence Families and Liaison Staff (ADFILS), 1987; Social Work and Information Service (SWIS), 1990). ADO social workers generally felt that the organisational constraint on practice methodology was a challenge to professional authority. However it was agreed by social workers that because the crises of case work denied time for 'preventative' community development work such a division i.e. an organisation where social workers practised community development work and organisations where social workers practised casework was beneficial in the short term. ADO social workers understood community work to be 'preventative' work based on value commitments to participation and empowerment (Mayo, 1998). Hamilton (1986), with the assistance of ADO social workers, found that:

> …social workers are overburdened with individual problems and crisis management which are the tasks given priority by the operational needs of the Services. Although social workers are also tasked to perform the preventative community development role they are frustrated in their capacity to carry this out in more than a superficial way. This is mainly due to the scarcity of manpower resources but also because a clear distinction has not been made between the two roles.

Hamilton (1986) pointed out that while individual crises were very difficult to ignore community concerns were generally ignored.

As the Senior Community Development Coordinator (social worker) ADFILS in an address to the RAAF Administrative Officers Course (Senior Community Development Coordinator, 1987) states:

> Community development is a method of social work practice that focuses on working with groups or 'the community' rather than working with individuals.

ADO social workers practised in all methods of social work in the ADO although ADFILS CDOs focused on community development approach and Navy, Army and Air Force social workers on individual approaches (Army Community Services, 1992).

While the ADO social workers in the ADFILS organisation undertook community development practice and held the title (CDO) they were identified as social workers by both the organisation and families. The Director General Defence Force Administrative Policy (DGDFAP) (1987 p. 3) in a brief to CDF states:

> Community Development is a method of social work practice that focuses on working with groups or 'the community' to solve problems rather than working with individuals. A major role of the ADFILS CDO is liaison with the social workers employed by the single Services. It would be inappropriate for non-professionals to be employed in this role.

In terms of the operation of professionalism ADO social workers did not specialise although they worked with different Service groups within the organisation. ADO social workers were trained and qualified in all methods of social work practice and they understood that they were able to practice in any method of social work as indicated by the nature of the problems and client's assessed needs.

As a homogeneous professional group ADO social workers found the various structures ie social workers in Navy, Army, Air Force and Headquarter ADF burdensome. ADO social workers considered that the separate organisation structures for social workers did not facilitate the 'best' social work service for the ADF. The goal of ADO social workers was to have a Defence Social Work organisation established in which all ADO social workers would be located. This goal was pursued by ADO social workers from the time of the amalgamation of the three arms of the ADF into one organisation - 1972 until the establishment of the DCO in 1996 (Bairnsfather, Hughes, & Morfoot, 1990).

The Principal Navy Social Worker (1973) argued in a paper 'Defence Social Work' that it 'was difficult to see how professional social work in the Defence situation differed from other aspects of the Department's structure'. The Principal Social Worker stated that the arguments set out in the Tange report (1973) in favour of integrating other aspects of the

Department's functions applied equally to social work. As a homogenous professional occupation ADO social workers considered that they were divided by inappropriate organisational structures.   Military personnel in the Single services however were in favour of retaining the status quo. ADO social workers regularly made submissions to a variety of reviews and organisation restructuring projects arguing that ADO social workers should all be in one organisation.

The submission by ADFILS social workers to the Family Support Services Review Team (1990) states, for example:

> Even if the Review Team's recommendation is not for a tri-service integrated agency per se, we advocate that consideration be given to combining single service social workers into one organisation of 'Defence Social Workers' co-located with ADFILS staff. We are confident that families would have little difficulty in relating to and accessing 'Defence Social Workers.

The argument for an ADO social work organisation was included in many social workers' submissions to the Family Support Services Review Team. ADO social workers considered that a single social work organisation was appropriate for a generic social work practice in the ADO.   As Johnson (1972 p. 53) comments this view reflects the operation of professionalism, which identifies professional identity as belonging to a homogenous occupation with a low degree of specialisation. Social workers advocated for a Defence Social Work Organisation because this would provide for professional supervision, development and identity.

Bairnsfather et al (1990 p. 11) agreed that:

It is bad practice and costly for a social worker, if approached by an individual, to be required to refer that person to another organisation for even the most basic level of assistance. This is the situation that presently exists by the limitation imposed on social work practice within ADFILS which may undertake community development work only. While proper management of professional practice is necessary, all Defence social workers should be able to make appropriate assessments and referrals on presented problems.

Military personnel in the single Services did not agree with the amalgamation of social work services during the period 1973 to 1994. A variety of reasons were given for maintaining separate social worker services. These reasons included:

…the special nature of Navy or Army or Air Force life, the understanding that military Commanders were responsible for the welfare of their personnel and ADO social workers should be under their command and control and the fact that Defence families were deterred from seeking assistance because of the waiting time for appointments with non-military agencies which was costly to the single Services.

In many reviews of family support services and social work e.g. Hamilton (1986), Bairnsfather et al (1990), Ferguson (1991) and Pratt (1994) ADO social workers advocated for a Defence Social Work Service with ADO social workers providing services to the different elements of the ADF.

ADO social workers argued that one professional social work organisation, not four organisations with limited numbers of social workers in each would provide the opportunity to deliver more effective social work services to Defence Members and their families. Such an

organisation would benefit clients through providing a one-stop shop, a unified delivery of service. Social workers would receive professional support. Professional accountability would be improved. Social workers would be able to develop their skills and share ideas particularly about social problems common to all Defence members and families. Social workers would be able to be pro-active in identifying and meeting client needs. Professional isolation would decrease and professional accountability would be localised. It would be possible for social workers to raise their profile within the Defence community and other agencies and this would have a positive impact on service delivery and planning. It was argued that one social work organisation in Defence would allow better visibility of the social work service which would be seen as not part of the chain of command. Professional social workers would have an improved career structure.

Bairnsfather et al (1990 p. 10) stated;

> Social Work consisting of case work, group work, and community work is one profession. Issues that emerge in case work and group work practice can have a direct bearing on the direction of community development. The current organisational structures in the ADF ie Navy, Army, RAAF and HQADF and the subsequent division of professional practice into these organisations mitigates against the most effective use of the professional resources.

The Family Support Services Review Team (Bairnsfather et al., 1990 p. 11) recommended that:

> All specialist social work staff in Defence should become an integrated service of HQADF with social workers assigned for duty with single

> Service support organisations as recommended by a Regional
> Consultative Committee.

This recommendation supported the ADO social workers' view that
social work was a generic profession and that the social work service
should be operationalised into a Defence professional Social Work
Service. The recommendations were not implemented. A further review
of ADF Personnel and Family Support Services in 1994 found that:

> The present distribution of social work staff appears inefficient and is not
> working to full potential with extremely heavy case loads in some areas
> without back-up relief. The Review Team found that caseloads varied
> significantly by location but up to 550 cases in a year had been reported in
> one location (Pratt, 1994 p. 15).

The Director of Naval Social Work in a submission to the ADF Personnel
and Family Support Review Team (1994) stated that in his view 'a
structure could be developed whereby generic social work services are
delivered at the grass roots level'.

While noting the concerns of the Services the ADF Personnel and Family
Support Services report (Pratt, 1994 p. ix) recommended a generic
integrated social work service be established within the ADO. The report
stated:

> …the proposed integrated social worker organisation will encourage
> commonality of practice and services, assisting in overcoming the fragmentation
> of personnel and family support, provide a social worker career pyramid and
> ensure development and promotion opportunities with flexible employment and
> improved access to professional supervision. The social workers will be
> available to the Services in direct support of unit commanders through their

personal services organisations and provide an enhanced service through more assets at the coal face and flexibility at the regional level to ensure they meet peak demands.

Following the report, the Chiefs of Staff Committee agreed in 1995 to the creation of an integrated personnel and family support organisation for the ADO.

In 1996 the ADO social workers were amalgamated into one structure called the Defence Community Organisation (DCO). The DCO Brochure on Social Work Services (1996) states:

> The Defence social worker as a member of the DCO local area team can help by providing the following services:
> - a case work service to ADF Members and their families;
> - support in times of crisis;
> - counselling for personal, marital or family problems;
> - referrals, where necessary to appropriate services and agencies;
> - community development programs;
> - liaison with community welfare bodies and programs and with other Defence support agencies relevant to the well-being of ADF members and their families.

The Organisation Purpose Statement of the DCO Corporate Plan 1996 (Defence Community Organisation, 1996a) states that the DCO is:

> …to contribute to the operational effectiveness of the ADF by providing a comprehensive range of social work, family liaison and education liaison support services and related programs, projects and research that enhance the well-being of ADF personnel, their families and communities.

ADO social workers continued to practice in terms of professionalism as a homogenous group of generic practitioners in a Defence social work organisation (Defence Instruction General PERS 42-3 on the DCO October 1996 Annex A). The professional project in terms of professionalism articulates a homogenous occupational community, with generic practice and a low degree of specialisation.

Low Degree of Specialisation

ADO social workers understood that they were generic practitioners working with different configurations of client ie individual, group, family or community and utilising different methods to effect practice outcomes. Although ADO social workers addressed a wide variety of social and relationship problems they did not specialise in terms of problem or intervention.

The Principal Navy Social Worker (1973 p. 2) comments in a paper "Social Work in the Department of Defence":

> The basic service provided by social workers on a day-to-day basis was to assess, advise and recommend on individual problems of members (at all rank levels) and their families. The requests to social workers may come through official channels or by direct approach from the member or his family. In the Personal Services Organisation in Sydney and Melbourne there is a Class 2 Social Worker position for community work. In other offices specialisation is not possible and social workers combine individual casework, group work, community and administrative roles on a generalist basis.

The only differential in terms of social work practice was that of methodology. While the methodology used often related to whether the client was an individual, family, group or community group it also related to a social worker's chosen intervention e.g. based on a crisis, strengths, cognitive or ecological perspective (Payne, 1991). In terms of professionalism however ADO social workers considered differentiating firmly in terms of social work practice for organisational purposes was inappropriate. The professional social worker was skilled to undertake all methodologies of practice.

Discussions among ADO social workers focused on the use of different models of practice not specialisation in social work practice. For example, the CDC Vic/Tas (Community Development Coordinator (CDC) Vic/Tas, 1990) states:

> When ADFILS commenced operations in 1988 the majority of service families lived in large densely populated married quarter patches located in relatively well established towns and suburbs. At the time, it seemed appropriate to adopt a model of community organisation which emphasised the neighbourhood and making it a better place to live. The re-negotiation by the Defence Housing Authority (DHA) of the Commonwealth State Housing Authority Agreements, the policy of DHA to move Defence families from "less desirable suburbs" and the requirement of DHA to pursue sound business principles has resulted in a considerable number of Defence families either residing in homes scattered across the towns and suburbs of Australia or lodging in a multiplicity of small married quarters patches located in new housing estates where there is little or no community services infra structure. The outcome of DHA policy and operations gives rise to the question whether it is any longer appropriate only to focus on the neighbourhood and

whether other models of community organisation should be implemented
for example (J. Rothman, 1974).

Summary

ADO social workers understood that professional values and practice
were reflected in professional homogeneity where generic practice and
low specialisation facilitated professional practice.   ADO social workers'
practice was generic practice with low specialisation utilising the various
methods of intervention related to the client ie individual, group, family
or community.

The next feature of professionalism considered was that of monopoly and
socialisation which related to the practice boundaries of the professional
occupation.

ADO SOCIAL WORK - AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORK (AASW) - THE PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION

Professionalism supports the belief that the collegiate functions of the
occupational group are carried out by a practitioner association
(Middlehurst & Kennie, 1997). The practitioner association is
understood to bestow status and identity on members and to sustain
uniform interests among members, promoting uniform policies by
imposing a monopoly of practice in the field. Under professionalism it is
understood that the professional association regulates entry into the
profession and through the similar experiences of entry and socialisation
professionals have a shared identity. In terms of professionalism the

professional association is significant in both giving legitimacy to practice and in defining and maintaining practice boundaries.

The impact of professionalism on ADO social workers was illustrated by the association's control of the qualifications and continuing professional education of ADO social workers.   As President of the AASW, Gaha (1997) pointed out in her President's Report, that while the AASW did not regulate the profession as it did not have any licensing requirements it was the significant organisation in Australia, in terms of the socialisation of professional social workers. Ife (1997) points out that during its fifty-five year history (1946-2001) the AASW developed and consolidated its role as a professional association with a steadily increasing membership and a steadfast policy of tight control of entry to the profession.

The latter was achieved via control over the form, length and content of university courses through an accreditation process that the universities accepted. Control was also achieved via the AASW's central role in the process of accessing the professional qualifications of social workers qualified overseas wishing to practice in Australia. ADO social workers understood that they held the knowledge and skill to undertake professional social work practice as endorsed by their professional association. They utilised their professional association, the AASW, and their industrial professional union (the Professional Officer's Association/Community and Public Sector Union - Professional Division) to reinforce their practice boundaries.

As Ife (1997) points out the AASW has no legal authority for the activity of preventing those who do not meet its standards from practising or being employed as 'social workers'. Social work is not a legally

registered profession despite the strenuous efforts of the AASW to achieve formal registration. However, Ife (1997) points out, the AASW's defacto authority to control the practice of social work and the education of social workers is strong, and employers have conventionally accepted eligibility for membership of the AASW as a criterion for employment of social workers.

Practice Boundaries - Monopoly

The impact of professionalism on practice boundaries can be observed in the many statements made by ADO social workers with regard to their area of responsibility and understanding of their professional work and to their actions taken to secure and maintain their right to practice in particular situations.

Hunt (1967 p. 2) for example in 'Social work in the Defence Services' expressed the understanding held by social workers that the social worker should be involved in helping not only serving members but also their families. ADO social workers were confident that social work practice was *the* professional response to the social needs of members and their families. Hunt states:

> As far as social work is concerned men are not only involved in the defence services, but indirectly their wives, families and friends. This represents a large section of the population and to infer that social work should not respond to their needs is not professionally appropriate.

ADO social workers in terms of professionalism ensured that all social workers held the mandatory professional qualifications established by the

AASW. From 1957 until 1996 all ADO social workers who held positions of social worker with mandatory qualifications i.e. eligibility for membership of the AASW, held qualifications approved by the AASW.

The first professional social worker position in the ADO (Navy) advertised on 22 June 1957 required mandatory social work qualifications of a Diploma of Social Studies or Social Science. This qualification was awarded on completion of three years study in an AASW approved course at an Australian university. Three-year courses were expanded to four years by AASW negotiations in the mid-1960s.

ADO social workers were diligent in ensuring that non qualified staff were not employed in social work positions in the ADO (ACS Toowoomba 1995). While the AASW, as the professional association maintained the professional identity and monopoly of social work practice, ADO social workers utilised their industrial union to help them to maintain professional identity, monopoly, conditions and salary. The first work value case for social workers in the Australian Public Service was determined by the Public Service Arbitrator on 24 September 1969 - Determination 255 of 1969.   Following this Determination all social workers in the Australian Public Service in social work positions without regard to sex or agency were on a similar salary classification structure, status and conditions.

As previously stated, in 1985, the Professional Officers Association, Australian Public Service (POA, APS) sought a variation of Determination 255 of 1969 to convert the Determination into an Award. This action was successful and the salaries of social workers were

established with a range from Social Worker Class 1 to Social Worker Class 5 with Class 5 being the highest paid social work classification. In 1987 welfare officers challenged the recruitment of qualified social workers to positions of CDO (social work) in the ADFILS organisation. As the Director General Defence Force Administrative Policy (DGDFAP) in a brief to the CDF on the Ministerial Representation, 'Employment of Social Workers as CDOs in ADFILS' (Director-General Defence Force Administrative Policy, 1987 p. 1) states:

> The Minister for Defence has expressed concern that recruiting exclusively social workers for employment as Community Development Officers (CDOs) in the Australian Defence Families Information and Liaison Staff (ADFILS) may exclude other suitably qualified people. Pending investigation on this matter, the Minister has placed an embargo on all further recruiting action for ADFILS.

The DG continues:

> A major point of concern of the Hamilton Report Implementation Team (HRIT) was the decision as to whether the CDOs in ADFILS should be restricted to social workers or the positions opened up to other professional and semi-professional personnel. After much discussion with personnel in other Commonwealth, State and local Government organisations it was decided that the only training that fully equips personnel for employment as a CDO was the social work course. The role of the CDO in ADFILS is to provide the essential link and continuity in the delivery of services to Defence families. They will provide the knowledge and skills required to communicate directly with government agencies, voluntary sectors and military commands. The draft social workers' position classification developed some years go by the Public Service Board and since used as the guideline for Public Service job classification, is in accord with the functions and roles assigned to the

ADFILS CDOs. The classification defines the social worker group as follows:

> Social work involves the application of specialised knowledge skills and experience to effect a better mutual adjustment of individuals or groups of individuals and their social and economic environment. It includes the direction of this work.

As the DG highlights ADO social workers in contributing to the establishment of ADFILS had established the boundaries of social work in family support. ADO social workers in Navy had undertaken community work practice for many years and they argued that it was necessary to maintain a professional boundary with regard to community development practice as it was a methodology of social work practice.

The Director of Naval Social Work was a member of HRIT, and the HRIT hosted a number of Seminars with social workers and community development workers (social workers) to discuss community work and community work in Defence. In the discussions concern was expressed by the Director Naval Social Work that clerical staff could not undertake the required duties and community work practice. Social workers from other organisations agreed with this view.

ADO social workers successfully maintained their role as social workers practising community work. Social workers, with eligibility for membership of the AASW, working in ADFILS were titled Community Development Officers.

Social work boundaries were facilitated by the professional association the AASW and the Public Service Act (1922) which provided that social

work classified positions required that any occupant of the position hold eligibility for membership of the AASW. This changed with the introduction of the Structural Efficiency Principles (SEP) (Task Force on Management Improvement (MAB-MIAC), 1992). However, although under the SEP a classification of professional officer was introduced ADO social workers successfully argued that mandatory social work qualifications be retained for recruitment to social work positions.

The Naval Social work Manual (1993 p. 75) comments:

> …with recent industrial award restructuring the minimal qualification for professional officers in the Australian Public Service is an approved degree (or any kind) from an Australian University. While this is a minimal standard it is clearly not sufficient for Naval Social Work which seeks to maintain the highest level of professional standards. The Senior Naval Social Workers when recruiting new Naval Social Workers should insist that advertisements and selection criteria should stipulate eligibility for membership of the AASW as the standard required for new employees.

ADO social workers therefore using the above argument retained their practice boundary (monopoly) in areas of personnel and family support, particularly family support.

ADO social workers sought to expand their professional practice boundaries within the ADO at various times during the period of the research. The team (which included the senior social worker ADFILS) undertaking the Review of ADF Family Support Service Organisation (Bairnsfather et al., 1990) noting the submissions and suggestions made

by ADO social workers reported that the Defence Department was under-utilising the professional skills of the social workers it employed.

The Review Team stated that in addition to the more traditional case work, crisis work and community development role, social workers were skilled in such areas as interpersonal counselling, group work, organisational consultancy and personnel training. The view was expressed that the boundaries of social work practice within the ADO should be extended. Within the administrative level of family support and personnel management generally, social workers, it was argued, should play a more prominent role, complementing other experts in these areas. Social workers argued that their unique knowledge and skills should be utilised in a wide variety of personnel and personal situations. This was based on the ADO social workers' belief and understanding that they were the professional group recognised and qualified in the area of social relationships and change.

ADO social workers sought to expand the professional boundaries of social work practice by becoming involved in a wide variety of situations. For example, RAAF Social Work and Information Service (SWIS) report of an 'Overview of Activities undertaken by Social Work Staff Jan-Sept 1995' (1995):

> Social workers were involved in the presentation of a number of seminars and workshops including:
>
> - Training of EEO contact officers
> - Communication Workshop
> - Financial Management
> - Response to CISM

- Suicide and Prevention Awareness Workshop
- Dealing with Conflict
- Change Management
- Assertion
- Self-Esteem
- Stress Management
- Parent Effectiveness Training/Coping with Children
- Post-Natal Support
- Resettlement Seminars

Documents and discussions with social workers illustrate that there was long term debate between ADO social workers about action to secure professional boundaries and the authority for independent professional action. The East Australian Area social worker in a Minute to the Principal Social Worker Navy, Canberra in 1965 states:

> Problem of Base Welfare Officer administering Social Work Service who duplicates the work of the Senior Social Worker. The BWO puts a covering letter on Social Work Reports whereas it should be sufficient for the reports to be sent direct to the Captain of the ship (East Australian Area Social Worker, 1965).

The social worker questioned the involvement of the military member in the social worker's responsibilities. The Principal Social Worker writing to the Deputy Chief Navy Personnel in October 1965 on the issue states that:

> The Base Welfare Officer is acting in matters which, are rightly the social worker's responsibility. From the professional point of view, the amount of interference and supervision by the Naval authority is unacceptable and in its present form violates our standards of social work practice. At

present, the Base Welfare Officer is actively participating in the office routine, taking phone calls and interviewing in situations where the Senior Social Worker should be responsible.

The Naval Social Work Manual (1976) prepared by the principal Navy social worker provides guidance to social workers with respect to practice boundaries i.e. that social workers while confident of their practice and authority in case situations should acknowledge the boundaries of the profession of arms:

> Social workers should avoid involvement in matters relating to duty, discipline, normal postings, ships movements and avoid giving any information about naval matters and entitlements especially if it has not been carefully checked in the individual case. It is wise to say that you do not know, but if necessary, that you will find out, rather than give incorrect or misleading information. In particular, wives and next-of-kin should not be told of naval matters affecting the sailor without his knowledge and without consent of the naval authority.

The guidance provides information about the practice boundaries of the profession of arms and the boundaries established by social workers within the organisation.

As Hughes (1993) highlights, the profession of arms understood that they were responsible for providing support and assistance in all matters concerning service personnel. Social workers understood that in assisting the profession of arms to fulfil its duty ADO social workers would provide assistance with any social work problem that was presented. Under their 'professionalism' ADO social workers were the profession that helped to meet the needs of personnel and their families in the

interests of the Service. There were many disputes between the chain of command and ADO social workers with respect to whether particular social problems were a Command responsibility or a social work responsibility.

The ADFILS social work service established in 1987 as a tri-service organisation of the HQADF was a cause for constant and considerable concern for the local Commanders in the three Services in terms of the professional boundary between the profession of arms and the profession of social work. The profession of arms understood that they were responsible for the welfare of members and families and also that they were responsible for commanding such activities. Commanders required CDOs to regularly meet with them to discuss their activities in the Defence community.

The context of social work practice was important to ADO social workers and meant that particular ways of addressing social problems were developed e.g. less use of group methodology for instance. The argument in this thesis is, however, that professionalism impacts both the profession of arms and the profession of social work (see Jans, 1989).

Much of the power of the ADO over its work is invisible, operating through standing operating procedures. The ADO controlled the decision-making processes of its workers by constraining the type of information they possessed, by limiting the range of alternatives available to them and by specifying the decision rules for choosing among the alternatives (Epstein & Conrad, 1978; Toren, 1973).

In terms of professionalism and professional responsibilities ADO social workers throughout the time of the study, did not perceive administrative tasks such as typing, filing, organising, obtaining stores, etc as their responsibility. ADO social workers often struggled to obtain administrative support to enable them to undertake their professional practice. In 1965 the East Australian Area Navy Social Worker writing to the Principal Social Worker Navy states:

> …for more efficient and effective social worker service require:

> (1) Stenographic assistance. It is a concomitant of good case work that adequate running records of the cases shall be made. Writing all reports and records in long hand is archaic, inefficient and wastes valuable time of social workers.
> (2) Accommodation. Dingy and depressing reflecting the attitude of the agency to clients.
> (3) No reception or transport for social workers. Social workers require access to a car with driver to be able to make home visits.

CDOs in ADFILS who had no support staff and were required to arrange typing of their reports and letters, undertake record keeping, make appointments, file, collect and post mail, arrange their own transport and personal administration also complained about their administrative responsibilities. Social workers in ADFILS (Quarterly Reports from social workers) questioned their responsibility for administrative tasks associated with establishing their professional service ie locating accommodation, establishing administrative procedures, case systems, statistics, transport, car parking, ordering and obtaining stationery, stamps, telephones etc. As the Cairns CDO reported in her quarterly report to her professional supervisor (22 June 1989) 'Five days notice for

any typing to be done is a significant constraint to practice. There is a constant need to plan to delays in administration'.

ADO social workers, as stated previously, considered administrative activity as inappropriate for professionals in terms of professionalism and regularly represented their need for administrative assistance to their professional supervisors and organisational managers.

Administrative and management staff within the ADO often questioned the administrative and accommodation requirements of ADO social workers for professional practice. Administrators put systems and requirements in place that social workers argued limited professional practice. For example the decision to place an 'STD' (interstate) bar on social work practitioners telephones in order to save costs was based on the assumption that social workers would not need to make 'STD' telephone calls. However professional social workers assisting mobile families were required to contact posted Members and agencies across the country and the 'STD' bar severely hampered them in their work. The 'STD' bar was introduced on 6 June 1988 and lifted 4 August 1988. Social workers complained, argued and challenged the requirement in terms of their professional practice requirements.

In terms of professionalism ADO social workers understood that maintenance of professional boundaries between themselves and others was an important aspect of their professional identity and ability to provide professional assistance to clients. Another aspect of professionalism which, related to the monopoly of practice was professional socialisation. It was through the socialisation process that social workers maintained their professional identity.

Professional Socialisation

ADO social workers understood that socialisation was an important aspect of developing professional identity and skill. Both the professional association and professional supervisors and peers are involved in professional socialisation.

An ADO social work submission to the Review of ADF Personnel and Family Support highlights the professional social workers' view that professional socialisation is important. At the time of the Review many social workers (Navy, Army, Air Force and ADFILS) were concerned that decision-makers (military and civilian) did not understood that community work was social work practice.

Social workers' socialisation into the profession is established through their training (Anderson & Western, 1976) and while ADO social workers worked for different Services i.e. Navy, Army, Air Force and the HQADF their work involved constant exchange and involvement with each other. They worked together in their professional association and were involved in interagency meetings in the community as well as work within Defence on issues such as women's health, domestic violence, child welfare, neighbourhood centre support programs, local government community support services. ADO social workers met regularly in local areas to plan activities and to co-ordinate work and to provide each other with professional support. The senior social workers met on a regular basis to discuss both professional and organisational issues.

While the AASW was responsible for socialisation of social workers through control of social work education and professional standards

professional social work socialisation was reinforced within the ADO. Professional supervisors encouraged social workers to practice in accordance with the standards and principles for ethical practice set out in the Code of Ethics. They were encouraged to:

- keep informed of advances in their particular field both in their profession and within Navy;
- work to increase colleagues (not necessarily Social Workers) sensitivity to ethical issues; and
- report unethical practices and work towards ensuring such practices do not occur. Ethical issues should be addressed directly to the individual concerned and only if this fails should the issue be referred to the Director Naval Social Work and ultimately to the AASW (Naval Social Work, 1993 p. 30).

From the 1950s until the 1990s Defence Social Workers attended the Biennual Conference of the AASW and AASW state conferences held annually in most states and territories. In conjunction with the AASW Biennual Conference ADO social workers met together as a special interest group at Conferences discussing social work practice issues for ADO social workers (Australian Defence Families and Liaison Staff (ADFILS), 1989).

For social workers socialisation into the profession was an important feature of professionalism. Several ADO social workers undertook the AASW Supervision Course in order to equip themselves to supervise social workers and social work students who worked in the ADO. Social work student supervision was seen as both a contribution to the profession and a way of developing professional social work skills.

Social Workers in the ADO throughout the period maintained a strong identity with the AASW, the professional social work association. Many Defence social workers held executive positions in the State and Territory organisation of AASW. In 1989 more than ten ADO social workers held positions in AASW. ADO social workers also attended international conferences of the association and local and national AASW conferences. They presented papers of professional social work interest at many of these forums.

ADO social workers attended professional training sessions provided by welfare agencies for social workers and professional training provided by the AASW and Schools of Social Work. The ADO subscribed to the Australian Social Work journal and acquired social work texts and social work journals to support social work professional practice in the ADO.

As the Naval Social Work Manual 1993 advised:

> The AASW holds a National Conference every second year. It is a policy that Naval Social workers attend the AASW Biennial National Conference. Attendance, however depends on funds being available and coverage of the work during the period of the Conference. AASW Conferences provide stimulating forums for the exchange of ideas and are an important means of Naval Social Workers remaining well informed. (Naval Social Work, 1993 p. 75).

The various organisations within the ADO ie Navy Personal Service Organisation, Army Community Services, RAAF SWIS and ADFILS also held regular conferences where social workers discussed professional issues and undertook workshops on issues of professional concern. The Directorate of Social Work Services Air Force at their conference 19-23

June 1989 (RAAF Directorate of Social Work Services, 1989b) for example discussed the:

> …objectives and development of the Directorate of Social Work Services; Social Work reports; Social work Projects; relocation film; the Role of Air Force Social Workers; Social Work in the Air Force; statistics and general reporting.

Summary

In summary the collegiate function of social work (boundaries and socialisation) was carried by the AASW, which ADO social workers understood bestowed status and identity on ADO social workers. Through the activities of the AASW Australian social workers had similar professional experiences and socialisation so that all ADO social workers potentially held a shared professional identity. ADO social workers participated in the socialisation into the profession of students and took action (professional and industrial) to secure professional boundaries and maintain the professional monopoly on social work practice.

The next feature of professionalism considered was that of professional autonomy and status. In terms of professionalism those within a particular professional have a shared identity and are considered to be a community of equal competence. The idea of a community of equal competence generates public trust which, is reinforced by the lengthy training and close professional supervision within the profession.

ADO SOCIAL WORK - PROFESSIONAL AUTHORITY AND STATUS

Professional Identity

ADO social workers' spoke of their work as 'professional practice' and understood their current practice to be part of continuous professional activity.

While ADO social workers for example agreed that the Public Service Group Standard of the Professional Officer Position Classification Standards (1990) reflected their professionalism, the standards were not in ADO social workers' view the determining factor which gave social workers their authority and status. The Public Service Group Standards state:

> The work of positions in this group requires the application of professional knowledge, experience and judgment in the development, management and use of technology, investigation, survey, analysis, testing, observations, applied research, planning, provision and maintenance of facilities and services, diagnosis/prognosis, remediation/treatment, liaison and education in laboratory, field and other situations. Mandatory qualifications are prescribed under the *Public Service Act* 1922 for entry to the professional officer groups.

The Professional Officer Position Classification Standards were viewed by ADO social workers as a means for establishing monopoly and salary levels.

From 1957 until the mid 1970s Navy employed professional social workers. Prior to 1973 social work assistance to Army was provided by Red Cross social workers. This was prior to the Tange Report of 1974 when the ADO was established. Navy social workers referred to themselves as Navy Social Workers, however, their professional orientation was not the Navy but social work. For example:

> Naval social work is one of the services located within the Naval Personal Services organisation. It provides comprehensive services to members and their families as well as professional advice to the Command and Divisional system. Naval social workers act as a link between the families, the RAN and the community, with an aim of developing positive programs to prevent unnecessary stresses due to the special conditions of Naval life (Naval Social Work, 1993 p. 7).

Navy social workers did not, in terms of professionalism perceive themselves as with the organisation or with the client but identified with their profession. The collegial nature of professional social work was understood and reinforced as Navy social workers and social workers from other organisations (Commonwealth, State, Local and voluntary) met with each other in work and association settings. To reinforce their professional identity ADO outposted social workers used teleconferencing, and other technologies for discussions of social work issues (Navy 1986 - 1993). A Navy social worker in a paper 'Navy Social Work: Social Work in One Isolated Setting: the RAN' (Navy Social Worker, 1990 p. 4) comments:

> It seems fundamental that organisations employing social workers recognise the nature of their work and set up an organisation framework that allows the worker the freedom of action required to perform

optimally. This would need the agency to recognise effective social work as requiring independent decision-making, sound judgment and a high degree of creativity and innovation. They would need to recognise professional work as based on collegial relationships as distinct from the hierarchical relationships more common among clerical workers.

ADO social workers considered themselves to be professional social workers in the first instance. They were social workers who worked for the ADF, Navy, Army or Air Force. This has continued with social workers since 1996 referring to themselves as Defence social workers. They continue to hold a shared professional identity.

Shared Professional Identity

Professionals building their professional practice in terms of the ideology of professionalism perceive that they have a shared identity with others in their profession. ADO social workers identified with their professional peers both within Defence and in other agencies. They participated as witnesses on professional social work practice along with ACT government social workers and social workers from other Commonwealth Departments in their action before the Industrial Relations Commission to retain monopoly of social work practice and to vary social work classifications.

Pucilowski (2000 p. 116) for example states with regard to ADFILS social workers that:

> ADFILS workers' definition of community development closely matched those principles, characteristics, elements of community development

described in both theoretical and practitioner perspectives in the profession.

In his study of ADFILS Pucilowski (2000 p. 103) found that:

> In defining community development, workers in ADFILS provided definitions and explanations that were generally consistent with those enunciated by key authors in the community development field and were also clear about what activities were not part of community development work.

ADO social workers worked within the separate organisations of the ADO but while having a similar professional identity they were often frustrated because of the existing organisational structures. ADO social workers saw the organisational structure as separating them into different and often competing organisations. Hughes (1993 p. 43) states:

> As it is presently configured the social work resource is unable to be appropriately utilised because the structural barriers results in independent professionals without adequate program direction, career progression/development and ability to evaluate current services.

From the late 1970s ADO social workers increasingly sought to have an ADO social work career organisation established but there were no major reviews or reorganisations to facilitate this. The Review of ADF Family Support Service Organisations (Bairnsfather et al., 1990) recommended that social worker Class 1 positions i.e. a base grade professional classification be introduced into the Defence social work structure. Professional social workers would then be able to undertake a career in social work in the ADO becoming expert through experience and training

in social work practice in the ADO.   Despite the absence of positions for newly graduated social workers in the ADO many ADO social workers had long careers (20 +years) social work practice in the ADO.

Social workers generally understood that a professional social work career was considered a life long identity. When one qualified as a social worker they assumed the identity of social worker.   Because the ADO only employed social workers with many years of professional social work experience most ADO social workers had had professional careers in other welfare agencies before joining the ADO.   ADO social workers understood that they would retain their identity as a social worker throughout their career. Expert social workers were those who through their length of experience as social work practitioners demonstrated extensive knowledge, wisdom and skill in social work practice.

Bairnsfather et al (1990) in the report of the Review of ADF Family Support Service Organisations states:

> Social workers as professionals argued that there should be a professional career structure for social workers in Defence. There was no base grade positions with most positions at Professional officer class 2 experienced practitioner level with a central Senior social work position in Canberra. The arguments put forward were that an overall benefit would accrue to Defence, social workers and clients from having a properly structured social work organisation that would provide training, career development and promotion prospects for social workers within the overall Defence environment.

Four years later (1994) Mrs Pratt head of the Review of ADF Personnel and Family Support Services agreed with ADO social workers that social

work career development was important. The Report (Pratt, 1994 p. 15) states that:

> …the social work structure was inadequate for career and professional development and deficient in access to professional supervision. The absence of peer support and supervision detracts from the development and skills enjoyed by social workers in other organisations.

The Report continues:

> There appears to be little opportunity for Defence social workers to meet and discuss issues on a national basis, which affect the quality of service and the uniformity of delivery. There is in some cases, complete lack of professional supervision (in others, it is actually 'bought' externally) and the absence of peer support and supervision detracts from the development and skills enjoyed by social workers in other organisations.

The report of the Review of ADF Personnel and Family Services reflects the views of ADO social workers. Social workers understood that their professional authority was related to their specialised and lengthy educational training.

ADO social workers also undertook Higher Degrees in Social Work studying a variety of topics of their own choice. They did not undertake higher degrees in social work on topics provided, or requested by the organisation. Higher degrees in social work were undertaken to increase the ADO social worker's professional knowledge, skill and professional social work accreditation. The study was supported by the Defence organisation through provision of study leave. There was no occupational recognition in terms of promotion etc. given to ADO social workers who held or obtained higher degrees in social work. ADO social workers

undertook study toward establishing their professional competence and expertise within the profession and to ensure that their professional practice was viewed as having high status.

Community of Equal Competence

Professionalism reinforces the understanding that professional group is made up of practitioners of equal competence. This belief generates public trust in the practice of qualified members of the profession. ADO social workers were concerned that high professional practice standards continued to be encouraged and maintained. Senior ADO social workers sought to put in place processes that would ensure a high standard from all ADO social workers. For example, requests from Command were an important area of social work practice and social workers strove to demonstrate their professional expertise in their professional response and reports. Criticism of social work reports by Command appear to have been of great concern to all social workers so that social workers were closely supervised particularly with regard to their reports. These reports made recommendations with regard to compassionate circumstances etc.

As an example, the Director of Social Work, RAAF Social Work Services provides very specific guidance to social workers in the preparation of their Social Work Reports in the RAAF Social Work Services Preferential Treatment Education Package (RAAF Social Work Services, 1994):

> The Social Work Report should provide an objective and succinct account of the personal circumstances of the member. The report should be set out as follows:

- Reason for referral
- Background circumstances (attempts by member to resolve the situation)
- Interview details - (attempt to isolate the underlying causes of any problems and indicate options available)
- Summary - summarise the important issues.

The 'Preferential Treatment' means the management of an individual member's employment location in order to mitigate the effects of strongly compassionate circumstances or personal circumstances of an exceptional nature. Preferential Treatment involves the granting, deferral or cancellation of, or screening from an attachment of posting.

Social Work Directors (Navy, Army, Air Force, HQADF) visited their social work staff throughout Australia reviewing their professional practice and providing professional direction both in reports, Handbooks and Guidelines. Professional supervision was perceived the most important approach to maintaining the quality of professional practice.

The Pratt Review Implementation Team (Pratt Review Implementation Team, 1995 p. 5) in a paper on Complexity in Social Work Practice states:

> Defence social workers understood in keeping with AASW supervision standards that social work supervisors should be at least at the Senior Officer Grade C level and preferably have a maximum of four professional officer grade 2, plus administrative staff to supervise. In keeping with the underlying assumption behind this advice and the standards of face to face supervision, it would follow that the supervision preferably be located no more than two hours away by road from the PO2.

The importance of professional supervision to ADO social workers is also seen in the comments of the Naval Social Work Manual (Naval Social Work, 1993 p.35):

> It is important that the 'cost' of supervision (in time) be taken into account in statistics and regular reports. It is not an additional or a luxury, it is a necessary professional function and one which ensures that the RAN is getting the best value service from its NSW staff.

ADO social workers saw their professional accountability to be to their profession through their professional supervisor. Naval Social Work Manual (Naval Social Work, 1993 p. 21) states:

> Naval Social Workers are not professionally responsible to the Personal Services Officer, rather they are professionally responsible to the Senior Naval Social Worker or Director of Naval Social Work.

The professional association, the AASW fostered the status of social work professionals through provision of the professional Code of Ethics, Journal, Newsletters, training and professional activities. ADO social workers ascribed to the view that the status of their profession was high as presented by the AASW.

The Principal Navy Social Worker, in 'Social Work in Defence' (1973 p. 4) states:

> In the present political and social context, the Department has much to gain in prestige and status, by recognising the importance of the human and family aspects of the total Service population by providing for a

modern rationalised and high quality social work component in its central structure.

ADO social workers understood that Defence would gain status because professional social work being professional had status within the community, particularly the Defence community. The ADF and Defence perceived itself to be providing high quality professional services in all areas.

ADO SOCIAL WORK - CODE OF ETHICS

For ADO social workers professional ethics are an important aspect of professional social work practice. An Australian Navy Order (1958) set out the first social worker's professional training and the AASW Code of Ethics 'which they were bound to observe'.
ADO social workers' understanding that the AASW professional ethics were critical to their professional identity emerges constantly in social work documents, Navy Social Work Manual 1976 for example. The Code of Ethics is regularly stated in discussions about social work activity i.e. cases and community work and professional practice.

Hunt (1967 p. 2) the Director of Naval Social work in a paper on Social Work in the Defence Services wrote that:

> …the real question for participation in any agency by social work as a profession is whether it is possible to maintain and develop a professional role within that setting. In this sense, a case could be made and has been made for non-participation in any agency, which has, in fact, clearly defined welfare goals. The yardstick is whether it can honestly be said that functions and practice conform to the Code of Ethics of the AASW.

> Social work in the Navy has used this Code as a reference point, and the confidence in role fulfilment derives partly from the conviction that social work is functionally ethical.

All social work manuals in the ADO include the full statement of the AASW Code of Ethics and principles of social work practice.

The Naval Social Work Manual (1993) for example states:

> Naval Social Workers should be aware of the AASW Code of Ethics and be guided by them in all matters of confidentiality. They should also be aware of the appropriate Defence Instruction (Navy) PERS 90-2 and any specific policies or regulations that may from time to time be developed.

ADO social workers while stating their professional status in terms of ethics were also constantly reinforcing the need for professional supervision.

Professional Reporting and Supervision

Professional supervision was collegiate with the professional social worker discussing aspects of cases and interventions (Kadushin, 1976). For ADO social workers the appropriate professional supervisor was another professional social worker. It was to the professional supervisor that social workers reported or revealed their professional practice as part of their accountability responsibility.

Reports to military and non social work supervisors on professional practice did not refer to the professional practice process but covered issues such as statistics on the number of clients contacted, the number of

cases with which the social worker was involved, projects undertaken, contact with other agencies etc. The Naval Social Work Quarterly Reports for October- December 1989 (Navy Office, 1989) provide the numbers of new cases, the cases which carried over from the previous quarter, the number of cases which were of a short contact nature only and the number of cases which were closed during the quarter. The statistics also included the number of administrative requests that were handled e.g. housing, housekeeping, compassionate leave, compassionate posting, and removal. The social workers also provided information on cases by type as defined by the social workers e.g. marital/relationship, family support, family illness, member illness, member death, financial, sailor AWOL, custody of children, pregnancy related, parent illness.

Social workers in the RAAF Social Work Information Service (SWIS) and Army ACS also reported on activities in the same way i.e. statistics by number of cases (RAAF Social Work Information Service, 1995).

Social workers in ADFILS reported on their activities through quarterly reports to the Senior Community Development Coordination (professional social worker) through their Regional Community Development Coordinator (also a social worker). The Reports listed the projects undertaken, liaison with other agencies, meetings attended etc., and provided information on the projects that were underway and those, which had been completed (ADFILS Quarterly Reports 1988-1994).

ADO social workers perceived accountability as being in terms of competent professional practice and behaviour. As the Director of Social Work Navy (Naval Social Work, 1993 p. 28) advises social work staff:

> The practice of Social Work within the Royal Australian Navy is both difficult and different. The potential for conflict is enormous. The need for ethical practice is essential. It is only by constantly demonstrating the highest standards of professional integrity and practice that Naval Social Workers can have any hope of making a positive and useful contribution in this environment.

The ADFILS program, in which there were 37 professional social work positions, was reviewed on numerous occasions. While the reviews found that the program contributed to family support they did not measure professional practice in terms of outcomes. Submissions from the Single Services to the various reviews argued that CDOs contributed to family support and that they should be transferred to the Single services and while some projects are listed outcomes are not specified (Bairnsfather et al., 1990).

Most reporting on the work undertaken by ADO social workers was reported in terms of the assumption that professional involvement meant that improvements would be made - professionalism. For example on 29-30 November 1990 at the ADFILS Training Conference the Deputy Director Operations (social worker) commented:

> We have been able to achieve positive change. Families are better informed, empowered and supported. We have been responsible for this positive change (Deputy Director Operations ADFILS, 1990).

ADO social workers consider accountability of professional practice, professional supervision to be very important.

The RAAF Social Work Service (1994 p. 2) states:

According to the AASW Standing Committee on Professional Supervision the word supervision, has a specific meaning in the social work profession going far beyond the concept of line management in administration and management. Supervision requires mediation between the organisation and the worker and the social work profession.

Professional accountability in terms of professionalism as previously discussed is maintained through adherence to the professional Code of Ethics in practice. In this regard therefore professional supervision, together with socialisation was part of the process for ensuring accountability and 'quality' social work practice. This view was held strongly by social workers in the ADO.

Each Naval Social Worker is responsible for the quality of his or her social work practice. This practice should be undertaken under the guidance of professional supervision and according to the Ethics of the AASW (Naval Social Work, 1993 p. 28).

Professional supervision was at times structured into the operating procedures for particular social work case situations. For example, The Naval Social Work Manual (Naval Social Work, 1993 p. 42) provides that:

The Naval Social Worker who receives the request for return to Australia must consult with the Senior Naval Social worker before a decision to recommend return to Australia is made. Convening a case conference including all staff, to review the situation is recommended. It should also be emphasised to family members that the decision to approve return to Australia is not made by the Naval Social Worker.

Social workers who undertook community development practice were also understood to be responsible for their professional practice and to practice under professional social work supervision (Deputy Director Oerations ADFILS, 1993).

Because professional supervision was very important to quality social work practice there were many complaints from ADO social workers that they were not receiving adequate professional supervision or that their supervision session had been 'deferred on two occasions' (DSW notes).

There is considerable documentation on the issue of professional supervision with regard to ADO social workers.   ADO social workers took action both within the ADO and through the AASW and the relevant professional union to ensure access to professional supervision.

The Professional Officers' Association (Australian Government Employment) Professional and Executive Salaries Award 1990 in the section Group Standard of the Professional Officer Position Classification Standards supported the understanding of the importance of professional supervision. The standards provide:

> Professional supervision refers to supervision given to subordinate Professional Officers which, requires the exercise of professional judgment and consists of setting guidelines for the work of professional officers:
>
> - suggesting approaches to the conduct of professional work;
> - solving technical problems raised by subordinate Professional Officers;
> - giving decisions on technical solutions proposed by subordinate Professional Officers
> - reviewing and sometimes checking the work of others.

> The Professional Officer 2 can perform complex work but only with
> professional supervision. Outside professional supervision does not meet
> the award provision.

ADO social workers working in Army raised concerns about the fact that
they had no access to appropriate professional supervision. The ADO
took the view that ACS social workers could access professional
supervision outside of the ADO.   However the Director Remuneration
Policy and Structures Branch, Department of Industrial Relations (1995)
in a letter to the ADO states that the ADO was 'in breach of the Award'.
The Department of Industrial Relations states that 'no formal contracts
for supervision were entered into and the question of supervision was not
therefore formally specified'.   The Department of Industrial Relations
continued:

> Professional supervision from an external source who has no such
> contractual obligation and who may only be contactable from time to time
> on a voluntary basis subject to an appointment does not suit the definition
> of professional supervision contained in the Standards. The definition
> confers a supervisor/subordinate organisational relationship in which the
> professional development of the subordinate is an important factor. If the
> work has been assessed as being complex and thus in need of professional
> supervision, the definition supports direct professional supervision within
> the organisation rather than non-organisational supervision from external
> sources. The ad hoc irregular arrangements described do not conform to
> the definition of professional supervision contained in the Standards.

The ADO accepted the advice of the Department of Industrial Relations
and acknowledged that professional supervision for ADO social workers
was an issue to be addressed, and that in establishing a new Personnel and

Family Support organisation professional supervision should be examined.

The Chiefs of Staff Committee considered the Report of ADF Personnel and Family Support on 27 January 1995 and CDF states that:

> …while the ADF was providing effective support for families and members it was inefficient. The issue now was not whether there should be change, but rather how change could best be effected. Improvements could be made by examining the technical control of social workers and the agendum proposed a process for implementation of the preferred option that could be embraced as a progressive compromise.

The outcome of the deliberations was that an integrated social work organisation was established in 1996. In the Defence Community Organisation (DCO) all ADO social workers had a professional social work supervisor as a line supervisor providing both administrative and professional supervision and control.

The process of professional supervision in the ADO was structured in accordance with the standards set by the AASW and the profession (Australian Association of Social Workers, 1993; Brown & Bourne, 1996; Kadushin, 1976; Schumacher, 1985).   ADO social workers were given set supervision times with their professional supervisor.

As earlier stated Army (ACS) social workers had taken industrial action to ensure that they had access to professional supervisor. Professional supervision was extremely important to ADO social worker. ADO social workers rejected considerations that military supervisors should supervise their professional practice.   In 1969 for example when the Chief Welfare

Officer East Australian Area (a military member) insisted on supervising the practice of social workers in his Area, a Working Party was set up to consider the concerns raised by social workers that this was not appropriate. The Working Party after consideration confirmed that the 'Social Workers were to be supervised by Social Workers'. In the minutes of a social work staff meeting May 1969 the senior social worker comments that 'for the first time the Principal Social Worker has been told that she can instruct the Sydney social workers as to what they can do professionally. In the past it has always been maintained that this is dependent on ideas of the Chief Welfare Officer'. The proposal that the military Director of the ADFILS organisation should supervise professional social workers (17 October 1986) was also successfully challenged by social workers. It was argued that professional social workers in ADFILS must be supervised by professional social workers because community development practice is a methodology of social work.

Summary

In terms of professionalism professional accountability for ADO social workers meant practising in terms of the prescriptions and principles of the AASW Code of Ethics, and by participating in regular professional supervision to both ensure accountability and 'quality' practice and professional development. ADO social workers accounted to the organisation for their professional practice in terms of numbers of cases, projects and activities undertaken in a period. One of the features of professionalism is the understanding that professionals possess esoteric and unique knowledge and skills. They are experts having gained this knowledge and expertise through extensive education and practice.

ADO SOCIAL WORK - ESOTERIC AND UNIQUE KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS

In terms of professionalism, professions claim the right of exclusive competence to practice on the basis of long and involved periods of training. In addition as it is understood that lay people are not well qualified to judge professional competence, the normal methods of social control,bureaucratic supervision or customer evaluation are deemed inappropriate.

Under professionalism professions are therefore the repository of specialised and unique knowledge. Hunt (1967 p. 3) the Principal Navy Social Worker states that the introduction of social work into the Royal Australian Navy in 1957 occurred because:

> In the light of increased specialisation and the pressure of other duties, as well as from the fact that there was no specialised training for welfare duties nor access to community facilities social workers were introduced to work in the compassionate or welfare area.

In a paper on Social Work and Family Life in the RAN (1965) the Principal Social Worker Navy states that:

> …the social work profession is based on the belief that each person and his/her situation is unique; and that although human behaviour is to some extent, predictable, each person's life situation is different. Therefore, the assessment of a professionally trained objective person, who is capable of empathising with the other person/s is important.

ADO social workers' comment on their specialised and unique knowledge were made in their submission to the Kerr Committee, the Committee of Inquiry into Service Pay of Members of the Regular Armed Forces (Principal Navy Social Worker, 1971 p. 1)

> Naval Social Workers consider they have a responsibility to make a submission to the Kerr Committee because they are in a unique position to comment on the disabilities of service life from the families' point of view. The Naval Social Workers' perspective has been achieved by direct contact with naval wives and parents from a wide range of situations. It is a point of view different from that of the formal organisation, from that of members themselves and very often from that of the families who see their own situation in a piecemeal fashion, while Naval social workers see it in broad general terms and interpret the problems encountered in the light of their professional training and experience.

ADO social workers viewed themselves as the 'expert' in addressing the social problems and of Service families. They argued that on the basis of their expertise responsibility for determining support to families through the Family Services Scheme (1970) should be a social work responsibility. The aim of the Family Services Scheme was to help Naval families (both wives and parents) to obtain emergency housekeepers from existing organisations in the community and provide a subsidy so that the cost to all RAN families would be the same: a dollar a day.

Social workers were successful in having the responsibility for determining eligibility for assistance transferred to them. The Naval Wives Information Booklet (Naval Wives Association, 1970 p. 10) advised that:

> …when a naval family requires assistance, they <u>must</u> first of all contact the nearest social worker.

ADO social workers' understood that they were the repository for specialised and unique knowledge with regard to social support, particularly family support.   The Social Work delegate in a letter to the Director General of the Defence Community Organisation (1995 p. 2) states:

> Social worker reports raising professional and practice issues must be seen as the intellectual and professional property of the professional and such should be signed off by the professional or conjointly by that professional and his/her professional supervisor. It is accepted that Public Service and Departmental practice is for the subordinate worker to prepare reports and for the designated superior officer to sign them. But that is a distinctly different matter from those which are written as the result of professional expertise, experience and judgment.

This statement was in response to the practice by military personnel of incorporating the social worker's report and recommendation in a report under the military member's signature without acknowledgment.

The impact of professionalism with regard to ADO social worker's understanding of their identity and the special nature of their knowledge and skills and its importance can be seen in the statements which social workers made with regard to their work. Hunt (1973 p. 1) states:

> In 1972 Naval social workers were in touch with two thousand families. Activity on this scale suggests that naval members and their families find it hard to adjust to the conditions of service and the social worker's experience tends to confirm this reasoning. It is recognised that this

conclusion could be reached because of the position in which the social worker is placed. The social worker is mediating between the worlds of the Navy and the family and is able to see the needs of both systems and at the same time participate in the hostility and tension between the two.

ADO social workers presented themselves as a professional community, the repository of specialised and unique knowledge and skill. For example:

> The Naval Social Work Service was established by the Naval Board in 1957 because of a general feeling among Naval Officers that professionally-trained social workers were needed to cope with the increasing number and complexity of personal problems which sailors were taking to their Divisional Officers. Prevention, as well as support for the naval family, was the aim in appointing social worker to provide a professional service to naval personnel and their families where matters of a domestic and compassionate nature were involved (Navy Social Worker - SA, 1971).

And in 1993:

> Naval Social Workers are professional persons employed by Navy because of their social work knowledge. Their purpose is to undertake professional social work tasks. Supervision and direction, in regard to professional activities, is the responsibility of more senior Naval Social Workers and ultimate the Director Naval Social Work (Naval Social Work, 1993 p. 8).

This belief that the profession of social work was the repository of specialised and unique knowledge was reinforced in the professional social work literature.

Esoteric Knowledge under Professional Control

ADO social workers believed that they were the professional group who held the knowledge and skill to intervene in social relationships. They considered that their professional knowledge, skills and experience provided them with the authority to participate in advising government as to how services should be delivered. As Hughes (1975 p. 249) states:

> …from the claim to esoteric knowledge and high skill flows the belief that every profession considers itself the proper body to set the terms in which some aspect of society, life or nature is to be thought of and to define the general lines, or even the details of public policy concerning it…Social Workers are not content to develop a technique of case work; they concern themselves with social legislation.

On the basis of their specialised knowledge and skills ADO social workers proposed that the ADO undertake a family census to build up a more comprehensive understanding of the Defence community and its needs. They also developed a draft ADF Family Policy. ADO social workers undertook this work in terms of their professional practice consulting with both families, Members, Command and with professional social workers in other agencies. The Director General Service Personnel Policy (1989) on ADF states:

> Initial work on the ADF Family policy has been undertaken by social workers through their national network of community development staff who have sought information from families on the issues sought that should be brought within the ambit of the policy.

There was a general view held in the ADO that ADO social workers were the repository of specialised and unique knowledge and that they access this knowledge to provide assistance in helping individuals and groups referred to them to solve their problems. For example, it was promulgated that:

> Naval social workers utilise their training to make an assessment of matters referred to them by members or command and advise on appropriate means of solution (Navy, 1990).

And in the Air Force (Social Work and Information Service (SWIS) Air Force, 1991):

> The social worker should be informed of any deaths occurring on base or in the line of duty as soon as possible after the event. The social worker can decide on the range of people affected by the event and the appropriate means by which they can be assisted.

This statement identifies the social worker as the professional qualified to make judgments with regard to the appropriate intervention and action to be undertaken with regard to the counselling of personnel following a critical incident.

While ADO social workers were viewed as professionals with particular expertise by the organisation, prestige for the ADO social workers came from within the social work profession.

Prestige within Professional Based on Colleague Evaluation

ADO social workers understood that their authority with regard to specialised knowledge and skill was drawn from their professional training and reinforced and developed by accessing training provided by various University Schools of Social Work.

As part of their professional development, ADO social workers utilised the expertise of Social Work lecturers from various University Schools of Social Work as they planned for community activities and sought to address various social issues in the Defence community e.g. mandatory reporting of Child Abuse. For example John May, coauthor with Jones of a very popular social work text "Working in Human Service Organisations" (1994) provided professional training for ADO Social workers in community development practice in the ADO in February 1989. There were many instances where ADO social work areas invited social work lecturers from the local University School of Social Work to present or facilitate staff workshops on professional issues or strategic planning for social work practice.

The Regional Coordinator ADFILS SA (social worker) states in a report dated 27 July 1993 (ADFILS Social Work SA, 1991) that the ADFILS team were liaising with the School of Social Work at Flinders University looking at various models of community development:

> The goal was to develop a more effective model of operations for community development in Defence SA. The ADO social workers were reassessing their practice approach and professional issues.

ADO social workers continually sought to enhance and develop their professional skills and were encouraged by their professional social work supervisors to do so. The Naval Social Work Manual (1993 p. 36) for example under the heading 'Professional Knowledge Development' states:

> Naval Social Workers should look continuously to expand their social work knowledge base. This can be achieved by:
> - attendance at specialised seminars and workshops;
> - undertaking post graduate study;
> - attendance at conferences, such as the Biannual AASW Conference
> - Personal Services Organisation and Naval Social Work Conferences;
> - Keeping abreast of Social Work literature, particularly Social Work Journals;
> - devoting staff meetings to discussion of social work assessment and intervention models; and
> - obtaining study grants to travel overseas, such as a Churchill Fellowship.

Such guidance in the social work manual indicated to ADO social workers the nature of the professional training which was supported, and for which it was more likely that funds would be available. The professional development was to meet professional goals and did not reflect the Training Objectives established by the organisation, which included training on Total Quality Management (TQM) and financial management.

Some ADO social workers were concerned when they were denied access to professional training. There was evidence that ADO social workers continued to negotiate for approval to attend professional training if this

was initially denied. An ADO social worker's submission to the Review of ADF Personnel and Family Support Services (1994) states:

> Having worked in the community development field with Defence for several years, I am appalled by the disproportionate range and number of professional development opportunities for those doing community development and case work.

As has been indicated the professional was considered wiser than the layperson in terms of professionalism and this was reflected in the statements and actions of ADO social workers.

Professional Wiser than Lay Person

ADO social workers held the view that only qualified professional social workers were able to undertake the work required to assist ADO members and their families with a variety of social problems and issues. As discussed previously, this is expressed in the statements of social workers with regard to the establishment of ADFILS, an activity in which ADO social workers were actively involved.

The suggestion that social workers should be employed as community development officers was, as previously stated, questioned by many in the Defence community and representations were made to the Minister for Defence. The brief to the CDF with regard to the Ministerial representations advised (Director-General Defence Force Administrative Policy, 1987 p. 2) that:

> During 1986 the Hamilton Report Implementation Team (HRIT) undertook considerable research to ensure that the structure of ADFILS provided

optimum benefit to all Service families. A major point of concern of the HRIT was the decision as to whether the community development officers in ADFILS should be restricted to social workers or the positions opened up to other professionals and 'semi' professional personnel. After much discussion with social work professionals in other Commonwealth, state and local government organisations it was decided that the only training that fully equips personnel for employment as a community development officer was the social work course.   The draft social work position classification developed by the Public Service Board and used as guidelines for Public Service job classifications is in accord with the functions and roles assigned to the ADFILS community development officers.

ADO social workers also expressed concern when personnel who were not professionally trained social workers undertook counselling of members and their families.

An ADO social worker in a submission to the Review of ADF Personnel and Family Support Services (Brown, 1994) states:

> One feature of the Army Community Service organisation which raises concerns for me as a professional is the role carried out by the uniformed member - the Community Service Officer. The military member who fills this position is not required to have any appropriate formal qualifications or experience in the 'welfare' field, yet engages in duties which one would normally expect to be provided by a professionally qualified person. This situation whereby an unqualified person is involved in crisis counselling and community development, for example, with limited or no knowledge or understanding of the processes, values, skills, strategies or context of their intervention is unacceptable. The lack of professionalism and accountability jeopardises the quality of service a client (be they individual, couple, family or group) should receive (and expect) and works to undermine the credibility of social work staff. The role

performed by military personnel in the Army Community Service organisation needs to be appropriate to the skill/qualification required of the position or members need to be appropriately trained to fulfil the duties required/expected.

ADO social workers raised their concerns on the issues of unqualified personnel undertaking counselling and community work on many occasions. The Social Work delegate in a letter to the Director General DCO of 7 December 1995 expressed ADO social workers' concern that by allowing unqualified and untrained personnel to provide intensive therapeutic counselling and casework the ADO was encouraging a dangerous situation. The social worker states:

> It is accepted that the concept of counselling is a very broad one however there has been a practice within the Army Community Service that case work counselling is carried out by uniformed, untrained, unqualified and non-professionally supervised personnel. The Defence Instruction (General) which has so far been published by the ADO enshrines this role for Army Community Service. This is an unprofessional practice and it is also a dangerous one for the clients of the Army Community Service. Intensive therapeutic counselling/case work is being practised.

ADO social workers argued that their knowledge and skills were unique and, the evidence shows that they used a variety of available structures such as the Industrial Relations Commission to argue and demonstrate that they possessed unique skills and knowledge. In particular they argued that their unique knowledge and skill had greater work value than those held by other occupations. The Work Value Case for Social workers in the Australian Public Service determined by the Public Service Arbitrator 24 September 1969 Determination 255 provided the

recognition for social workers that their professional knowledge and skills warranted a salary commensurate with professional practitioners.

In the Social Work Anomalies Case 1987 where social workers maintained their equal knowledge and skill with Family Court Counsellors social workers argued to the Arbitration Commissioner that they held unique knowledge and skills which, were of equal work value to Court Counsellors. The anomaly was abolished and the same salary scale introduced for social workers and counsellors. Social workers had argued that they held unique and special knowledge and skills with regard to issues such as control over workload, use of professional judgment, professional supervision and education.

Increasingly the belief that the social work profession was the repository for specialised and unique knowledge and skill with regard to social relationships appears to have created work pressure for social workers. As ADO social workers maintained that they were the 'experts' and that no other group could undertake the professional work then more and more was referred for social work action. An Overview of Activities Undertaken by social workers in the RAAF SWIS NSW/ACT January-September 1995 demonstrates the problem. There were five social workers on a variety of RAAF bases.

Work included:

- Preferential treatment reports and assistance
- Family related issues
- Marital issues
- Divorce and separation

- Child related emotional and behavioural problems

- Child related physical problems

- Sexual abuse

- Service dissatisfaction

- Housing and Accommodation issues

- Financial issues

- Health

- Grief and Loss

- Death

- Accident and/or injury

- Critical Incident Stress Management (CISM)

- Post Traumatic Stress

- Pre-posting assessments

- Equal Employment Opportunity/Harassment Issues.

The very busy social workers comment:

> …changes in SWIS Section which have impacted upon service delivery
> are that the greater utilisation of the social worker in a
> managerial/advisory role has results in additional tasking and support to
> units and military managers with no decrease in other roles. There are
> expectations of both military and civilian personnel for the Social Worker
> to counsel civilian staff when required. However there has been no
> increase in resources to support this.   There has been an expansion of the
> SWIS role to include active involvement in issues such as EEO,
> Harassment and CISM. The social workers were also involved in a
> number of activities which included the following:

> Defence Special Needs Group
> Emergency Child Care Schemes
> Emergency Housing Schemes

Dependants and Spouses Groups

Respite care issues for elderly parents and handicapped children

Family Support Funding Program

Vacation Care and Before and After School Care Programs

Domestic Violence Court Support

Community Legal Resources Issues Group

Defence Housing Authority Consultative Committee Groups

Post Natal Support Group

Support of Next of Kin of Members Overseas

CIS Debriefings following incidents on bases

SWIS briefings for Units and Sections as required and requested.

Increasingly social workers from all ADO support programs Navy Personal Services, Army Community Services, RAAF SWIS, ADFILS were involved in CISM, EEO and programs to address problems of harassment among Service personnel (RAAF Directorate of Social Work Services, 1991).

Social workers often saw the cause of their overwork as being one of resources and of the nature of the setting (military). A Navy Social Worker in a paper on Social Work in One Isolated Setting: the RAN (1990 p. 3) states:

> An unfortunate aspect of the setting is that other professionals, and the clients too, often expect the social worker to be capable of doing the impossible. It takes a person with no small degree of self-confidence to withstand this pressure, to be selective in the referrals they accept, to maintain a firm cut-off point so work is not taken home, and yet generate an appreciation and acceptance of oneself and one's professional worth.

As well as increased workloads ADO social work resources were limited. Recruitment action to fill vacant ADO social work positions was delayed

because of lack of funds or because of the security requirements of positions. The Report of the Review of ADF Personnel and Family Support Services (Pratt, 1994 p. 15) states:

> Unacceptable delays occur in recruitment of social workers to vacant positions with 6-8 months not uncommon. This is anomalous in view of the common perception of 'burn-out' and overload with caseworkers and perpetuates the unnecessary turnover rates being experienced. As a result, family support in the social work sense is often seen to be reactive rather than preventative. Social Workers often described themselves as working in an isolated and hostile environment with little opportunity to develop additional professional skills and management ability. This was said to lead to frustration and turnover.

In terms of professionalism there appears to have been a view held by both the organisation and ADO social workers that the professional social worker would meet the needs in some way. The increased referral of ADO Members and families to community services may reflect ADO social workers' response to meeting client needs with decreasing resources.

Summary

ADO social workers understood that they held specialised and unique knowledge and skills acquired through successfully completing their degree in Social Work. Their specialist knowledge and skills were developed through undertaking professional social work training, reading professional texts and journals and through experience as a professional social worker in a long social work career.   ADO social workers considered that they were wiser than lay people and those from other professions with regard to social workers' field of practice i.e. 'the

intersection of the personal and the social' (Thompson, 2000). Social workers took action to ensure that non-qualified people ie without social work knowledge and skills did not attempt to undertake 'social work' tasks and responsibilities.

CONCLUSION

This chapter reports on the analysis of ADO social work documents and statements, which reflect aspects of professionalism. ADO social workers as independent professional practitioners with generic practice knowledge and skill provided an expert professional social work service through a fiduciary relationship. ADO social workers accepted that each case or community work situation is different and they applied their wisdom and professional knowledge and skill to solving the presenting problems. ADO social workers determined when the professional intervention was complete. They maintained a monopoly on particular knowledge and skills, positions and areas of practice. They maintained professional monopoly through their professional association, the AASW, both with regard to accreditation of social work training, membership eligibility of the AASW and also through professional socialisation. ADO social workers were accountable for their professional practice through the AASW Code of Ethics and through professional peer supervision. They shared a professional social work identity (understandings, practices and language) with others in the profession and understood that professional recognition came through a lengthy career in social work practice and well-developed professional skills and knowledge. ADO social workers understood that they held special

knowledge and skill and were wiser than lay people with regard to work in social work areas of practice.

It is argued that the data reflects the impact of professionalism in ADO social work understanding and practice. ADO social workers pursued and were defined by professionalism.

Chapter 7 continues the discussion particularly with regard to the impact of new professionalism on ADO social workers' identity and practice.

7. NEW PROFESSIONALISM AND SOCIAL WORK IN THE AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE ORGANISATION

INTRODUCTION

The Australian Government reforms of the 1980s and 1990s impacted on ADO social workers' practice. The reforms sought to facilitate an organisational structure, information system, control system, accountability and evaluation system which would enable the organisation to meet its goals in an efficient and effective way (Painter, 1988). The Commonwealth government required that every Commonwealth agency must meet the goals established by the government which represents the people. It was anticipated that ADO social work would reflect this change and that an ideology of new professionalism would operate to transform social workers' practice.

During the 1990s the Australian Government reforms introduced into ADO focused on changing culture, structures and practices. Training was aimed at implementing government and organisational reforms. All Defence personnel participated in change workshops (Defence Training and Development Consultancy Service, 1995). Social workers undertook Defence training programs on change, participated in focus groups on restructuring, and were addressed by senior ADO leaders on the reforms and the changes that were being introduced.

Some of the reforms were outlined in the Defence (Restructuring) Agreement 1994 (Department of Defence, 1994) Clause 10 - Restructuring of the Defence Organisation. The Agreement states that:

> (a) Implementation of agency bargaining in Defence is occurring in the context of an extensive program of reform within the Defence Organisation.
> (b) Under the Force Structure Review and related reforms, Defence has developed a broad set of strategies to redirect resources from administrative and support areas to combat capability so as to meet the Defence needs of the nation into the next century.

Chapter 6 presented the findings with regard to the impact of professionalism on ADO social work. The case study anticipated that the cultural and ideological changes and government and organisational reforms would impact on ADO social work so that it would be possible to discern the impact of new professionalism on ADO social workers' understanding and practice particularly during the period 1990-1996. New professionalism implies a new and different understanding of professional identity, understanding and practice (see Chapter 4).

This chapter considers the data from the case of ADO social work in terms of the impact of new professionalism on ADO social workers' identity, understanding and practice. It is argued that in the light of fundamental social change new professionalism would provide the normative values and beliefs on which professional behaviour, particularly with regard to the professional relationship, values and practices, would be based. New professionalism would also provide the norms by which practice boundaries, occupational activity, accountability and knowledge and skills would be defined.

The question was, are the norms of new professionalism reflected in ADO social work? The data from the case of social work were analysed in terms of the various expressions of new professionalism outlined in Chapter 4.   The findings are correspondingly presented in this chapter as follows:

ADO SOCIAL WORK

Relationship	Transparent, contract, exchange
Values/Practice	Specialisation, flexible, competition, teams
Practice Boundaries	Organisational status, identity, Accountability - meeting the Defence Mission
Autonomy/status	Jargon free, entrepreneurial marketed competitive programs
Accountability	Organisation meets consumer satisfaction and achieves outcomes for customers through accountable performance management and appraisal.
Knowledge and Skill	Competencies, standardisation, continuous improvement, CPE

The data collected as part of the case study of ADO social work for the period 1957 to 1996 reveal the operation of the ideology of professionalism in the development and operation of social work as discussed in Chapter 6.   Despite a period of rapid change (1987 to 1996) in both society and the ADO there was little evidence that demonstrated the operation of new professionalism in ADO social workers' practice.

ADO SOCIAL WORK - CONTRACT RELATIONSHIP

Analysis of the data did not demonstrate significant change to the way in which ADO social workers understood their identity and practice with regard to their professional relationship with clients. Some social workers did urge their colleagues to address the need for change to practice. The Senior Naval Social Worker, Western Australia in a paper presented to the RAN Personal Services Conference (Senior Naval Social Worker Western Australia, 1991) states:

> If we state our goals, train our people and deliver quality service we will go from strength to strength. Practice objectives we might have:
> a.   We are customer oriented.
> b.   We believe in the abilities of the individual.
> c.   We must be responsive and responsible.
> d.   We believe in quality.
> e.   We are action oriented.

The Senior Naval Social Worker continues:

> …we need to aim at 'best practice', which includes consumer participation, better information, development of service speciality in preventative work, greater skills in brief Therapy Models and Crisis Theory, attitude change - engender client respect, establish a system of client referrals to outside agencies, move to 'one stop shop' concept of service delivery.

The Senior Naval Social Worker called for change to ADO social work practice. His description of social work practice reflects the impact of

new professionalism which is customer focused, specialist service and team delivery.

Contractual Relationship

A minority of ADO social workers established contract based practice as part of their social work intervention. Such approaches however appear to be understood in terms of social work practice under professionalism. The task-centred casework approach (Reid, 1978) and 'contracting' (Seabury, 1976; Wood, 1978) originated from research into brief casework in the 1960s and as (Preston-Shoot & Agass, 1990) point out a 'contract' is a useful tool which challenges powerlessness, dependency, passivity and oppression (Lee, 1991).

Through the Defence Reform Program the Defence organisation introduced the process of establishing contracts between customers for service provision. Social workers, however, did not generally change their view of the professional/client relationship although some social workers did begin to express a view that this was necessary. No papers or documents were located in which social workers articulated the organisation goals, the broader contract with the community and how these related to outcomes which ADO social workers had to achieve. With regard to the provision of child care services there was discussion that such services would assist retention in the ADF (Pucilowski, 2000). ADO social workers presented themselves as the professional group who were able to address the social problems of Members and their families. Social work was understood as an input not an output in terms of new professionalism.

During the 1990s all ADO social workers expressed the concern that workloads were increasing (Pratt, 1994). The Senior Naval Social Worker WA (1991) stated that:

> There is a growing expectation among ADF families, generated by both the general change in community values and the results of the Hamilton Report, that family support services will do more and more to resolve individual and community problems. Given that resources are limited, some clear direction on the appropriate bounds the work of the social workers and Personal Service Officer (PSO) are essential. As a starting point it might be possible to redefine the role of the PSO and Social Work as being limited to events which are at least indirectly linked to a member's military service. It is acknowledged that the problem of "grey" issues will remain - but there has to be a legitimate point at which referral to outside civilian agencies becomes the appropriate reaction to a presenting problem otherwise there will be duplication and overload.

Contracts in terms of new professionalism relate to the agreed contract between the agency, government and community to provide particular services. Social workers as the organisation's agent along with others determine the particular services that will achieve this outcome. Organisation employees work as a team to deliver the services. In such an environment the professional delivers those services which are well articulated, publicised and understood. Specialisation is clearly advertised and understood by the customer. The customers would be aware that they would need to go to another agency for services not provided by the organisation.

The concept of specialisation, public articulation of the goals or outputs of the service and eligibility are related to the transparent nature of the contract relationship under new professionalism.

Transparency - Competence and Accountability

Eve and Hodgkin (1997) comment that the professional/client relationship in terms of new professionalism is not based on trust built on mystique but trust built on transparency about competence and accountability. As Lishman (1998) states social work practice in terms of new professionalism is based on a relationship, which is transparent and focused on specific outcomes.

As outlined in Chapter 6 ADO social workers operated as experts in social work practice. Part of the problem in establishing transparency in a contract relationship with clients under new professionalism is related to the need for social workers to establish and articulate their competencies and to restate their activities (social work practice) in terms of outcomes. There was no evidence in the case study that this process was undertaken in any organised or public way (Camilleri, 1996). ADO social workers expressed goals and outcomes in terms of professionalism ie provide a social work service.

Exchange of Knowledge and Skills

ADO social workers did not develop collaborative working relationships or partnerships with customers or other service providers to provide services. There were no documents which outlined the nature of partnerships, how they would be established or proceed. ADO social

workers continued to provide social work services as requested with increasing complaints from Command and customers that social workers were not available. Customer's demanded a changed relationship with ADO social workers. As discussed in Chapter 6 they increasingly sought help from programs and services from other agencies eg Vietnam Veterans' Counselling Service, Relationships Australia, Community Health Centres, and Disability Services. These agencies were clear about the services they provided (nature of the service, eligibility requirements, number of interviews, outcomes). Customers could choose the most suitable agency with regard to their difficulties.

Summary

ADO social workers did not change either their understanding or practice with regard to their professional client relationship that indicated new professionalism. ADO social workers' relationships with clients were not contractual, transparent, partnership exchanges where knowledge and skill were transferred as part of the process of achieving outcomes for customers. The contracts that some social workers developed with clients reflected a methodology of social work practice in terms of professionalism. ADO social workers continued their social work practice as experts helping clients through the development of a fiduciary relationship with regard to their problems.

ADO social workers did not perceive that they were professionals with a product to 'sell' to customers. Such language did not relate to ADO social workers' understanding of their identity and the nature of their practice.

ADO SOCIAL WORKERS - SPECIALIST PRACTITIONERS

Specialisation

In the marketised human services and support arena professional social workers provide services and programs that meet consumers' needs as agreed by the organisation/agency. Specialisation is important as it is through specialisation that customers have choice. They are able to choose the type and nature of service that they determined best meets their needs. Choice is a basic value in the consumer society as it is through competition that more efficient and effective services for customers are developed. Efficient and effective services emerge because those delivering the services are continually trying to improve the service to meet customer's needs i.e. to deliver a more efficient and effective output.

ADO social workers argued their position in the organisation in terms of generic social work practice (Brown, 1994). They did not specialise in terms of new professionalism. The methodologies used continued to be individual, group or community and were selected on the basis of individual professional interest not in terms of an agreed approach within the organisation to achieve best outcomes.

The Director of Social Work and Information Services RAAF in an address to RAAF Chaplains Conference (1991) did, however, observe the coming need for specialisation and subsequent team work. The Director states:

> I hope there will be more co-operative and joint ventures between the
> professions. There should be recognition of those who have acquired
> particular expertise. These skills should be accessible to all by, for
> example, having such individuals train others or conduct various programs
> on bases around Australia. Air Force should have a pool of skilled
> individuals from which it can draw on to maximise advantage for the
> maximum number of people.

During the 1990s however ADO social work energies were focused on providing social work services to those in crisis and to responding to the various reviews and proposals for reorganisation of social work organisations and the family and personnel support areas.

After senior management agreement in 1995 to the integration of all ADO social worker organisations into one organisation, the Defence Community Organisation (DCO) all staff in the new DCO organisation participated in 'team' training (Defence Community Organisation, 1996d).

Organisational Form – 'Teams'

Under new professionalism work, in an organisation is no longer understood in terms of individual professional practice. All members in the organisation contribute to the outcome for customers. Customers who want the best outcome benefit from all experts in the organisation working towards delivering the outcome. Because of specialisation and the importance of outcomes and outputs, teams of people work together to provide the outcome for customers and the team includes a variety of professionals or occupational groups. It is therefore 'unprofessional' under new professionalism to retain a personal process focus and to resist

working with other members of the team. Such an approach to work is considered inefficient and ineffective in terms of providing a customer with a service.

In response to the ADO's statement that 'teams' were important in the reformed ADO, social work management began to articulate the view that the most effective way to achieve support for members and families was to work together with others in the team. The Director of Social Work Air Force in (1991) in an address to the Defence Chaplains Conference states:

> Social Workers, like Chaplains, are threatened by drastic change and need to adapt. More cooperation and joint ventures between professions ie Social Workers, Chaplains, Psychologists, Doctors, Nurses and use of those individuals who have developed special expertise is the way to go together with sharing of information between groups. While different groups may have different biases and approaches it seems that with respect to each of their fundament objectives there is a great deal of common ground and this warrants a much closer liaison. I believe there should be a regular exchange of information between the professional groups. This perhaps may extend to the setting up of similar methods by which information can be gathered and processed, and perhaps there could be sharing of literature, brochures, pamphlets relating to our work.

While there was discussion about the value of 'team' work in practice ADO social workers maintained their professional boundaries and complained about the involvement of others in what was described as 'social work'. There does not appear to be any situations where ADO social workers in attempting to meet a stated outcome called workers together and negotiated the roles of various members in the work team to

achieve the 'outcome'. Most meetings appear to have been coordination meetings where an attempt was made to coordinate the work of diverse individuals through their agreement to participate and take action.

The Review of ADF Personnel and Family Support Services (Pratt, 1994) recommended that:

> …an integrated social work service should be based on social work teams in each region, practising in the family domain, receiving professional direction regionally and relating to one directorate in Canberra. This concept allows a direct relationship between practice and policy and most importantly provides a teamwork concept that allows Defence social workers to draw from each other.

Rather than perceiving the team as a working unit of a variety of professions the team was viewed as a group of similar professionals working together in a location.

The recommendations of the Review of ADF Personnel and Family Support (1994) do not suggest any need for ADO social workers to change their practice approach or to understand their social work practice in different ways. For many isolated social workers the Review Team's recommendation meant that they would no longer be isolated practitioners but they would become part of a team of social workers. As ADO social workers did not change their understanding of practice or ways of working it is argued that they understood the concept of teams in terms of professionalism not new professionalism. The integrated organisation was viewed as a social work organisation with social workers continuing to practice as individual experts.

In the new organisation the various ADO social work sections and organisations would be amalgamated into one. Professional social work practice in the ADO would continue as it had in the past. However, there was now the possibility of support, and opportunities for working with other social workers and the ability to undertake the full range of social work methods of practice in response to client's presenting problems. ADO social workers would no longer be confined to a particular methodology by management.

Reflecting the reformed public service, however, it was stated that the DCO would be flexible and responsible with a client/customer focus, provide input and add value to the higher decision-making process, be a national organisation with a regional service delivery responsibility, have a consultative management style and, be accountable, credible, innovative and creative. All employees would be appropriately qualified and demonstrate appropriate practice and ethical standards (Defence Community Organisation, 1995).

The DCO was to be established in terms of the organisational structure of Self Managing Teams (SMTs). The DCO Guidelines 1996 p. 26 state:

> Central to the DCO philosophy is its strong adherence to the concept of teams and teamwork at all levels of its operations. At the service delivery level, DCO staff work in area multiskilled teams consisting of social workers, family liaison officers and regional education liaison officers, supervised by an Area Coordinator social worker responsible to the Regional Manager and collocated with (where possible) and tasked by the relevant single Service support agency (Defence Community Organisation, 1996b).

DCO management explained the move to the idea of SMTs through a variety of communication strategies. One such forum was the DCO Self Managing Teams Workshop (Defence Community Organisation, 1996d) which provided the following reason for a team organisational structure:

> Why move to Self Managing Teams?
> - Flattening structures
> - Free up supervisors to manage
> - Increase flexibility
> - Growing complexity in processing information in organisations therefore need more input from more people
> - Capture synergy
> - Rate of change has increased significantly therefore need to speed up communication
> - Increase acceptance/involvement/motivation from people
> - Increase job satisfaction/fulfilment.

The DCO Guidelines (Defence Community Organisation, 1996b p. 27) state:

> Formal team development and team building introduced by the Headquarters of the DCO are to be continued by regional and area managers in a manner consistent with participatory work practices. Team building is seen as an ongoing process and needs to be integrated into the work place procedures and thus be reviewed and updated on a regular basis.

During 1996 all DCO staff participated in many training sessions on Self Management Work Teams. As Crowe (1996) states:

One of the main priorities for the DCO was to develop a comprehensive team building program particularly at the regional and local level.

The DCO Guidelines 1996 (Defence Community Organisation, 1996b p. 74) state:

In a self managing team boundaries between members are less clear and skilling in diverse areas is expected. Whilst there are still discrete areas of responsibility in the team, for example, the roles of the social worker, the family liaison officer and the regional education liaison officer in a Self Managing Team there is more blurring of these roles in the sense that the team has the responsibility to see tasks are carried out, rather than this being an individual's responsibility.

The DCO Guidelines on self managing teams were directed at change to DCO staff's ways of working. They were a management initiative and attempts to encourage ADO social workers to shape their identity, understanding and practice in terms of new professionalism as expressed in the concept of self managing teams, and the idea that all team members were responsible for producing the outcomes, were not successful. ADO social workers' understanding and practices remained unchanged. The Guidelines appear to have encouraged a situation where each member of the team was responsible for seeing that other members did their job. This resulted in many staff complaints and grievances.

The introduction of 'teams' challenged the identity and understanding of professionalism in the ADO, and staff took industrial action. Social workers were concerned that their professional responsibility, autonomy and authority were challenged by these changes. They claimed there was an attempt to 'de-professionalise' social work. In a letter to the National

Industrial Officer, Community and Public Sector Union February 1998 the Director of Industrial Defence states:

> Ms Crowe (the Senior Social Worker) advised that the concept behind self managing teams was that teams would accept responsibility for successfully managing their own project work. This approach would also allow for more flexible and fluid management of work and greater development of opportunities for staff.

The Director of Social Work addressing the first DCO Regional Manager's Workshop June (1996) states:

> The DCO organisational approach is one of team work. The team structure enables us to address the situations and needs as they are manifest in each area. We are modelling a way of working which the military chiefs are endorsing and encouraging. Team work means sharing power and behaviour change. We all find that hard.

The DCO allocated resources toward presenting and training social workers and other DCO members in the concept of self managing teams. The DCO Bulletin 1/96 states:

> Self Managing Teams. One of the principal tenets of DCO operational strategy is the notion of team work and in particular the self managing team concept. The DCO aims to deliver its services at the local level using a team approach. The Self Managing Team concepts are seen as the foundation for building a highly motivated and creative organisation committed to quality service to the ADF community.

While the training pointed toward a different way of operating e.g. shared leadership, team purpose, vision, targets, goals, understanding customer

requirements there was no discussion of how this might impact on existing understandings of social work practice in the ADO. There appears to have been a view held by social workers that the SMT approach was a form of organisation that would be incorporated into social work practice under professionalism. SMT was like many other changes understood to be a new name for a previous form of organisation – a Section. Teams, like Sections or Groups stated that they provided social work, family, education and military liaison. These were a continuation of the services that had previously been provided by the four organisations (the Services and Defence). Team members undertook the duties associated with the particular role of social worker, family liaison officer, education liaison officer, military liaison officer. The senior social worker was the team leader or supervisor.

A DCO self managing team which was a work group that operated with varying degrees of autonomy and without a visible manager and where management responsibility was assumed in addition to the team performing its specific jobs did not develop. The responsibilities of planning, organising, directing and monitoring both the team's jobs and the administrative functions that support the groups were not identified in any team. ADO senior social workers complained that they had increasing administrative tasks to perform i.e. providing management information, maintaining statistics, writing reports on services. There were no teams where team members learnt and shared jobs usually performed by management. The DCO teams remained part of a hierarchical organisation with the Regional Managers DCO (social work) taking responsibility for the management and administration of the Regional DCO organisation. Control of work to achieve outcomes did not come from within the team but from outside it.

ADO social workers resolved their professional dilemmas with regard to SMTs by returning to concepts of service delivery where they provided social work services to clients as they had done in the past. ADO social workers and other support staff found it difficult to reconcile unpredictable problems of clients with processes for implementing SMTs. For example, the DCO Self Managing Team Workshop (Defence Community Organisation, 1996d p. 23) provides the following guidance with respect to implementing a Self Managing Team:

Key steps in the implementation of Self Managing Teams are:

> **Step 1**. Determine all duties that the team might reasonably take on during the year. Stick to broad responsibilities.
>
> **Step 2.** From the list generated in Step 1 identify those duties or tasks that are definitely not within the teams boundaries. These are activities that should be left to others such as management, accounting or personnel.
>
> **Step 3.** Allocate duties within team boundary to relevant time-frame.
>
> **Step 4.** Review duties and determine skills required to support.
>
> **Step 5.** Develop a specific timetable for assuming the duties along with training and support program to ensure team members are ready to take them on.

ADO social workers who understood and practiced in terms professionalism found the concepts and processes of SMTs unrelated to their understanding of professional social work and the large case loads of complex case situations they were required to address.   No documentary data were located to show that ADO social workers understood their social work practice from the perspectives presented in the SMT training. Social workers did not use tools such as Total Quality Management or Re-engineering (Edwards, Cooke, & Reid, 1996) to achieve outcomes

and meet the requirements of a changed environment. As the Evaluation Report of the DCO (Defence Inspector-General, 1999 p. 8-9) states, 'social workers did not recognise themselves as managers'. The report stated that management expertise was problematic and that social workers admitted to the evaluators that they 'needed management training'.

The organisational structure of teams in terms of new professionalism facilitates the ability to meet customer outcomes in a competitive environment. By articulating the goals or outcomes, work proceeds within the team to use all resources as effectively as possible to achieve these thus saving resources and providing quality outcomes. Only those agencies that meet goals and provide outcomes continue to be supported both by the organisation and customers.

Professional Competition

ADO social workers did not market their services in ways that demonstrated their particular skill and ability to meet stated outcomes. While ADO social workers provided case management support during critical incidents and were highly commended by all for their abilities, this skill was not articulated as being a DCO social work specialised service to the ADO. The skills and competencies required for such practice were not articulated or marketed in terms of how they assisted the ADO to meet particular outcomes. ADO social workers continued to defend their professional boundaries with respect to social work practice pointing out that non qualified personnel should not undertake roles and functions identified as being the responsibility of qualified social workers. Social workers continued to report their involvement in critical

incidents, support, casework and community work as part of professional social work practice.

As stated previously there were no fully functioning self managing teams in the DCO and ADO social workers did not perceive themselves as having to compete with others to provide social work services or to undertake social work practice. Social workers maintained their professional boundaries through the requirement for mandatory qualifications (i.e. eligibility for membership of the AASW) and industrial action based on the need for professional social work positions for professional supervision to ensure quality professional practice.

Professional Organisation - Permeable and Flexible Boundaries

Under new professionalism professionals have flexible borders and are not closed systems. Monopoly is not encouraged. Professions grow and expand because they are able to demonstrate their ability to achieve outcomes for customers. ADO social workers however did not support the creation of positions other than professional positions (Coulson, 1997). While the Department of Defence in its implementation of the Structural Efficiency Principles (1990) classified all professionals (social workers, psychologists, engineers, doctors, librarians) into a general classification of professional officer, within the ADO, the boundaries between professions remained firm.   Only applicants who met the mandatory criteria for eligibility for membership of the AASW were recruited to social work positions in the ADO.

The Director of Social Work Air Force in an address to a RAAF Chaplains Conference (1991) argued, however, that:

> …the Social Work profession must remain malleable to be able to address the problems that might emerge as a result of this climate of rapid change. Flexibility meant that ADO social workers would become involved in a wider variety of areas of social concern.

The move of ADO social workers into an area of social concern for example, running workshops, Equal Employment Opportunity advice etc were undertaken in terms of professionalism i.e. social workers were experts in the field of social relationships.

Social workers viewed involvement in a wide variety of situations to be appropriate social work practice as evidenced in the report by social workers from the Social Work Information Service Air Force (Social Work and Information Service (SWIS) Air Force, 1993). There was no suggestion in the documents reviewed and in discussions with social workers that it was necessary to articulate the particular competencies or skills required to undertake this practice. There was also no consideration that social workers may be at some time in competition with others to provide this support. In terms of the work undertaken in a competitive environment there are a number of areas of work undertaken by ADO social workers, which it is argued other groups would contest. The social workers in the Social Work and Information Service Air Force (1993):

- attended meetings of the Defence Housing Authority consultation group;
- helped to set up a local EMDR network;

- designed and presented stress/change management topics for resettlement seminars;
- designed and implemented health/fitness/lifestyle courses;
- developed a Critical Incident Stress Management (CISM) team;
- held a multilingual morning tea with Asian spouses to which member of the local ethnic community were invited;
- developed a workshop on discrimination;
- developed work preparation courses for spouses;
- ran marriage enhancement courses and workshops
- provided seminars on basic counselling skills for middle management;
- undertook child care needs surveys;
- developed and presented education programs on domestic violence and sexual harassment;
- provided seminars on separation due to service requirements, maintenance and access;
- formed mothers' clubs;
- developed a video on the Social Work and Information Service;
- developed and presented managing change workshops, health promotion for females, cross-cultural awareness; and
- organised information sessions on changes to the Department of Social Security legislation.

The documents, which reflect ADO social workers' concern with boundaries (e.g. industrial) state that social workers were qualified to undertake the work and others were not. The arguments put forward did not refer to the ability of social workers to achieve the outcomes nor the arguments as to why they might be able to achieve these outcomes e.g. knowledge, skill, evidence and why other groups could not produce the outcomes. If any arguments were put forward they related to the professional nature of social work. The Director of Navy Social Work, however, states (Director of Navy Social Work, 1994):

Social work is one discipline that does not have control over its particular domain nor acceptance of the exclusivity of its knowledge and skill application. There are many who believe that they can do a better job and attribute progress to common sense rather than social work knowledge and skill.

There is evidence that ADO social workers did on occasion act as case managers to successfully meet the outcomes demanded by Command, Members and their families. ADO social workers case managed the cases of Members and families involved in critical incidents. Evaluation of the support and CISM undertaken by Defence Support Services including ADO social workers identified the need for case management. However, there were tensions associated with social workers assuming such a role with professional boundaries an area of concern. Case management is a role in which social workers demonstrated the knowledge and skills to provide outcomes while acknowledging that it was understood to be 'social work'. However, there was no data to illustrate that DCO social workers acknowledge that this was a knowledge/skills product which could be marketed as meeting the ADO vision and goals.

ADO social workers did not evaluate their case management work to ascertain if the success of the casemanagement approach and processes to achieve outcomes and where the processes and management skills might be further developed and improved to achieve better outcomes in the future.

Summary

There was no evidence that ADO social workers developed their identity, understanding and practice in terms of new professionalism. They did not become specialists working with others in teams to provide ADO program outcomes to meet the support needs of ADF Members and their families. ADO social workers did not compete with other groups through demonstration of competencies and their ability to achieve outcomes that demonstrated that social workers were the most competent group to meet particular ADO goals for support to ADF Members and families. The values and practice of ADO social workers continued to be focused on maintaining professional boundaries, undertaking social work practice to meet the professionally identified needs of ADF Members and families and working to achieve coordination of professional services in terms of professionalism.

ADO SOCIAL WORK - MEETING THE DEFENCE MISSION

New professionalism as does new public management envisages that all employees are committed and working toward the organisation's state mission. All tasks are to be focused on achieving the organisation's stated mission.

Organisation Provides Identity and Status

Under new professionalism the employing organisation is the source of status and identity for all employees in the organisation including professionals. The organisation gives identity to the professional social

worker through the mission and goals of the organisation and the statement of the outcomes that are to be achieved.

Within the ADO, mission statements were introduced and social workers participated in limited ways in contributing to development of the mission statement. The Defence mission was 'to promote the security of Australia and protect its people and its interests'. The Personnel mission was to 'provide policies and support to ADF members and their families that recognise the unique requirements of ADF Service and promote the ADF as a caring employer'. The ADFILS mission for 1992-1993 in turn was:

> To develop and improve access and equity for Service families to all aspects of community life, thus assisting in the maintenance of morale (Australian Defence Families and Liaison Staff, 1992).

Within this mission the role of ADFILS 'is to conduct family support operations' and the task was 'to assist members of the ADF and their families to access, monitor and develop strategies to meet their ongoing needs'. The objectives were outlined as being:

> **Objective 1.1** - Continue to undertake community development programs in consultation with Service families, the ADF and the local community. Performance Indicator: Review progress of all programs quarterly.
> **Objective 1.2** - Continue to provide community development programs that support the Service families' right to participate in decisions affecting their lives. Performance Indicator: the extent to which families participate in and their level of satisfaction with the Community Development process (Australian Defence Families and Liaison Staff, 1992).

All ADFILS social workers were to consider their professional practice in terms of the need to meet these objectives and performance indicators. What was lacking in this approach was the subsequent development of the management information system to collect data for evaluation. There was no statement as to what constituted morale.

ADFILS social workers in response to the requirement focused their professional practice on community development methodology and did not pursue individual practice with ADO Members and families. It appears that ADFILS social workers understood that this articulation of their task confined their professional practice in terms of professionalism to one method of intervention. According to Pucilowski (2000) it was generally understood by ADFILS social workers that they were forbidden to use individual casework methodology in their social work practice with clients. In a quarterly report dated 20 January 1994, a NSW CDO reports that a number of referrals 'have been made to the Child and Parent Stress Centre, Castle Hill and the Child Abuse Prevention Service of NSW'. ADFILS social workers referred any requests for individual casework assistance to another agency.

ADFILS social workers did not change their understanding of their identity or change their practice in ways that would achieve a particular outcome. They appeared to have constrained their social work practice to community development approaches. Under new professionalism they might have argued for a review of the mission which conveyed more clearly to customers the purpose of ADFILs and to set a number of objectives in conjunction with customers that would achieve the ADO mission and that could be measured. If the objectives were not met then

appropriate changes could be made, the services and programs abolished and new services and programs created.

ADO social workers attempted to articulate their tasks within the framework outlined in the ADFILS corporate plan. Following a change of leadership in ADFILS, however, social workers returned to providing Quarterly Reports which did not require the report to be presented in terms of goals, performance indicators and an evaluation of whether the outcomes were met.

ADO social workers attempted to locate their social work service in the terms of the Program Management and Budgeting system by referring to the Social Work Service as a program.

The Senior Naval Social Worker WA (1991) at the RAN Personal Services Conference stated that the Defence reforms had indicated for ADO social workers that there was a lack of awareness about social work practice and that social workers had a 'credibility problem'. He stated:

> How do we rectify this lack of awareness and credibility problem without massive changes and upheaval. Some basic requirements are:
>
> (a)   a clear statement of our goals, strategies, objectives and vision;
>
> (b)   a greater emphasis on teamwork in the personal support areas - including medical, psychological, chaplaincy and administrative functions; and
>
> (c)   training of implementation teams in:
>
>   1.   understanding of the organisational goals
>
>   2.   interpersonal skills
>
>   3.   quality service delivery.

As the senior naval social worker states ADO social workers appeared to have approached the organisational changes in terms of 'adaptation' rather than 'massive change and upheaval' (1991). ADO social workers continued to practice in terms of professionalism where the profession provides professional identity and status. Social workers' goals were their professional practice goals.

ADO social workers continued to pursue their practice in terms of the methodologies of casework, group work and community work and to determine their goals as individual practitioners. ADO social workers continued to practice as they had prior to the establishment of the DCO. For many social workers there was no change in location, or change in procedures or practices e.g. Navy social work services became part of the DCO and social workers no longer referred to themselves as Navy social workers but DCO social workers.

ADO social workers continued to identify themselves as professional social workers working in the DCO or as Defence social workers. The profession of social work continued to provide ADO social workers with their identity and status and they continued to view their primary accountability to be to their profession and their clients as understood professionally.

Primary Duty and Responsibility to the Organisation

ADO social workers continued, however, to undertake casework and to develop support groups and programs in terms of their individual professional assessment of local needs. For example social workers in

the SWIS (1993) continued to assess the needs of the Services and families and to address these in professionally determined ways.

No statement could be located of the relationship of this activity to any organisational goals. Many of the tasks were also the responsibility of other specialised program services within the ADO.

In the DCO Guidelines (Defence Community Organisation, 1995 p. 90) the concept of case management is included under the heading 'Evaluation'. It states:

> DCO programs are social programs and are designed either to produce an outcome by influencing behaviour or to satisfy a need by providing a product or service. The DCO Programs are:
> - Case management in which individual objectives are set for each case within an overall program framework (casework, counselling);
> - Educational programs which, emphasise the acquisition on information and skills (community work) programs designed to provide a product or a service (Child Care: Spouse Employment). A different evaluation is required for each.

Case management requires skills in project management/contract negotiation and development etc. DCO Guidelines articulate case management in similar terms to that of case work which reflects professionalism.

ADO social workers did not report that they were accountable to the organisation for meeting stated outcomes. In terms of new professionalism it would be anticipated that to meet the ADO's desired outcomes ADO social workers who understood themselves as

accountable to the organisation would have articulated how case management for example met organisational goals ie assisted Members to remain operational and undertake their duty.

Accountability is to the Employing Organisation

As stated in Chapter 6 ADO social workers perceived themselves as accountable to their profession and to their clients who received their social work assistance. Without the articulation of goals, tasks, competencies it was difficult to determine whether ADO social workers understood that they were also accountable to the organisation for the outcomes of their practice. ADO social workers under professionalism understood that they were accountable to their professional association, the AASW and that accountability was related to ethical practice. Reports of workshops (e.g. Defence Training and Development Consultancy Service, 1995) reveal significant discussion on the question 'Who is the client'. This illustrates that ADO social workers did consider the impact of APS and ADO reforms.   For the majority of social workers the client was the individual or family with a problem although this was debated by some who stated that the ADO/Command was the client and it had been stated that 'the government was the client'.

As the DCO Interim Management Team (1995) outlined the features of the DCO, ADO social workers as previously discussed resisted change to their professional practice and took industrial action over a number of issues mainly with regard to challenges to their autonomy and authority. ADO social workers considered that they should be compensated for their work as professional practitioners in isolated settings because the work

was complex. They did not perceive themselves as members of a team providing support but as individual professional practitioners with full responsibility for providing the professional assistance to members and families. Professional accountability in terms of professionalism was the focus of the concern.

DCO management identified the values and behaviours required of members in the DCO. The DCO Interim Management Team Information Bulletin No 2 September 1995 p. 2 states that the purpose and characteristics of the DCO were:

> …the provision of a comprehensive range of personnel and family services which contribute to the operational effectiveness of the ADF. The DCO's characteristics were to:
> - be flexible and responsive with a client/customer focus;
> - provide input and add value to the higher decision making process;
> - national organisation with a regional service delivery responsibility;
> - consultative management style;
> - all people in the new organisation should be appropriately qualified and demonstrate appropriate practices and ethical standards;
> - should be accountable, credible, innovative and creative;
> - strive to be well accepted and integrated into the ADF and receive appropriate support from all areas;
> - a cohesive, unified organisation which demonstrates the value of its staff and has high morale;
> - well developed methods of communication both within the organisation and outside;
> - be adequately resourced; and
> - undertake research.

While the norms of the DCO were articulated in the DCO Guidelines establishing these norms in practice appeared to be problematic. Unfortunately few staff had access to DCO Guidelines which were 'draft' guidelines. The Director of Social Work visited DCO staff throughout Australia listening to staff's concerns and complaints about practice, resources, colleagues, and change and attempting to resolve conflicts between staff with regard to responsibilities, practices and the goals of the DCO. ADO social workers perceived that there was a lack of understanding of professional social work and changes were focused on cutting resources. Social workers saw that it was their responsibility to continually advocate for more resources as this would assist clients. There were no proposals recommending outcomes could be achieved through different methods, programs, services eg using technology, calls centres etc.

ADO social workers continued both to practice and organise their work as they had done in the past. Unlike social work colleagues in other Commonwealth agencies who addressed change by developing new identities, understanding and practice approaches (eg Centrelink) ADO social workers continued their practice in terms of professionalism.

Summary

In summary with regard to practice boundaries ADO social workers understood that their practice boundaries i.e. identity and accountability were established and maintained through the activities of their professional association the AASW supported by the evidence in the data by industrial action.

They did not, as would be anticipated under new professionalism, understand that their identity and accountability were related to their demonstrated ability (knowledge and competencies) to achieve ADO mission, goals and objectives through the provision of support programs for ADF Members and families.

ADO social workers as under professionalism continued practising as experts making assessments and undertaking interventions to address presenting problems of ADF Members and their families. Individual practitioners did develop entrepreneurial competitive programs. However, many of these operated only during the tenure of the particular social worker.

ADO SOCIAL WORK - FLEXIBLE, COMPETITIVE

The idea that professional autonomy and status stem from membership of a particular profession and are reinforced through close professional supervision was not the view expressed by DCO management. In the reformed environment, autonomy and status were viewed by management as being based on the ability of the professional to achieve outcomes in particular situations i.e. through case management or through the successful delivery of particular programs together with other team members.

In the reformed environment organisations are structured around programs not specific professional skills of practitioners. Choice is an important value for customers and this means that service providers compete to ensure that they provide service of choice. Competition is

therefore a feature of professional identity as professionals seek to develop services or programs that meets customer's needs and which customers sponsor and use.   Choice in the market culture is an important value. It means freedom and individuality. Under new professionalism the professional's identity is one of a competent, skilled and committed specialist who contributes to or manages the provision of programs which provide 'excellent' outcomes and which by using fully all the resources of the organisation are cost effective. The ADO in providing a support service to Members and families sought to develop a 'quality' support program.

The professional project in new professionalism is to define the product, which will meet the organisation's articulated goals and market it successfully.   The goal is to constantly develop new roles and to develop new programs that will more efficiently and effectively meet customer's needs. Professionals market their services to customers at the same time refining processes and information through strategic use of technology in order to achieve more for customers at limited cost.

This description of professional practice under new professionalism does not reflect the practice of ADO social workers 1957-1996. Social workers worked to develop and provide social work services for Members and families in terms of social work practice as articulated by the profession of social work, through the professional association, professional texts and Schools of Social Work. As referrals to ADO social workers increased and increased resources were not available social workers attempted to increase referrals of Members and families to other organisations for assistance and support.   There was no articulation of the specific outcomes of an ADO family support service, the social

work competencies and skills required to achieve outcomes or consideration of partnerships or purchaser/provider arrangements with other agencies to assist in achieving the stated outcomes.

Such a document would be required in terms of new professionalism to be in jargon free language. The reason for this is the need for clear communication to a wide and diverse audience. It was anticipated that DCO teams would have developed statements and papers on how to support Members to meet their operational responsibilities. These would include some of the well identified problems areas eg regular relocation, family unemployment, long separations, single parents, dual military parents, deployments etc. and that would be the basis for consultation with the community and other organisations in developing partnerships to provide programs and services.

Common Language - No Jargon

Under new professionalism the metaphors of the consumer society are used to describe services and relationships.   Within the ADO social work areas there had been, as the publicity material including newspaper stories show, a continuing attempt to provide information to Members and families in 'user friendly' language.   However statements such as 'support in times of crisis' while meaningful for social workers may not have been particularly clear for customers who might assume that such support covered, child care, insurance, financial assistance. The information was not couched in the metaphors of the consumer society. DCO services were advertised in a wide variety of formats using 'fridge magnets, pens, and brochures.   The publicity material confirms that social work services have been provided to ADO Members and families

for more than three decades (Jones & Novak, 1993; Rees, 1995) and would continue.

In the reformed environment the use of the metaphors of the consumer society were aimed at facilitating communication between members of flexible teams and consumers. In order to achieve outcomes team members must be able to communicate freely and clearly. Using the metaphors of the consumer society overcomes the problem of the jargon language of individual professional groups. Similarly customers provide input into the development of programs and services and the use of the metaphor of the consumer society contributes to the breakdown of the barriers between expert, experts and customer. Using the metaphors of the consumer society aids communication between professionals and between professionals and customers.

ADO social workers continued to use professional jargon such as 'confidentiality', 'disciplined use of self', 'individualisation', 'self-determination' for example in their professional case discussions, supervision and submissions for resources. As Pucilowski (2000) points out ADO social workers described their practice in terms common to the social work professional literature. The identity and practice of ADO social workers remained focused on individual professional practitioners.

Programs Rather than Individual Skills

ADO social workers did begin to appreciate that they needed to state their professional input in terms of programs. However, rather than relating knowledge, competencies to program goals ADO social workers in

documents and discussions retitled their social work practice as a social work program. Some social workers, however, suggested that their organisation should move to a program approach in terms of new professionalism.

The social workers also recommended (ADFILS Social Work SA, 1991 p. 7) that 'Defence adopt a nationally consistent information, orientation and integration program'. The social workers advised that these 'are predictable needs that are common to most Defence families and the need for information and orientation is one'.

It is argued that this illustrates a recognition by some groups of ADO social workers that the reforms, restructuring and societal change required a new approach to ADO social worker identity and practice. These social workers wrote papers on the issues and attempted to shape their social work practice in terms of new professionalism.   They developed a team approach to achieving the goals they developed for ADFILS SA. The team approach and the provision of programs are interrelated.   A number of factors (relocation, increased casework and community work, continual Departmental reviews of structure and practice) seem to have limited the progress of change. With the introduction of the DCO and the retrenchment of several of the social workers in SA, Defence social workers in SA returned to practice in terms of professionalism.

In her Review of ADF Personnel and Family Support Services (1994) Mrs Pratt identified:

> that there was an emphasis on social case work as opposed to family support which was the real issue (Director Navy Social Work, 1994).

ADO social workers did not discuss the implications of views such as the need to move to an emphasis on family support as having implications for the way that they practised i.e. with regard to the nature of ADO social work.

Reflecting the impact of changing ideologies and subsequent change to practices confusion can be seen in social workers' statements with regard to discussion on organisational purpose.   For example the Director of Social Work in addressing the first DCO Regional Manager's Workshop in June (1996) stated that:

> The "why we are here" therefore is because we are expert in providing
> social support to service personnel through social work services,
> including:
> * family and education liaison support
> * information services
> * support programs of various kinds
> * projects and research.

ADO social work is presented to the social work regional managers in a way, which does not differ from social work services under professionalism as described in Chapter 6. The Director of Social Work does not identify new ways of understanding social work or new ways of conceptualising professional practice in a changed cultural environment. Neither outcomes nor skills are articulated nor is the impact of the economic rationalism and managerialism reflected in new accountability frameworks, performance appraisal schemes, competencies.

Managerial

The DCO attempted to address this need for a change in understanding and way of operating in its Self Managing Team Workshops (1996). The Workbook states:

> It is necessary for management to provide clear direction in the early stages of the team development process while demonstrating their commitment to empowerment by enabling people to gradually take over the responsibility for the outcomes of the new processes. Managers have three critical accountabilities: for the outputs of others, for maintaining a team of people who are capable of producing the outputs required, for the leadership of people so that they collaborate competently and with full commitment with the manager and with each other in pursuing the goals set. It is the manager's role to set boundaries and hand over power by giving people small accountabilities for which they have total ownership.

This statement reflects the confusion, which arose in the DCO. The statement implies hierarchical control. It would have been difficult for staff to perceive the different way of working that was intended.

In hierarchical, bureaucratic organisations of industrial capitalism the management function was not devolved to service providers but retained by those at the top of the hierarchy. In the new cultural environment responsibility for managing the work to achieve the established goals is devolved to teams who deliver the outputs. The DCO however continued as a hierarchical and bureaucratic organisation. The Headquarters of the DCO maintained control of decisions with regard to management of the organisation. Social workers retained their limited professional autonomy with regard to practice, complaining however to HQDCO

about administrative and management issues to be resolved e.g. transport, car parking, hours of duty, resources, records management.

Competition - Seeking out New Roles for Professions - Develop New Skills to meet these New Roles

While there is a need for professionals to aggressively seek the development of new knowledge and skills for consumption in the changed environment there was little evidence that ADO social workers undertook such an approach. Continuing professional education continued to be professional development in terms of professional social work skills in areas such as relationship counselling. Some ADO social work staff did, however, undertake training in management. This study was toward post graduate degrees (e.g. Masters of Public Administration, Master of Business Administration).

Entrepreneurs

Although some ADO social workers raised the need to consider involvement in emerging issues, social workers did not approach their work as entrepreneurs. Most ADO social workers with responsibility for large case loads, for after hours duty were focused on meeting the individual needs of clients and responding to administration requests for information, and providing reports on individual Members for Command. A survey of ADO social work practice shows that social workers reacted to the demands of Command, clients and management. At the same time ADP social workers transferred in 1995 into a new organisation - the DCO. Many service personnel did not agree with the creation of the DCO arguing that it was a diminution of conditions of service. DCO

social workers it is argued were therefore under pressure from a variety of sources. Their focus was to continue to provide professional social work assistance to Members and their families.

While ADO social workers continued to practice their social work practice in terms professionalism some social workers suggested that the new environment required that social workers be entrepreneurial and flexible in terms of the areas in which they became involved. The Director of Social Work Information Services Air Force in an address to the RAAF Chaplains Conference (1991) states:

> It is quite likely that the duties and priorities of social workers may undergo even further modifications in the future, for I believe that to maintain our viability as professionals concerned with the well-being of people, we must remain flexible, dynamic and innovative. This means, when necessary, changing our perceptions, direction, focus and priorities. Given what is happening today in terms of the speed and intensity of change that besets us, to remain embedded in the ways of yesterday means that we reduce our effectiveness and responsiveness, restrict our range of service and limit the number of people to whom we could provide coverage.

However, ADO social workers in the 1990s continued to work in their identified areas of social work responsibility in ways which reflected the development of social work knowledge and practice under professionalism.

Marketing

Under new professionalism professionals as entrepreneurs and specialists contributing to outcomes, market their services and seek new customers. ADO social work was marketed as part of the marketing of the DCO. The professional project under new professionalism focuses on the achievement of outcomes and it is these that are marketed.

ADO social work services continued to be advertised in terms of inputs.

> 'The Defence Social Workers are professionally trained and work with individuals, families, groups, communities and base management to assist with resolution of these issues
> (Defence Community Organisation, 1996c).

The issues to which the publication refers are 'certain issues that can arise from the unique Service lifestyle'.

ADO social workers produced brochures, provided information for handbooks and articles for newsletters and newspapers which gave information on the social work service. While social workers pursued various marketing strategies with regards to their 'product', these marketing strategies were focused on advertising that there was a social work service. There was no evidence that ADO social workers' knowledge and skills (competencies) were articulated with regard to outcomes. Such articulation is a precursor to marketing in terms of new professionalism.

The DCO continued to advertise the various inputs into achieving programs rather than outcomes. Under new professionalism it is the program or outcome that is marketed not the various groups, individuals, technologies that together are part of the program delivery process. ADO social workers did not market their knowledge and skills to the organisation as a customer in their submission for resources or changes to working conditions.

ADO social workers understood that their profession was necessary to the ADF as part of the support to members and their families. This necessity it was argued had been demonstrated. Over the period (1957-1996) it had been accepted in Defence Reports and Ministerial statements that social work activity was required to support Members and families and to assist with 'retention' of Members of the ADF. ADO social workers presented their ability to achieve outcomes in terms of terms of community projects eg new bus shelter installed, lighting installed in housing estate housing military families, neighbourhood house and playground established.

Increasingly clients voiced their dissatisfaction with the outcomes that were articulated (National Consultative Group of Service Families, 1994). It was claimed by the NCGSF that social workers did not provide support services and outcomes but focused on developing the skill, esteem and knowledge of community group participants rather than finding jobs for Service spouses, access to programs for child support etc. Families wanted services. They objected to the assumption that remedial assistance was required (Murphy, 1992; Pratt, 1994).

Summary

ADO social workers continued to view their authority and status as being based on their professional identity as professional social workers eligible for membership of the AASW. There were few indications that ADO social workers viewed their autonomy and status with regard to their ability to deliver outcomes in entrepreneurial, marketed competitive programs. Social workers continued to market their professional services in terms of professional input to support not in terms of their competence to achieve outcomes.

While case management has developed within social work as a response to the cultural impact of societal and public sector reforms and new professionalism ADO social workers did not develop case management as a strategy to achieve organisational goals for ADF Member and family support. Outcomes, performance appraisal, targets however reflect the dominant culture.

ADO SOCIAL WORK - OUTCOMES FOR CUSTOMERS

The role of an organisation in the reformed environment is to meet customer satisfaction by achieving agreed outcomes. The outcomes that customers desire are those that are the focus of market research.

Customer Articulates Outcomes

As Jones and Farrelly (1998) state foremost among the early APS reforms were changes to the financial management arrangements involving

reforms to expenditure controls, improved resource management and accounting processes and a stronger focus on achieving program objectives.

In order to achieve program objectives and outcomes structural reforms introduced flatter structures to remove excess layers of management. Planning reforms reflected a major cultural change with greater focus on objectives and increased accountability and scrutiny of results achieved. The wave of reforms featured a common theme: 'improving the performance of APS agencies to achieve outcomes'.

ADO social workers were not oblivious to the demands of ADO Members and families. For example the ADFILS' social work submission to the Family Services Support Review Team in May (1990) states:

> We stress that we must not lose sight of our client group. Primarily we are here to support Defence families, to ease their difficulties with posting and relocation. We are not here to confound and confuse families. At present families are saying that they are confused with all the resources offered especially at stressful times such as posting when they need immediate help. They are saying that it becomes a challenge to try to understand how all the family support services work, and more importantly, which one they actually need for help. We strongly suggest that the agency/agencies that evolve should be simplified national structure that is easily understood by families.

While the submission reflects an understanding of discontent the problem is understood as an organisational problem, with personnel and family support provided by four separate organisations. One organisation it is

argued would overcome this problem. Clients or consumers, however, wanted articulation of outcomes to be achieved and met. 'If I went to the ADO social worker what outcome could I anticipate from my meeting with them'.

The National Consultative Group of Service Families in a submission to the Support Services Review Team (National Consultative Group of Service Families, 1994) stated:

> We want the role of CDO to change to a resource for ADF families to use to develop community projects, provide information and provide direction to a group, for the CDOs to adapt a collaborative consultative model when working with ADF families.

The submission articulates the customer's view and goes on:

> …the preferred model for the family support services is a Collaborative model, where the CDO and the spouses have skills, knowledge and work together towards the same goal. All parties are then responsible for the implementation of goals, information seeking and establishing the outcomes of the group. Spouses are not seen as needing remediation.

Customers increasingly (in meetings with government Ministers, with Senior Defence Personnel and in personal submissions) voiced their desire for particular programs and services in the areas such as removals, spouse employment, access to services, child care and education for children and spouses.

Evaluation of Outcomes

McDonald (1999) states that in the past legitimacy for organisations was due to the profile of employees offering a 'social work service' - an input. Under new professionalism legitimacy and competitiveness rests on the agency's ability to demonstrate competence in specific activities (service throughputs) demonstrably related to specific outputs.

ADO Social workers were under pressure to demonstrate the outcomes achieved through their work. As the Senior Social Worker Navy WA states (1991):

> …social work services are under considerable pressure to deliver a quantifiable service which has a demonstrable cost benefit. The goals, implementation and philosophy of our work must be restated within a theoretical framework, which can be defended in the fact of close non-sympathetic scrutiny. A concept of quality assurance is being increasingly used to improve professionals work performance. It will be far better for Social Work Sections to adopt such an evaluation method than have performance indicators forced upon them.

In an effort to demonstrate outcomes some ADO social workers focused their practice on tasks such as assisting groups to apply for funds under the Defence Family Support Funding Program and assisting in the establishment of the Defence Work Related Child Care Program. They also provided courses for military members on topics such as 'coping with stress'. However focusing on 'tasks' is not a focus on outcomes. It is still a focus on inputs.

While Corporate Plans were in place for social work (e.g. Australian Defence Families Information and Liaison Staff, 1992) reporting was in

terms of an evaluation of the outcome of the work in terms of the performance indicator. There was no measurement for example, of the extent of family participation in the community development process or measurement by ADFILS of family satisfaction with the community development process. Social workers in ADFILS were more concerned to ensure that the professional social work process of community development was based on social work theory and practised in terms of social work values and ethics (ADFILS Quarterly Reports).

With regard to objectives and goals ADO social workers developed their goals in terms of their understanding of professionalism and professional social work practice (B. Compton & Galaway, 1989). No documents could be located that link the work of DCO teams and team members to organisational goals. Social workers for example did not develop their practice approaches in terms of the DCO mission and goals. They continued to identify themselves as professional social workers and to determine on an individual professional basis or with professional social work colleagues the professional interventions required to address presenting problems. The interventions and assessments of the presenting problems remained diverse and related to each individual practitioners professional practice approach.

In terms of new professionalism management information systems provide the basic information by which various outcomes, interventions, evaluations and marketing approaches are informed. For ADO social workers while case numbers were recorded and the categories of problems identified there are no statements to the effect 'family reunited', 'member returned to duty', 'health crisis overcome', '20 ladies now in

employment after completed Skills course' etc. A DCO social worker (1996) commented:

> …evaluation of professional work and community work projects is difficult to describe and to evaluate. This has been a major failing in the work undertaken by the former ADFILS community development staff.

The Program Review and Evaluation Directorate (1999) found:

> …many social workers interviewed did not appear to know of the existence of the Business Plan. Only Regional Managers (social workers) were given the opportunity to contribute to the final version of the Plan (1998-1999). A file search indicated that while DCO HQ staff consulted widely on other plan related issues such as the out-of-hours emergency service, DCO case records, filing and transfer systems or appropriate interfaces with local commanders and the NCGSF social workers considered that it should be essential that the requirements expected from them are communicated to and commented on by them.

Evaluation of casework outcomes as required by the reformed ADO was also problematic for social workers. While accountability through professional supervision and ethical practice continued there were no comprehensive records of clients' satisfaction rates or records of the success rates of particular social work interventions. For ADO social workers it appears that meeting professional goals in terms of social work practice under professionalism remained the professional responsibility. Although the family and personnel support issues which impacted Members were known, ADO social workers did not proceed to develop evidence-based practice with regard to these matters.

Social workers stated that their outcome was 'to provide a social work service'. They agreed that the changes were deprofessionalising. It was difficult to perceive how articulating goals, practice and evidence-based practiced facilitated professionalism. The argument of this thesis is that new professional was emerging.

An analysis of the data of ADO social work revealed an absence of a management information system necessary for social workers to confirm customer profiles, target services, develop evidence based practice.

Customer Stisfaction - Importance of Quality

ADO social workers did seek participant feedback on their workshop presentations, however, there was no evaluation of social work activity in terms of an attempt to measure quality of practice outcomes. An example of feedback is the Review of the National Consultative Group of Service Spouses Team which advised 9 July 1992 that:

> …no one that the review team spoke to liked CDOs. CDOs don't do anything. Families could not say what they wanted CDOs to do. But they don't like Regional Education Liaison Officers (REDLOs) because they are not always available.

Brigadier Gordon Murphy, Head of the Review Team, recommended that:

> …there needs to be education of what is available, information and a change of attitude of Command.

ADO social workers did access this information provided by customers in the review as part of service improvement. The response was to advertise social work services in Service newspapers, family newsletters and locally produced brochures.

Performance Appraisal and Performance Management

Some ADO social workers did participate in the Defence Performance Appraisal Scheme although its introduction was still under negotiation with the various unions. Performance appraisal under new professionalism is not an evaluation of a professional's knowledge and skills in terms of their profession's standards of practice it is an evaluation of whether a professional practitioner has been able to achieve the performance objectives articulated. While there may be a variety of reasons that the professional did not achieve the outcomes this provides evidence for further improvement either in the program, use of resources, skills, approaches.

The performance appraisal approach introduced into the Department of Defence in 1989 was met with indifference by ADO social workers who continued to report on their social work practice in terms of inputs not outputs. The performance appraisal was 'reframed' in terms of social workers' understanding of professional supervision. Social workers' professional work plans for example, attending inter-agency meetings, home visit, community work activities were rewritten as outcomes with time deadlines the performance indicators. The outcomes were not expressed in terms of outcomes for customers but in terms of outcomes for professional practice.

The implications of the 1989 Structural Efficiency Agreement, which provided for the introduction of performance appraisal and performance related pay for staff in the Senior Officer Structure was addressed by the Public Sector Union (Professional Division). The government and unions agreed to the introduction of a performance pay system based on 'objective, fair and result-oriented performance appraisal arrangements which take into account departmental needs based on principles developed by the Public Service Commission and the Department of Industrial Relations and agreed with by relevant unions'. ADO professionals objected to the introduction of the Performance Appraisal System within Defence and on 14 March 1990 the Defence Performance Appraisal Scheme was shelved. Professionals argued that payment on performance encouraged 'poor professional performance'.

After further negotiations with Unions, the Department of Industrial Relations in November 1990 in the Structural Efficiency Principle - Implementation Circular No 7 432 advised:

> …the professional structures are part of the integrated and linked classification structures negotiated with the unions under award restructuring. When fully developed and implemented they will:
> - improve operational efficiency and establish skill related career paths
> - eliminate impediments to multiskilling and flexibility of staff
> - broaden the range of tasks which a worker may be required to perform
> - promote the acquisition of skills
> - minimise demarcation issues
> - ensure equitable access to base grade positions and facilitate access for professional and related staff into other groups in the APS.

In 1991 the Defence Organisation introduced another Performance Appraisal Scheme although participation was not mandatory. The actual duties performed; the competencies, skills or knowledge essential to effective performance of the actual task; the areas of skill or knowledge needing further development were all to be identified together with the recommended training and development activity to meet the development need. Some ADO social workers in the regions participated in the Personal Development Planning Process (Directorate of Development Planning, 1992) but it was agreed by the Directorate of Development Planning that additional competencies needed to be included in the process for social workers.

The acting Deputy Director Operations ADFILS (social worker) (1991) produced a paper 'Performance Indicators for ADFILS' for discussion. The performance indicators were measures expressed quantitatively and qualitatively indicating levels of efficiency and effectiveness e.g. meeting report deadlines. The acting Deputy Director stated that:

> Performance Indicators have become an ever increasing priority even though they are already a high profile issue. In developing community development outcomes and objectives there is a need to establish a framework within which to address performance issues systematically. This issue interrelates with consideration of corporate planning, the program structure, and the setting of objectives from individual localised program elements.

The paper proposed performance indicators for ADFILS workers (1991 p.3) which were to be provided within the framework of the mission and objectives which were provided. The domains to be reported on fell within 3 basic areas:

(1) Structural requirements - adequacy of facilities, staffing and personnel accounting systems;

(2) Processes or activities which are carried out to achieve the CDC objectives. They need to be maintained and evaluated for efficiency and validity; and

(3) Outcome in the form of community impact and the effect on the status of clients, needs to be addressed. (Performance Indicators for ADFILS 1991 p.1).

A mathematical formula, an adequacy of service score, provided a rating score for the information gathered. The score was to be prepared by the Directorate and based on performance information provided under the Community Development component reporting mechanism. The formula provided a rating out of 10 with the most adequate service possible naturally being a 10. Each CDC was to receive a rating.

The paper is indicative of data, which demonstrate that some ADO social workers were attempting to understand social work practice in terms of the changing ideologies. While the paper was considered at an ADFILS Coordinators meeting (senior social workers) no evidence was located to show from 1991 to 1996 that the paper or the issues were considered further or implemented.

Although the paper and proposal were not pursued they did provide a framework for measuring social work particularly in the community work method. It demonstrates that some individual social workers were attempting to address the impact of organisation change on social work practice and reporting.

At an ADFILS Coordinator meeting (12 August 1992) the impact of the
Defence Regional Structures Review (DRSR) on ADFILS operations was
discussed. The impact of the DRSR it was suggested was corporate
planning; TQM training, Regional Performance Statements; Staff
management; performance assessment; budget; professional practice.
While social workers discussed these new organisational activities on
ADFILS few were introduced as practices into the organisation. ADFILS
social workers continued to report on numbers of cases and community
involvement, complex community work issues, personnel and resource
issues.

ADO social workers suggested to their supervisors as evidenced in social
workers' quarterly reports that reporting to performance indicators was
another task, which had 'no significance to the work they were trying to
undertake but seemed to be something that management increasingly
wanted'. They claimed they were 'spending hours on this paperwork'
which was 'not helping clients'. Senior social workers participated in
the Senior Officer Service Performance Appraisal Scheme. They
developed Senior Officer Service Performance Agreement with their
supervisor covering their ongoing responsibility, specific goals for the
reporting period, performance indicators, and standards. Performance
indicators were usually not focused on customer satisfaction. One senior
social worker agreement states (21 December 1992):

> …develop alternative models of community development practice that
> relate to the needs of the Defence community and by December 1993 be
> able to present the social work and line supervisor (Deputy Director
> Operations) (social work) with at least two alternative models of
> Community Development that relate to the needs of the Defence
> community.

The senior social worker produced a paper on the topic, which was discussed among ADO community workers in terms of professional practice development and consideration of appropriate professional practice.

A social worker practising as a CDO and participating in the Defence Personal Development Scheme (1992) states that their duties included the following:

> Main duties - identify, assess, analyse and define Defence community needs based on community development principles. Knowledge and skills required include knowledge of community development theory and practice, conceptual skills, analytical skills and needs assessment skills.

The area of development identified was 'community development in these times' and 'any new technology in needs assessment'. The social worker proposed that they attend relevant workshops and short external courses on community work practice. The duties, knowledge and skills required and future training reflect an understanding of professionalism not new professionalism. In terms of the ideology of new professionalism training relates to the knowledge and skill necessary for achieving stated outcomes in particular programs. In terms of new professionalism knowledge, skill and training is contextual. It is related to achieving outcomes. It is not related to professional 'expert' identity. The tacit knowledge acquired through socialisation under professionalism is now under new professionalism acquired through the process of mentoring.

It is argued that the above illustrates the impact of professionalism not new professionalism. 'Identify Defence community needs based on community development principles' would not be regarded as an outcome for customers seeking family support. As a forerunner to a performance appraisal scheme the Defence Personal Development Scheme it is argued was not focused on a change in approach or understanding to appraisal.

The Senior Naval Social Worker (WA) in a paper to the RAN Personal Services Conference (Senior Naval Social Worker Western Australia, 1991) states:

> …the management revolution (Total Quality Management and the Flying Starfish Factory) in society and Defence is about increasing productivity. We are or will be involved in formulating mission statements, goals, objectives and the development of associated strategies to reach the objectives. A focus on productivity means a focus on performance. In this new order old ways will be challenged and despite the difficulties in measuring something qualitative as a social work service this will be expected.

The Department of Defence Performance Appraisal Scheme was for senior officers and was related to payment of a senior officer's allowance. The Scheme was in accordance with the agreed principles issued by the Public Service Commission in February 1992. The scheme had the agreement of the following unions: Public Sector Union (PSU) including PSU Professional Division, Association of Professional Engineers and Scientists, Australian Engineers and Scientists Association (APESMA) Australian Metal and Engineering Workers' Union (AMEWU) and Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance (MEAA).

While senior ADO social workers participated in the Performance Appraisal Scheme they continued their professional practice of professional supervision. As part of professional supervision they prepared a performance appraisal statement as required by the Performance Appraisal Scheme. Schumacher (1985) points out that performance appraisal differs from supervision sessions. Performance appraisal interviews take place much less frequently and have far wider scope and aims. Appraisal measures 'not only the individual's performance in accomplishing desired goals but also performance in a certain position'. Military supervisors evaluated some senior social workers. The data on this matter shows significant confusion and blurring between performance appraisal and professional supervision.

ADO professionals argued that the Performance Appraisal Scheme was inappropriate to professionals including social workers. After considerable union activity and management discussion the Scheme was abandoned although appeal, administrative and legal action with respect to the scheme continued for many years. ADO professionals challenged the assumptions underlying performance appraisal and the attempt to introduce this form of appraisal to professional practice (Public Sector Union, 1993).

Dominelli (1996) points out that performance related pay is made on outputs and outcomes achieved. If this is the ultimate outcome social workers will have to address the question of how they develop performance measures for their work. Social workers during the 1990s had not clearly articulated their activities in terms of outputs to meet the ADF vision.

Accountability for Outputs

The government's accountability policies were, Eraut (1994) argues, changing the nature of professional work in the public sector.   As a result of the Industry Commission's Report 'Competitive Tendering and Contracting by Public Sector Agencies' (1996) the Commonwealth government decided that Ministers should require their agency managers to review systematically their agency's activities.

Performance Improvement Cycle (PIC) Guidelines were implemented. The PIC involves organisations examining what they do, why they do it and whether they should continue to do it. If the organisation decides that it must continue to perform the function then it must look at other, more efficient ways of performing the function. This is accomplished through consideration of mechanisms such as benchmarking, business re-engineering and competitive tendering and contracting.

Under professionalism social workers were accountable to their professional ethic for their individual social work practice. Under new professionalism social workers were accountable to the organisation and customers for achieving organisational outcomes.

The Interim Management Team DCO paper 'Making Sure it Works' (1996 p. 7) states:

> The questions to be answered in evaluating social work are: Is the section achieving its operational objectives? Does the section satisfy the demands of the ADF, its personnel and their families and employees? Are the anticipated problems being resolved as expected? Where are the

deviations? What corrective actions have been undertaken and how well have they worked?

The evaluation of DCO social work practice as outlined above did not proceed during the time of the case study. ADO social work supervisors continued to provide professional supervision in terms of the AASW National Supervision Standards (1993) and authors on professional supervision such as Kadushin (1976). There was no management information system that ADO social work managers could access to evaluate the social work service and professional supervision continued to be conceived as an individual supervisory process.

The ideology of new professionalism impacts social work practice so that social workers are accountable to customers (product consumers) and the organisation for the outcomes of their practice. Ethical practice is valued but ethics are not the source of accountability. Accountability in terms of new professionalism requires that social workers must state what they plan to achieve or provide to customers in terms of outputs.   The program or service must be stated in ways that it can be evaluated and an assessment made as to whether the outcomes have been achieved. The DCO Corporate Plan 1996 (1996a) outlined ADO social workers' accountabilities. The Plan states:

> **Key Result Areas** - What outcomes are essential to achieving the DCO purpose thereby satisfying its clients?
> (a) The delivery of personnel and family support services and programs is efficient and effective.
> (b) The DCO and the single Service personnel support agencies provide mutual assistance with the delivery of services to the ADF, Service members and their families.

(c) All levels of the ADF, Service members and their families have confidence in the DCO.

(d) The development and management of the DCO facilitates the delivery of services and programmes that meet the changing needs of the ADF, Service personnel and their families.

Accountable social workers were to develop their priorities and activities within this framework. ADO social workers, however, as evidenced in the Program Review Evaluation Directorate report of 1999 did not use the Corporate Plan as the framework for establishing the outcomes for their social work practice. Social workers were either unaware of the Corporate Plan or did not link the relevance of the Corporate Plan to their daily professional social work practice.

At the front-line, social workers continued to receive professional supervision from senior professional social workers as part of their accountability, and continued their social work practice disregarding the possibility implications of the new accountability requirements but continuing to provide information when requested by management.

Summary

ADO social workers did not change their identity and practice in ways that reflected they understood their accountability was to customers for achieving the organisationally contracted outcomes for support programs to ADF Members and families. Social workers continued to provide professional social work support to ADF members and families as developed under professionalism.

While social workers participated in performance appraisal this was not undertaken as part of a performance management process where social workers measured their activities in terms of the ADF's goals for Member and family support.   Social workers continued to be accountable to their profession through professional practice based on the AASW Code of Ethics and professional social work supervision.

ADO SOCIAL WORK - SKILLED AND COMPETENT

ADO social workers were perceived as lacking in management skills (Pratt, 1994). However ADO social workers were attempting it is argued, to shape their practice in the changing environment in terms of the ideology of professionalism. ADO social workers understood that they had had a long history within the organisation in managing social work sections, complex cases and community situations. They saw their work as complex and difficult, and the organisation reinforced this view. The discrepancy appears to be that ADO social workers understood their professional practice in terms of professionalism and so saw their primary management tasks involving organising the delivery of services, accounting for the dollars spent and dealing with the funding and authority sources. Accountability was largely upward and internal, from worker to supervisor to Division Head. Social workers, concerned for customers, were not accountable to them. Customers typically had little choice in products or programs available and little voice in program design or operations. The system was closed to the intrusion of competitors or evaluators searching for evidence of cost-effectiveness.

ADO social workers were accustomed to providing social work services, which were non-market, professional services to individuals and families who were defined as having special needs.

It is argued that performance appraisal, outputs/outcomes, project/case management are part of the 'enterprise culture' and quasi market conditions of the contemporary Australian situation in which social workers practice. ADO social workers did not incorporate these practices into their social work practice. While performance appraisal was required for senior professional officers and ADO reporting increasingly required all work to be couched in terms of outputs and outcomes ADO social workers were still reporting in terms of inputs.

Competencies

In June 1992 the Public Service Commission issued the Professional and Technical Officers' Draft Core Competencies (1992). The Joint Australian Public Service Training Council endorsed the competencies for distribution and comment. The Council claimed that the competencies were being developed for training and development purposes only. There were nine units of competence: analysis; investigation; planning; research; management; client service; coordinate contracts and tenders; and design and interpreting technical information.

ADO social workers understood that it was the social work competencies developed by the AASW that articulated social work competencies although the ADO social workers consulted on the issue claimed that the AASW social work competencies were generally reflected in APS competencies for professional and technical officers.

Various ADO social workers attended meetings and provided information to social work colleagues on competencies but there is no evidence that the topic was one, which had any priority among social workers.

While the AASW developed competencies for social workers these do not appear in the Defence Social Work Manual. The AASW social work competencies are core competencies (Australian Association of Social Workers, 1994a). As the majority of ADO social workers had many years of social work practice experience, the AASW core competencies may have been considered irrelevant to ADO social work.

The Community and Public Sector Union (PSU) (Community and Public Sector Union Professional Division, 1993) updated Public Sector staff on discussions on competencies. The PSU stated that:

> Major reforms to the vocational education and training system are currently being implemented nationally in response to economic and social imperatives. Among the measures being introduced to meet Australia's immediate and longer term human resource needs are the development of national competency standards for industries and occupations which define what competencies are required in the workplace.

In April 1993 the Public Sector Union circulated draft competencies for social workers for discussion. Seven competencies were proposed:

1. Social work values and ethical practice;
2. Professional practice which included use of self, supervision, working in organisations, core practice skills and professional development;
3. Communicating and interacting;

4. Assessing and analysing;

5. Intervening;

6. Evaluating; and

7. Researching and contribution to knowledge.

Some social workers did comment on the Public Sector Union/Professional Officer's Association competencies with regard to entry level competencies for professionals in the Australian Public Service (APS) May 1993. The paper shows that there was no argument with the competencies proposed.

In 1994 the National Training Board and Joint Training Board introduced core competencies for Senior Officers and Professional Officers in the Australian Public Service. All APS Professional Officers were expected to hold the competencies identified. ADO social workers appear to have considered the introduction irrelevant to their professional practice. The competencies were entry level competencies and ADO social workers were social workers with many years of experience as social work practitioners. Many held higher degrees in Social Work.

The lack of action among social workers with regard to the impact of competencies on practice may also be related to the fact that the impetus for the development of the AASW Australian Social Work competency standards did not grow out of the profession's actions in addressing the change. The impetus for the development of social work competencies came out of the initiatives of the National Office of Overseas Skills Recognition (NOOSR) in 1991. NOOSR was concerned about the way in which all professions measured the competence of people entering Australia with overseas qualifications. As a result of this concern, the

Commonwealth Government, through NOOSR made funds available to the professions to develop competency standards. In 1992 the AASW Board of Directors entered into a contract with NOOSR to develop Competency Standards for entry level social Workers and Welfare Workers. The Project was completed in October 1993 with the final report presented in two separate sets of entry level Competency Standards for Social Workers and Welfare Workers.

There appears to have been an understanding that the AASW's work on competencies was related to evaluation of overseas qualifications. However, ADO social workers were confronted by the requirement to develop competencies and to consider the relationships of competencies to goals by the changes within the ADO.

In clause 22 of the Defence (Restructuring) Agreement 1994 (Department of Defence, 1994) Defence and employees agreed that with regard to competencies the Department would continue to progress the identification of Defence specific competencies with the objective of:

1. Assessing the competencies of civilian staff to achieve Defence's corporate goals and objectives and to improve job design; and
2. Assessing the level of knowledge and skill of departmental staff in order to identify training and development needs and to facilitate the introduction of competency based training.

Within the ADO environment competencies were considered a priority issue and efforts were beginning to be made to include competencies and performance appraisal with regard to competence and outcomes in the

Enterprise Agreement, and for competencies to be introduced as compulsory requirements for evaluation of work and outcomes.

There is no evidence that articulation or assessment of competencies became integral to ADO social workers' understanding of their skills and knowledge. As social workers pointed out in the responses to the Restructuring Agreement competencies did not reflect their unique skills. For ADO social workers, competencies were a challenge to their autonomy and authority as professional practitioners particularly when other than professional social workers were involved in the evaluation. As Cannan (1995) comments the political project, which underlies competence-based learning may be more properly regarded as an attack on professionalism itself. This sentiment was expressed by several Defence social workers in response to activities to articulate social work competencies as part of the government's strategies for overall reform of the Australian labour market.

ADO social workers were focused during the 1990s on developing professional skills, reinforcing organisation structures and behaviours developed under professionalism and on highlighting the problems created by structural change.

Standardisation of Procedures

Standardisation of procedures under new professionalism ensures that services and programs will be equitably delivered. Without standing operating procedures it is argued that services and programs will continue to be delivered inequitably, inefficiently and ineffectively. According to

Jones and Farrelly (1998 p.7) standing operating procedures improve effectiveness and efficiency.

ADO social workers demonstrated little evidence of standardisation of procedures in their work in an attempt to achieve efficiency and effectiveness. Standing operating procedures were in place and used by some social workers (Defence Community Organisation, 1995). Each Regional Office of DCO developed standing operating procedures related to administrative procedures, to formats for reporting and procedures with regard to use of facilities etc. This information was often developed as a tool for inducting new staff.

The military demanded particular standards with regard to presentation of reports, response to signals etc. This was particularly evident in the Standing Operating Procedures (SOPs) relating to the preparation of reports for Command. For example, the RAAF Social Work Services Preferential Treatment Education Package (1994) gives detailed instructions to social workers on the preparation of reports. Social workers as specialist officers were required to provide a report on the personal circumstances of the member.

Most ADO social work organisations also had standing operating procedures with regard to statistical collection of data about social work practice. The RAAF Directorate of Social Work Services (RAAF Directorate of Social Work Services, 1991) states:

> Social workers are to complete client detail statistical form and forward to DSWS-AF by the second working week of the following month. Social workers are also to forward details of projects to DSWS-AF each month.

> A report of social work activities should be sent to DSWS-AF every 4 months. The report should contain an outline of sections' activities, details of seminars and workshops attended, intentions and objectives plus details of social worker's involvement with base and various agencies.

Social workers did not standardise their professional practice procedures through protocols or procedures of practice. Social workers as individual practitioners in terms of professionalism addressed each referral as a unique case or community work situation.

Continuous Improvement - Continuous Professional Education

The changed environment demanded flexibility, continuous development of new approaches, better service delivery, new knowledge and skills continuous improvement and continuous professional education (Hughes, 1994).

The AASW, which has formal responsibility in Australia for overseeing the standards of practice of social workers in Australia issued a discussion document on 'Self Regulation for the Social Work Profession In Australia' (Australian Association of Social Workers, 1994b). The AASW released the discussion paper as the Australian Government, as part of labour market reforms, required increased self regulation of professions. The Government suggested that Continuing Professional Education (CPE) was one way of increasing standards and accountability. In terms of the ideology of new professionalism CPE ensures that there is continuing improvement in service delivery as professionals continually acquire and develop of new knowledge to meet the changing demands of customers and the goals of the organisation aimed at meeting consumer

demand.   For ADO social workers CPE was related to membership of the AASW and the development of professional skills. Individual social workers participated in the AASW, CPE scheme on their own initiative. ADO social workers receive certification that they are an 'accredited social worker' from the AASW if they meet CPE in terms of social work.

AASW CPE is therefore focused in terms of professionalism on developing social work knowledge and skills. In terms of new professionalism, knowledge and skills are developed in response to the individual's or team's need to achieve outcomes and training is focused on gaining this knowledge and developing these required skills.

Knowledge and Skills - as required by Task - Multiple Providers

Under professionalism, professional training is undertaken in professional schools in Universities approved by the profession. It is here that identity, knowledge, skills and practices are developed.   Under new professionalism knowledge and skills are provided by a wide variety of training bodies. While ADO social workers undertook skills training in use of technology and change for example, as a group strongly committed to professional practice as developed under professionalism, social workers maintained a close identification with the profession and the professional association.

ADO social workers understood their expertise to undertake social work practice was based on their development of professional social work knowledge and skill.   Social workers attended training courses that were an extension of their current professional knowledge. They undertook a

wide range of short courses on Critical Incident Management approaches to address domestic violence and AASW accredited training.

Summary

ADO social workers did not understand their knowledge and skill as being related to achieving stated outcomes in terms of the reformed public sector and changed dominant culture. In terms of new professionalism continuous improvement highlights those approaches and processes which are ineffective and inefficient in achieving organisational outcomes. More efficient and effective approaches also require the development of new knowledge and skills to achieve the outcomes.

ADO social workers followed a Continuing Professional Education approach whereby they continued to develop their unique professional knowledge and skills in terms of professionalism. This was related to their understanding that they were 'experts' in social work.

There was no documentation of a statement of ADO social work competencies required to achieve particular outcomes eg the competencies necessary for a team including social workers to achieve the goals of a program for Members and their families.

CONCLUSION

The data of the case of ADO social work did not support an analysis that ADO social workers developed specialised knowledge and skills as part

of a flexible team seeking to achieve established outcomes as part of the ADO mission.

ADO social workers continued in their accountability to their profession and did not understand themselves as accountable to achieving the ADF mission. The focus of activities was not on establishing competitive programs and services in terms of new professionalism.

ADO social workers did not articulate the outcomes for customers of their programs. They continued to offer ADF Members and families help and support through social work practice processes. The outcomes of this professional practice were not identified, as the process was the focus of social work practice.

ADO social workers had no MIS and evidence data bases to assist them to establish and undertake the most efficient and effective processes to achieve particular outcomes for customers.

As they had not established measurable outcomes and the competencies required to achieve these outcomes social workers did not undertake CPE to develop knowledge and skills necessary to achieve identified outcomes. Most ADO social workers attempted to accommodate changes within their understanding of professional identity and practice in terms of professionalism.

There was no evidence to support the contention that ADO social workers were attempting to change their identity, understanding or practice in terms of the ideology of new professionalism during period of the case study particularly during the 1990s.

The data did demonstrate, however, that ADO social workers found the increasing change difficult and stressful as they sought to provide support to Command, ADF Members and their families (Director Navy Social Work, 1994).

This chapter presented the findings with regard to the impact of new professionalism on ADO social work. It was anticipated that cultural changes and organisational reforms would impact on ADO social workers' understanding of their identity and practice. New professionalism implies a new and different understanding. The evidence did not support such a change.

Chapter 8 considers the research and analyses the implications of the findings. Chapter 8 also looks at the future of ADO social work with regard to professionalism and new professionalism.

8. PURSUING PROFESSIONALISM OR NEW PROFESSIONALISM? SOCIAL WORK IN THE AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE ORGANISATION

INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigated the impact of societal changes on ADO social work by reviewing the concept of profession in Chapter 1 and the nature of professionalism in Chapter 2. It was argued in Chapter 3 that professionalism is related to the political economy of a particular era of capitalism – industrial capitalism. The features of professionalism were articulated. Chapter 4 focused on the cultural changes of late capitalism including new professionalism. The emerging features of new professionalism were outlined. In Chapters 6 and 7 the case of ADO social work was examined in relation to the features of both professionalism and new professionalism to ascertain the impact of cultural change on ADO social work identity and practice. This chapter outlines the limitations of the thesis as an approach to analyse the impact of cultural change on professions.

The ADO social work case study findings are analysed with regard to the expressions of professionalism and new professionalism and possible future for ADO social work. The cultural impact of late capitalism provides opportunities for social workers to participate in reshaping their identity and practice in order to achieve their objective of social justice, quality of life and full participation of each individual, group and community in society. Social work it is argued is necessary to the

capitalist project ie the development of an active, inclusive holistic citizenship.

The study of the case of social work in the ADO illustrated that social and organisational change did not impact on ADO social workers' identity and practice over the period 1957-1996 in such a way that their identity and practice could be argued to reflect new professionalism.   In the 1990s ADO social workers pursued the professional project in terms of professionalism. Given the nature of societal and organisational change it had been anticipated that ADO social workers would reflect the emerging new professionalism. As Dominelli (2004) states social work reflects the society that produces it. It is a profession that is conducted within a society riven by inequalities which, are both produced and reinforced in and through social work itself.

The thesis argues that change to the cultural hegemony and subsequent ideological structure (managerialism, economic rationalism, marketisation, neo-corporatism, commercialism, privatisation and consumerism) (Hil, 2001) has implications for professions including social work (Breslau, 2000; Camilleri, 1999; Crook et al., 1992; Harvey, 1989).

The various ideologies of the cultural hegemony contain common beliefs and ideas, for example, flexibility, continuous change, accountability in terms of responsibility for actions, results orientation, competition and choice (Hughes, 1994). These ideas also inform new professionalism (Aldridge, 1996).

It is argued that in a changing environment ADO social workers, informed of the operation of hegemonic and ideological control, can work toward redesigning and transforming social relations as part of the emancipatory project (Camilleri, 1999; Ife, 1997; Leonard, 1997). It is argued that attempts to continue to pursue the professional project of professionalism will result in social workers being 'dispensable' (Hil, 2001 p.74) and 'discarded' (Laragy, 1996 p. 230). The changing beliefs in how work should be understood, structured and undertaken are linked to the expression of the dominant culture (Krause, 1996)

THESIS QUESTIONS

The thesis sought to address the following questions:

1. What is the source and nature of change to the social work profession in the ADO today?
   and
2. What are the implications of this change for the profession of social work in the ADO?

An analysis of the literature on the study of professions revealed the impact of professionalism on professional understanding and practice (Aldridge, 1996; Crompton, 1990; Corrigan & Leonard, 1978; Johnson, 1972, 1977; Jordan, 1990; Larson, 1977, 1979; Navarro, 1978; Wright, 1985). The thesis therefore pursued the answers to the proposed questions on the impact of change on ADO social work through a critical analysis of ADO social workers' expression of their professional social work practice (Pease & Fook, 1999). The thesis considered the

relationship of the changing culture and the transformation of society (Bauman, 1998; Camilleri, 1999; Exworthy & Halford, 1999; Harvey, 1989; Huyssens, 1984; Jones, 1998), on ideologies and in turn on ADO social work (Gramsci, 1985; Grundy, 1987).

PROFESSIONALISM AND NEW PROFESSIONALISM?

Clarke (1979) argues there never was a 'pure' social work that became subverted by the introduction of elements of control. Social work was built on the belief that through the medium of a caring personal relationship individuals could be helped (Jones, 1976; Stedman-Jones, 1973). Crimeen and Wilson (1997) are concerned that social work appears to be surrendering its stated value base in return for legitimacy in the current society. However as Gyarmati (1975) points out professions fit into the dominant ideology of society whatever it is. Ideological impact is not autonomous from social relations. Professionalism and new professionalism are reflected in a variety of actions and behaviours of professionals. The ideological nature of professionalism and new professionalism and some of the understandings that inform action and behaviour were identified in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

As Harris (1998 p. 851) points out:

> …the context within which social work operates in the late 1990s has changed fundamentally (Jones & Novak, 1993; Langan & Lee, 1989 pp. 2-3) with social work serving as one example of the Right's identification in the 1980s of bureau-professionalism as a barrier to the reconstruction of the state and its role in welfare (Clarke et al., 1994 p. 3; Clarke & Newman, 1993 pp.48-49; Newman & Clarke, 1994 p. 23). An emphasis

on managerialism as an alternative to bureau-professionalism has occupied an increasingly significant role in the reorganisation of state welfare (Clarke et al., 1994; Pollitt, 1990).'

Bartlett et al (1992) point out, that in the current social-historical context each of the 'discourses, economic rationalism, managerialism and neo corporatism presumes and implies the other'. Capitalist relations of production continue to be the central organising feature of Western society. Commodity production and wage labour for capital still exist and workers are still dominated and exploited (Kellner, 1989).

The thesis critically analysed ADO social work practice during the period 1957-1996. As Ritzer (2000) comments critical theory is concerned with the interrelations of the various levels of social reality - most important, individual consciousness, the cultural superstructure and the economic structure. Ideologies are 'unmasked' by seeking to understand the common beliefs and ideals, which lend legitimacy to the occupation and its practices (Gamer, 1979).

Caputo (2002) states that in recent times there has been an increased reliance on market mechanisms to address social problems. Fundamental criticism of the market in the public arena lost legitimacy during the 1980s and even if (systemic) 'gouging, chicanery, inequality and sheer offensive greed' do seem to go with markets, these are dismissed as 'distortions' (Carrier, 1997). Hough (1999 p. 48) states 'the market has triumphed'. Market driven models of public services have defined participation as consumer choice in a market place of public services (Mather, 1991; Pirie, 1991). Service users are seen as consumers who will benefit from competition between a range of providers (Biehal,

1993). The market idea impacts on social work practice through specific policies and practices (Carrier, 1997). As Hough (1999) points out people must deal with each other in contract-based ways.

Through analysis of the literature of research on professions and change, the thesis articulated the ideas of professionalism, part of the cultural hegemony of industrial capitalism and new professionalism in late capitalism.

It was assumed that from the 1980s, a time of significant government and societal reform, ADO social work would be changing. The features of new professionalism would emerge in the identity and practice of ADO social workers particularly as social workers attempted to address organisational and social change built on 'economic rationalism' (Crimeen & Wilson, 1997; Dominelli, 2004; Laragy, 1996). Earlier ADO social work practice, ie 1957-1980 reflected professionalism (Montagna, 1973).   The impact is discerned in the professional relationships, values and practices, practice boundaries, autonomy and status, accountability and knowledge and skill of social workers. The thesis therefore identified how professionalism and new professionals emerged with regard to these areas of professional identity and practice as ADO social workers' pursued the different professional projects.

HAS ADO SOCIAL WORK TRANSFORMED?

Professionalism

The analysis of ADO social work for the period 1957-1996 revealed that ADO social work pursued professionalism. The analysis confirms Ife's (1997) view that social work in Australia has operated from a model of professionalism.

No significant change to ADO social workers' understanding of the nature of their professional identity and the features of professionalism were identified in their understanding of their professional practice. ADO social workers did not move toward professional identities and practices reflecting new professionalism. There are at least two explanations. Pawagi (2000) questions whether social workers misunderstood the essence of the consumer perspective, social issues, the human service industry and/or the social policy environment. Crimeen and Wilson (1997) argue that social workers were resisting both the impact of economic rationalism and new professionalism. Social workers were attempting not to internalise its message.

The research found that the aspects of professionalism outlined by the thesis could be observed in ADO social workers' practice and understanding.

The research also illustrated that ADO social workers did not grasp the essence of the consumer perspective. They were focused on organisational restructuring of ADO social work services not on the

challenge to the cultural understanding of professional social work practice and the impact of changes such as performance appraisal, outcomes, flexibility etc. on practice. May (1994) in his research on the impact of change also found that front-line workers did not consider that changes had any bearing on the day-to-day 'realities' of dealing with clients in difficult and demanding environments at the front-line of the organisation.

It is argued that ADO social workers continued a long history of social work in the ADO providing a high level of professional social work services. They identified with their profession seeking continually to maintain their high level professional skills and knowledge. They, therefore, approached the challenge of change from the perspective of their professional framework of professionalism.

In terms of professionalism the professional relationship between professional and client was a fiduciary relationship. ADO social work practice was based on a fiduciary relationship, a relationship of trust with the client (Daniels, 1975). Social workers worked hard to ensure the confidentiality of the relationship between themselves and their clients (Finn, 1992). For example, handbooks of social work practice, social work advice to clients, action for confidential interviewing accommodation and for appropriate presentation and handling of social work reports all supported ADO social workers' understanding of the importance of a fiduciary relationship as part of professional social work practice. It was understood that social work intervention occurred through the diagnostic relationship (Brennan & Parker, 1966; Collingridge et al., 2001; Comptom & Galaway, 1989; Payne, 1991; Shulman, 1992).

As Hasenfeld (1987 p. 467) points out the 'quality of the relationship between the worker and the client has been axiomatically accepted as the cornerstone of effective social work practice' (See Australian Association of Social Workers, 1988; Bernstein & Halaszyn, 1989).

The fiduciary relationship, as the thesis highlights, maintains the power of social workers in relation to both their clients and the environment. As Hasenfeld (1987 p. 476) states 'by using power to control most aspects of the helping process, social workers aim to substantiate their personal and professional moral and practice ideologies', and ideologies operate to perpetuate an unequal distribution of power within society. The differential ability to control the process and content of social work practice perpetuates the practice of social inequality (Moloney, 1992). Confidentiality protects professionals from scrutiny of ineffective or immoral practice (Collingridge et al., 2001).

ADO social workers vigorously maintained their independence as professionals through a variety of activities including industrial action because professional independence was, in terms of professionalism, considered important for professional practice. The research shows that there was tension between the military's understanding of their command and control responsibilities and social workers' understanding of the need for independence (Army Personal Services, 1990).

As previously stated the contention that professional autonomy contributes to high standards of professional service is not supported by the history of professions and professionalism. Instead, the more powerful the profession, the more serious appear the charges of laxness in concern for public service, and zealousness in promoting the individual

interests of the practitioners. Such arguments aim to discredit professionalism pointing to other possibilities for a professional/client relationship.

As independent professional practitioners ADO social workers stressed the value of client self-determination (Hancock, 1997). The fiduciary relationship was understood to be a relationship of trust between an independent professional and a self-determining client. The client was not viewed as a customer with rights to choose between a range of options (Biehal & Sainsbury, 1991; Walker, 1989). Despite the fact as that the shape of the relationship between client and practitioner is being contested in the current environment ADO social workers continued through the period to operationalise and understand the professional relationship as a fiduciary relationship in terms of professionalism.

While the professional fiduciary relationship was understood to be part of the professional project it reflected a controlling relationship.

The values and practice of ADO social workers were both homogenous and generic. ADO social workers although working for different Services within the ADO understood and practised as a homogenous occupational community.   The research shows that they were committed to the development of professional social work as articulated by social work texts and the AASW. Social workers used a variety of methods of practice, acknowledged as part of professional social work - casework, group work and community work (Germain & Gitterman, 1980; Hepworth & Larsen, 1986; Johnson, 1995).

ADO social workers took action on issues such as confidentiality of social work practice, work value of social work, supervision of social work practice. Such action was taken by ADO social workers as a professional issue. Homogeneity of outlook and interest is associated with a relatively low degree of specialisation within the occupation and this was reflected in ADO social work throughout the period.

As Brody (1989) points out the myth of professional collegiability is perpetuated under professionalism. While ADO social workers did disagree with professional colleagues on particular practice approaches to social problems (community development work versus community liaison or casework), they demonstrated a homogenous professional outlook and interest in terms of social work practice and identity. Popple (1985) argues that social work is not a unitary profession to which the traditional models of profession can be applied. Social workers do very different things, have different skills and possess different knowledge. However, as Baker et al (1976) argue, generic approaches to social work theory have a long and 'established pedigree' in the profession. This collegiate approach was specifically and deliberately tied into what can be considered the unification project of the profession. Encouraging eclecticism as an overall stance, it rests firmly on a foundation of what is considered as the essential values and purposes of social work as a profession.

ADO social workers maintained or attempted to expand their practice boundaries and retained the monopoly of social work practice. ADO social workers maintained a monopoly through the mandatory requirement of eligibility for AASW membership for social work positions (Aldridge, 1996). This was done, it was argued, to ensure entry

and practice standards and to promote and ensure quality (Begun, 1986; Stigler, 1971). ADO social workers expressed concern that 'untrained' personnel were providing 'counselling' and 'attempting to undertake community work'.

ADO social workers also developed a monopoly on social work involvement in certain areas. Social work reports were required before 'administrative action' could be taken in a number of situations e.g. discharge at own request, compassionate leave and travel when definition is required, leave without pay where compassionate circumstances exist. Jordan (1990) highlights the oppressive impact of professionalism stating that social workers through their ownership or control of certain resources can 'induce others to act in ways which further their own interests, when those others would not have chosen to act in these ways if they had not been restricted to those resources or related options' (Jordan, 1990 p. 56). The attempt to use the political process to achieve a compassionate posting would not circumvent the requirement for a social work assessment.

ADO social workers perceived that their professional responsibility was to their professional organisation the AASW not the ADO (Fiore, Brunk, & Meyer, 1992). The findings show that social workers regularly referred to the AASW Code of Ethics as the basis of professional accountability. ADO social workers related closely to the AASW, supporting the association's activities particularly with regard to practice boundaries, ethics and professional education. ADO social workers were highly involved in the AASW and its activities either individually or as members of committees and working groups. They attended the AASW biannual conference as a group of ADO social workers for three decades

and attended State AASW Conferences regularly. The impact of the ideology of professionalism is illustrated by the social workers' activities, papers, submissions and lobbying for a professional social work service to support the ADF, members and families. In such action ADO social workers highlighted the dangerous consequences of 'untrained' staff undertaking professional work.

With regard to professionalism, Jones (1999) argues that social work's tightly regulated entry requirements may be increasingly counter-productive under current circumstances. The rationale for a rigid distinction between 'social workers' and 'other human service workers' is increasingly questionable in a highly specialised human services system. In the new millennium, he argues, there may be more productive directions in which to steer the profession, than the pursuit of higher levels of professionalism.

However, ADO social workers saw their professional status as continuous and perceived themselves as members of a profession of equals. This understanding was facilitated by the AASW who controlled the content of courses of the various University Schools of Social Work and assessed the qualifications of social workers from other countries seeking to practice social work in Australia. As part of this professional authority and status professional supervision was extremely important to ADO social workers. Social workers took action to ensure that the ADO made provision for individual professional supervision for all social workers. ADO social workers were involved in providing 'placements' for social work students from a variety of Australian Universities. They considered socialisation in social work as being important to professional development both for the students and themselves. All ADO social work

manuals and handbooks addressed the issues of professional supervision at length outlining the nature of professional supervision, issues covered, time, frequency etc. (Naval Social Work, 1993; RAAF Directorate of Social Work Services, 1994).

Johnson (1972 p. 55) states that:

> …under professionalism, a continuous and terminal status is shared by all members. Equal status and the continuous occupational career are important mechanisms for maintaining a sense of identity, colleague-loyalty and shared values. Also, the myth of a community of equal competence is effective in generating public trust in a system in which members of the community judge the competence of one another.

Maister (1997) states that traditional definitions of professionalism are filled with references to status, educational attainments, 'noble' callings and issues such as the right of practitioners to autonomy - the privilege of practising free of direction. The research showed that ADO social workers perceived that in terms of professionalism clients and the organisation should respect their professional status because they held professional social work qualifications, a social work Code of Ethics and participated in professional supervision.

Social workers used social work terms and language common to those within the profession to describe their social work practice and role. The findings confirmed that ADO social workers' language was common to the profession of social work i.e. social work texts reflected the language of the hegemony of industrial capitalism - bureaucracy, hierarchy, status and process.

For ADO social workers their professional Code of Ethics were the source of professional accountability (Fiore et al., 1992; Grusky & Miller, 1970). The importance of the Code of Ethics to professional practice is seen in the constant statements in Social Work Handbooks and ADO publications where the professional social workers' accountability is stated as being to the AASW Code of Ethics.

The AASW Code of Ethics outlines the principles of practice and elaborates and formalises the system of norms and behaviours of the social work profession. Berliner (1989) states that only a specific violation of the Code of Ethics can support a finding of ethical transgression. Incompetence is not a category. The AASW who investigates such ethical transgressions had no records of findings against an ADO social worker. The research found that while accountability was to the Code of Ethics, reporting of work however related to inputs. ADO social workers defined their work in terms of inputs (eg casework hours, number of clients seen). The instruments of practice (casework, community work) were the ends for ADO social workers with actions focused on preserving these instruments of practice. Kearney (1984 p. 574) criticising professionalism argues that professional bureaucracies are 'self-perpetuating machines' not responsive to the public interest except as they themselves define it.

Within professionalism it is understood that the professional holds esoteric knowledge and skills. They are experts. ADO social workers utilised a variety of theoretical frameworks and understood that they were the professional group who held the knowledge and skill to intervene in social relationships. Their specialist expertise was related to social problems and relationships. They argued that they held both the

knowledge and skill with regard to people in their environment and that they practised according to the profession's ethics and value base.

ADO social workers perceived themselves as being more competent and wiser than lay people with regard to social and interpersonal problems and difficulties of individuals, groups and communities (Begun, 1986; Johnson, 1972). As the submission to the Review of ADF Family Support Services 1990 states 'social workers are professionally trained and experienced. They provide information and advice to the Navy and professional assistance to Navy personnel and their families'.

The research demonstrates that social work knowledge and practice individualises what are essentially social problems rather than individual problems. As Clarke (1979) argues social work knowledge and practice operate as a system of social control within the capitalist system through its effects on the client/victims of social work and indirectly through disguising the nature of social problems in the capitalist society. Professional theories and techniques conceal the moral and political issues.

In summary therefore with regard to ADO social work, social workers based their practice on the understanding that they held expert social work knowledge. Their authority was based on their knowledge and skill and their identity as qualified social workers eligible for membership of the AASW. Practice that met the requirements of the AASW Code of Ethics was ethical professional social work practice and it was understood that social work's monopoly of practice was important to protect clients and to ensure high quality professional practice. Social workers viewed the relationship with their clients as a confidential diagnostic relationship

through which they worked with clients to solve problems, and as part of social work practice the social worker was responsible for assessing the problem and developing the appropriate interventions.

As highlighted in Chapter 4 many professions including social work were addressing cultural change in focusing on a new professional project – new professionalism. The impact of new professionalism could be seen in a changing identity and practice. The next part of this Chapter discusses new professionalism and social work in the ADO.

NEW PROFESSIONALISM

It was assumed that it would be possible to discern in the identity and practice of ADO social workers during the 1980s and 1990s the impact of new professionalism as ADO social workers' addressed social change and the APS and ADO reforms. Society was being transformed (Harvey, 1989) and economic rationalism, managerialism and consumerism were changing the practice environment (Ernst, 1995).

Dominelli (1996) argued that social work is changing in response to major societal shifts - the globalisation of the economy, the internationalisation of the nation state and the fragmenting of society into isolated individuals and groups at the mercy of market forces. These trends carry substantial implications for service provision and newly emerging forms of social control. As Lyotard (1984), Irigaray (1985), Nicholson (1990), and Howe (1994) argued, social work has to accommodate itself to the new environment.

The decade 1983-1993 according to Jones and Novak (1993) saw a transformation in the nature and practice of social work. Social work has been restructured, although less through public announcement and legislation than through incremental, administrative and circumstantial change.

The research found, however, that ADO social workers had not significantly changed their practice to accommodate or to address the emerging social change. ADO social workers were, however, increasingly under pressure to change as their environment, the ADO and the wider society was reformed, deregulated and reengineered. As generic practitioners they were also challenged by the redefinition of social problems. There were increasing legislative, regulative and protocol requirements associated with assisting clients experiencing a variety of problems now defined in different ways (family dysfunction to protecting children from abusive parents for example Hough, 1999).

ADO social workers, during the late 1980s and 1990s increasingly viewed themselves as being under pressure; pressure from increasing workloads, new accountability measures and the requirement to articulate outcomes of social work practice. As a consequence ADO social workers took industrial action during the period 1987-1990 with regard to a variety of work issues including supervision, work value and social work classifications. The period was also one of high turn over of social work staff within the ADO. ADO social workers attempted to resist change, which they perceived threatened the nature of social work practice (Laragy, 1996; May, 1994). Jones and Novak (1993) comment that many in social work practice seem too demoralised, exhausted and overwhelmed by the constant changes to resist the transformation.

Bombardment and overload they argue would seem to be the prevailing characteristics of social work agencies today with the consequence that social workers have little time to consider the wider context of change. ADO social workers while exhausted and overwhelmed by pressure for change coped by increasingly narrowing their professional contribution to casework, particularly referrals by command for assistance in individual situations. One notable exception to this was the initiative taken with regard to case management following a military catastrophe and the subsequent Board of Inquiry.

Nevertheless, data shows that some ADO social workers were aware of the possible impact of change. Brown (1991) at the RAN Personal Services Conference comments:

> The current organisational reviews and management changes are likely to re-shape and alter established practices in the ADF and Department of Defence. These changes in turn will have an impact upon social work and family support services. I refer to - Defence Force restructuring, Defence Regional Support Reorganisation, the management revolution in the ADF and the Department of Defence and military hardware procurement.

In a contract relationship between professional and customer where the professional aims to provide a quality customer service, customer needs are not considered as objective, pre-existing attributes of individuals, which await 'discovery' by professionals (Biehal, 1993).

Dominelli (1996) states that the concern with relationship building is redundant under new professionalism. The assessment, planning and intervention stages of social work encompassed by competence based 'case management' systems are the formal way through which practice

skills are defined, elaborated and practised. The nature of the social work relationship as fiduciary remained critical to ADO social workers' understanding of their relationships with clients (Rose, 2000).

Cohen (1998) saw the development of access to consumer-driven choices and promotion of client autonomy as critical aspects of empowerment practice in social work (Rojek & Collins, 1987).

ADO social workers, however, did not approach the provision of quality customer service in terms of new professionalism i.e. as articulated by Cohen (1998), Dominelli (1996) or Biehal and Sainsbury (1991) for example.

ADO social workers understood themselves as being generalist practitioners. While hierarchical models are replaced by distributed decision making and mentoring under the APS reforms, in practice the ADO social work organisation remained hierarchical with centralised decision-making despite considerable articulation of a different organisation structure (Interim DCO Team, 1996; Sweet, 2001). ADO social workers retained their understanding of generic practice, professional socialisation, professional supervision and autonomy of professional practitioners.

Social work practice boundaries remained firm. There was no flexibility in order to serve the organisation's mission. Outcomes were not the focus of activity (Franklin & Eu, 1996; Franklin, 1993; Franklin, 1994). In Australia the 'Structural Efficiency Principle' was designed to promote the exchange of duties between different professions by undermining the boundaries between professions, particularly through the advertising of

generic positions rather than professional positions (Department of Industrial Relations, 1990).

As Hough (1999) states what is new is the assumption of unity of purpose for the whole organisation (with the denial that groups of workers might have a collective interest - professional or industrial - separate from it) and the imposition of a dominating monoculture within it.

ADO social workers continued to hold strong links to the social work profession. The focus of professional accountability was the professional guidelines and principles (AASW Code of Ethics) and the attempt to introduce the concept of teamwork into the DCO in 1996 was not successful. ADO social workers understood team work in terms of professionalism i.e. team work required focus on the co-ordination of specific roles and functions not the flexible contribution of team members undertaking changing roles and tasks required to achieve the agreed team outcome (Chew, 2000).

It is clear that social workers worked effectively to retain their position in the ADO as professionals with particular knowledge and skills to assist the ADO, its Members and their families. Many ADO social workers received commendations and citations for excellent service from military commanders.

In terms of autonomy and status ADO social workers did not develop practice based on flexibility and competitiveness. ADO social workers were criticised by both ADO management and clients for their resistance to the new organisational requirements particularly outcomes and

performance measurement. ADO social workers resisted the introduction of self-management teams and the development of competencies linked to stated outcomes to be achieved and were criticised because of the lack of new approaches to meet organisation goals and client needs. For example, the DGDCO (2 November 1998) comments that:

> …there were many problems in the DCO. The problems were the social workers. Too many social workers were still operating as if it were 1995 ie before the creation of the DCO. Social workers had either not changed their practice since the formation of the DCO or they were not committed to the organisation.

In the new environment Eraut (1994) argued all professions should have public statements about what their qualified members are competent to do and what people can reasonably expect from them. These should comprise both minimum occupational standards and codes of professional conduct. These public statements could also include information about more specialist services provided by members with additional expertise and/or further qualifications. Eraut (1994) argues that while most of the requirements of a code of conduct can and should be embedded in occupational standards it is important to have a separate statement of the ethical foundations of the work of a profession and the commitments made by its members.

Cigno (1997) suggests also that social workers will be compelled to adopt an entrepreneurial role as therapeutic intervention and counselling which was once an integral part of the social work profession is now purchased from other sources i.e. other than social workers. The emerging model of practice according to Kirkpatrick et al (1999) is one of development of

care management roles whereby professional social workers increasingly specialise in the assessment of needs and the purchasing of 'care packages' which are then provided elsewhere (Cochrane, 1993; Lewis, Bernstock, Bovell, & Wookey, 1997).

ADO social workers focused during the 1980s and 1990s, as previously stated, on establishing a social work organisation within the ADO. Accountability in terms of outcomes was not perceived as being 'professional'. Such an approach was not the goal of the professional project in terms of professionalism.

Eraut (1994) states that restoring the customer's role from that of object to that of subject in accord with the expectations of the twenty-first century entails social workers giving primacy of attention to the outcomes for customers. Outcomes and competencies become an essential part of practice (Dominelli, 1996). The goal is to provide outcomes in the most efficient and effective way. According to McCallum (1984) 'effectiveness means meeting the objectives that have been set while efficiency refers to doing so while keeping costs to an irreducible minimum'.

Alston (2002) pointed out that the Australian National Competition Policy (Hilmer, 1993) dictates that services be judged on performance outcomes and funded on their quantitative outputs. The policy demands, that services, including government services, be put to competitive tender ensuring that the most efficient provider and method of delivery is supported.

ADO social workers continued to state their outcomes as the provision of social work services with social work activity evaluated through professional supervision. Effective measures of outcomes were not well developed and measurement was usually in terms of the date by which particular action would be taken.

While the APS developed competencies for professionals and the AASW developed competencies for entry level social work ADO social workers did not focus on the issue of identifying competencies for particular positions in the organisation or for particular tasks. Education and training did not focus on developing skills required to achieve particular outcomes. ADO social workers continued to seek profession specific training that would develop their existing professional social work skills.

While researchers like Jones (1999) comment that in the new millennium the pursuit of professionalism is no longer the most relevant strategy for social work and may even be counter-productive ADO social workers continued to pursue professionalism. Jones (1999) argues that the human services labour market is increasingly crowded and competitive and employers are increasingly turning to other recruitment and credentialing strategies, often, based on the development of specialised and technical skills. Social work's claims to exclusive or superior knowledge in relation to particular tasks and fields of practice are increasingly difficult to sustain.

Social work in the ADO confirmed Laragy's (1996) observations that social work was at a critical point in its history with its future being undefined and uncertain. As George (2000 p. 169) states:

> …social work is on the horns of a dilemma - whether to resist change by asserting its traditional identity, with the risk of irrelevancy or whether to embrace a changed identity, perhaps losing the strengths of its heritage.

This section addressed the question was ADO social work transformed? ADO social work was not transformed as illustrated by the data. ADO social workers, generally, remained focused on developing their professional identity and professional practice in terms of professionalism. While the ADO experienced significant renewal and re-engineering ADO social workers resisted these changes.

The following section offers some suggestions as to why ADO social workers were able to resist reform and transformation.

Resisting Reform

One reason for the finding that ADO social workers resisted change may be related to the dominance of the profession of arms within the ADO. The challenge for ADO social work, as it is in other organisations with a dominant profession e.g. medicine, was to develop as an independent profession rather than be directed by members of the profession of arms.

ADO social workers, however, related closely with the profession of arms and are influenced by the dominant profession. The profession of arms itself is confronted by the changing culture despite the fact that as Johnson (1962) and Daalder (1962) point out there are unique features with regard to the relationship of the profession of arms and the political economy. The significant cultural change also impacts on the security forces. As Jans (1989) and Jans and Frazer-Jans (1989) point out the

profession of arms continues to practice in terms of the cultural hegemony of industrial capitalism with a dominant state. There are calls for change and for the profession of arms to understand its identity and practice in the general terms of new professionalism i.e. goals, outcomes, flexibility, teams, non hierarchical structures (Goodyer, 2000). However, as Goodyer (2000) points out the profession of arms continued to pursue professionalism during the period.

Laragy (1996), also, in her study of social work in hospital settings found that social workers in an attempt to forge an independent professional identity from the dominant medical profession focused significantly on issues of professionalism. It is suggested that ADO social workers are in a similar position with regard to the profession of arms, medicine, engineering and other dominant professions in the ADO and therefore established themselves a strong focus of professionalism.

This phenomenon is highlighted by Ife (1989) who points out that social work does not exist in an organisational vacuum but is a product of its social setting. As Hough (2003) points out the policy and organisational contexts cannot be disconnected from the practice level because 'the outside is inside', constructing and 'structuring' the micro-practice of public welfare social workers.

Another explanation for the findings is that ADO social workers were influenced by the critiques of ideologies such as managerialism (Ernst, 1995; Exworthy & Halford, 1999; Hughes, 1994; Rees & Rodley, 1995) and the growing critical debates in social work (Fook, 1993). These debates highlight the emergence of the philosophies of the new Right and restructuring of society in terms of a move of resources to the wealthy

and away from the 'excluded'. In the midst of this debate and critique ADO social workers, it is suggested, attempted to maintain their identity and practice in terms of professionalism wrongly perceived perhaps to be a more 'just' approach. As Miller and Rose (1990) warned social work might change and thrive as an occupation at the same time that it 'perishes as a caring and liberal profession'. As Aldridge (1996) comments, however, the introduction of the enterprise culture into social work, social work education and into the welfare state closes an era and opens up possibilities (Lloyd, 1998).

This highlights another possible explanation for the reason why new professionalism was not observed in ADO social work practice. In a period of ideological change language is very important. As Goudzwaard (1984) points out 'existing norms and values are emptied, refilled, tainted and warped until they become instruments of the all-embracing goal'. Many of the terms used in the new cultural hegemony and new professionalism 'empowerment', 'participation' are terms also used in the operationalisation of professionalism although their meanings differ. ADO social workers attempted to reframe the language of late capitalism in terms of professionalism eg teams. However, according to Pietroni (1995) the corporate language of management, evaluation and cost-effectiveness is already superseding the former language of the social care professions and in the case of social work, they have done so, according to Pietroni (1995), with little opposition. Pietroni (1995) comments that this is because social workers have, at best, been somewhat uneasy with what is experienced as the elitism of professional status and, at worst, have attacked the idea of individual excellence with which it was felt to be linked.

THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDINGS

The theoretical significance of the research is that critical theory and the study of ideology remain a useful sociological analysis to address issues of change, power and control in society. Such an analysis can provide insight into power structures in society and a framework for an analysis of change to institutions, values, knowledge and behaviour. Ideology expresses that point in social knowledge at which interests connect up to a picture of reality (Horowitz, 1961). From the literature review some of the features of both professionalism and new professionalism were articulated.

The ultimate test of the ideas of a critical theorist is the degree to which they are accepted and used in practice. This process called authentication occurs when the people who have been the victims of distorted communication take up the ideas of critical theory and use them to free themselves from that system (Bauman, 1976; Ritzer, 2000). As Bleich (1977) comments critical theory is composed largely of criticisms of various aspects of social and intellectual life. The ultimate goal of critical theory is to reveal more accurately the nature of society.

The study of the case of ADO social work reveals the cultural change and its manifestations that impact on established occupations during times of cultural change. The relationship between the dominant culture and professions is dynamic and knowledge of the nature and form of control provides a focus for potential professional action.

Critical studies challenging professionalism particularly within social work have contributed to the development of practices within the profession. These studies enable social work to address social injustice in problem definition, relationships and service delivery (Considine, 2000; Dominelli & McLeod, 1989; Hanmer & Statham, 1988; Hough, 1999; Ife, 1997; Marchant & Wearing, 1986). The particular contribution to theoretical knowledge of this thesis is to provide evidence of professionalism and suggest that a new professionalism will develop in the transformed society.

Analysis of those ideologies which control behaviours and material relations can be a means whereby the true nature of power structures, and control are revealed and change made possible. 'Unmasking' ideology is difficult particularly as ideologies continue to emerge in material relations. The change to normative values and behaviours comes slowly and often imperceptibly. Professionalism became normative over a period of many years in ADO social work and continued although there were significant challenges to professionalism (Bailey & Brake, 1975; Connell, 1977; Langan & Lee, 1989).

Many commentators on the reconstructed (or deconstructed) welfare state (Weatherley, 1994) take it as read that professional expertise is being sidelined as power is passed upward to government, managers and regulators and downwards to consumers. This thesis argues that those professional occupations which, continue to pursue the professional project of professionalism will become sidelined (Aldridge, 1996). Occupations which attempt to build their knowledge, skill and practice in pursuit of the professional project of new professionalism and who demonstrate their relevance in the current society will find and maintain a

role in the occupational system. Advanced capitalism demands the development of specialised knowledge and skill. As Camilleri (1996 p. 173) states 'professionals themselves are not unnecessary'.

With regard to social work, Sennett (1998) argues that social work, of whatever sort, can make a crucial contribution in continuing to assert and build commitments between people and groups of people that must endure over time. Camilleri (1996) also argues that social work is about 'help' and 'care'. The challenge in pursuing the new professional project is to develop a language of practice which provides for recognition of the work of social work and furthers social work as a moral and political enterprise. Social work has carved a role in the political economy in terms of the professional project of professionalism, and from its diverse professional base is challenged to do so in terms of the professional project of new professionalism.

The framework developed to analyse the operationalisation of professionalism and new professionalism in ADO social work practice contributes to theoretical understanding. The framework, although limited, provides a statement of new professionalism. Others in seeking to comprehend and critique new professionalism can make new connections with regard to the interrelationships of various behaviours to ideological control and the cultural hegemony.

Limitations of the Study

A major limitation of the study was the methodology used to determine the impact of the ideological features of professionalism and new professionalism on ADO social worker's identity and practice. As Hough (1999) states critical theory embraces a bewildering range of approaches. The researcher found some difficulty in expressing the impact of professionalism and new professionalism in order that ADO social work practice could be analysed. All of the features of professionalism are interrelated so that continual repetition created confusion in presenting the argument. The framework developed depicted an 'ideal type' and despite the problems the framework did provide a means whereby ADO social workers' statements of practice and identity and practices could be evaluated.

The researcher is a professional social worker practising since graduating in 1968. The researcher as stated was a professional social worker in the ADO from 1987. The professional beliefs and assumptions held by the researcher in the participatory action research have influenced the categorisation of the data in as much as the researcher was part of the case under analysis.

A variety of methodological approaches (see Chapter 5) were used to ensure that the biases of the researcher were contained or revealed. The case data were the documents prepared by ADO social workers and relating to ADO social workers.

The thesis is a critical analysis of ADO social work and the articulation of professionalism and new professionalism was a process to make

'conscious' what it is argued 'unconsciously' obscured real social relations (Larson, 1977 p.161).

It is argued that the limitations of the thesis, however, contribute to theoretical knowledge and understanding as they illustrate the complexity in accessing the impact of the dominant culture during a period of significant cultural change and the difficulty in understand the direction of change.

FURTHER RESEARCH

There are many areas for further research suggested by the analysis of ADO social work. A more detailed analysis of the professional project of new professionalism as it is expressed in professions including social work is necessary if the profession of social work is to pursue this path.

The thesis did not pursue the views of consumers of ADO social work activity to gain a more indepth understanding of social work from the customer's perspective. Nor was there any analysis of ADO social work with regard to gender or patriarchy.

Hearn (1982), for example, points out that the ideology of professionalism is a male-oriented ideology and argues that managerialism represents a further reinforcement of the male-oriented ideology of professionalism. The managerial takeover links the patriarchal ideology directly with the capitalist restructuring of these activities. Hearn (1982) concludes that although managerialism is often linked with bureaucratisation and this is contrasted with professionalism

the dichotomy is a false one. In fact in the cases of both nursing and social work a so-called 'new professionalism' has followed close on the heels of the 'new managerialism'. Hearn (1982) argues that the process of professionalisation is one of the bastions of patriarchy and that the professions impact the maintenance and development of patriarchy.

Further research into the relationship of social work and the profession of arms with regard to 'welfare' and 'care' would also provide an understanding of the future role of social work in the ADO (see Camilleri, 1996).

A FUTURE FOR ADO SOCIAL WORK

While further research would illuminate the situation of ADO social work in the ADO this research focuses on the situation where ADO social workers sought to resist the cultural change with regard to their professional identity and practice. Hughes (1994) states there will be no going back to professionalism, as under late capitalism new professionalism controls professionals' identity and practice. This is reflected in the experience of an increasing number of professionals including social workers.

The debate on the ways toward a changed future for social work is developing. Many social work commentators have given thought to aspects of the new professional project. This section outlines approaches and areas to be addressed as part of professional reform.

It is suggested that if ADO social work is to survive ADO social workers will not be able to continue to practice in terms of professionalism. The impact of the dominant culture will be the emergence of new occupations that meet organisation and customer needs. A profession's work and actual performance must be related to the knowledge and values of its society (Camilleri, 1999; Larson, 1977; McDonald & Jones, 2000).

It is argued, therefore, that social work itself should embrace aspects of the new professional project and work toward developing the new meanings of 'professional' social work and professional practice. Social workers built their professional identity and practice within the dominant culture of industrial capitalism and must do so again within the dominant culture of late capitalism.

Agger (1998) states that Marx used the concept of historicity to demonstrate that the future is not preordained by the past, to be divined by social meta-physicians who read the past for its supposedly invariant patterns. The concept of historicity does not guarantee a benign outcome but simply suggests that the constraints imposed on action by the past and present are not complete. Agger (1998) argues that with will, knowledge and tenacity, people can break the fetters of precedent and custom in order to realise utopian dreams of freedom and justice. It requires, however, a theoretical leap of faith to make a credible case for a future that is fundamentally discontinuous with - different - from the present.

While change provides an opportunity for social work to empower itself, this thesis argues that ADO social work will be changed by the requirement for performance appraisal, outcomes, use of Management Information Systems, customer charters, teams and partnerships. It will

not be possible to address these issues from the perspective of professionalism. The social, economic, cultural and organisational environment impacts on social work through the Defence Reform Agenda, government regulations and customer demands (Crimeen & Wilson, 1997; Reith, 1996; Smith, 1995).

While ADO social workers resisted change it is argued that to continue with this tactic ADO social work will become irrelevant to the mission of the ADO.

Competence, performance management, streamlining, balanced scorecards, activity based cost management, accrual accounting, targeting, total quality management, management by objectives, reeingineering, multiskilling, efficiency of personnel, flatter structures, enterprise bargaining, devolution, performance management budgeting, marketisation, user pays, purchaser/provider and organisational reform all mean that ADO social workers will need to establish new relationships as part of their practice within the ADO. These issues reflect a new cultural hegemony from which ADO social workers it is argued are not immune if it is to be an occupation in the labour market. Social work will, like other professions, build its identity and practices on the dominant societal and occupational beliefs. As Halmos (1970 p. 27) states 'professionalism' was the 'great legitimiser'. This is no longer true.

Professional practice, it is argued, will only be 'legitimised' by new professionalism - entrepreneurial flexibility (Hough, 1999). It is argued that the continuing pursuit of professionalism by ADO social workers was related to ADO social workers' concerns and anxiety that the very nature of their professional practice was under challenge in the reformed

environment. As Fook (2000) and Parton (1994) state professionalism increasingly does not explain the relationships of the contemporary material world. Advanced capitalism and 'New Times' create new values, relationships, accountability mechanisms and legitimating structures (Hall, 1988) and it is these new ideologies that legitimise different ways of understanding professions and professional practice.

The purpose and impact of the new cultural hegemony continues to be critiqued (Adams, Dominelli, & Payne, 1998; Bauman, 1998; Byrne, 1997; Crimeen & Wilson, 1997; Ernst, 1995; Exworthy & Halford, 1999; Fisher, 1995; McCarthy, Sheehan, & Kearns, 1995; O'Connor et al., 2000; Rees & Rodley, 1995).

Such critique assists in understanding the nature and focus of oppressive structures, systems and behaviour. As was the situation for social work in terms of the ideology of professionalism (Bailey & Brake, 1975; Corrigan & Leonard, 1978; Fook 2000; Galper, 1975, 1980; Langan & Lee, 1989; Pease & Fook, 1999; Thompson, 1993; Throssell, 1975) the challenge for social work is to develop critical practice for the 'New Times'. There are dilemmas for social workers in doing this. It is not possible for professionals to do their work without in some way aiding the establishment of power, which they oppose (Ernst, 1995).

As Howe (1986) points out social workers have little choice but to accept the defining boundaries of their practice. It is no good 'jeering from the sidelines'. As an occupational group, social workers have to join in. They have to explore and understand the nature of their work from within its current confines 'rather than come along with a new set of rules and expect everyone else to stop playing the old game and try the new one'.

Laragy (1996 p. 18) states that social workers ask the question 'will the value base of social work with its emphasis on social justice, be workable within the economic focus of managerialism?' Laragy (1996 p. 18) answers 'yes'.

The way forward for ADO social work, therefore, is for social work to pursue a critical approach to their identity and practice.

A critical approach does not require social workers to join a 'revolutionary political group' but requires that social workers use their present situation, abilities, skills and potential contribution in terms of a critical perspective, to assist their fellow citizens (Jordan, 1990). Camilleri (1999) states that social work is in a process of transformation. It needs to develop new models and methods of practice (Lloyd, 1998).

Jordan (1990), Hancock (1994), Ife (1995), Cleak (1995), Adams et al (1998), and Hough (1999) encourage social workers to respond proactively to the challenges of the changing social economic structures. The rules of social relations have altered (Jordan, 1990). In order to challenge social economic structures ADO social workers will need to understand how their practice is now defined and controlled in terms of the ideology of professionalism. They will also need to understand how their identity and practice is being changed in terms of the impact of the new cultural hegemony of late capitalism and the implications of a different professional project – new professionalism. ADO social workers will have to determine what change to professional relationships, values, practices, boundaries, autonomy, status, accountability, knowledge and skills is necessary in order to meet human need and care in the current environment.

If ADO social workers are to provide relevant help to others and to seek social justice for customers they will need to develop a vision as to what social work could be in terms of its potential to contribute to better outcomes for the ADO, ADO Members and their families. This must be done with an understanding of the new relationships as indicated by the new professional project.

In these times of economic rationalism social workers are challenged to demonstrate they are cost-effective, contributing members of organisations (Hornick & Burrows, 1988). Laragy (1996) considers that for the future survival of social work there is a need for the profession to promote and market its abilities and demonstrate that it can contribute to the goals of its employers. This will involve ADO social workers in both understanding organisational goals with respect to organisational development, Members and family support and in determining their competencies and abilities with regard to the outcomes to be achieved. Evidence-based practice, it is argued, will need to be developed as State and Federal government departments and funding bodies have strongly incorporated this concept into their thinking about how practice can and should be developed and justified. Evidence-based practice is increasingly linked to funding and accountability (Dunston & Sim, 1999).

ADO social workers wishing to continue their contribution to the ADO goals are challenged to develop skilled, competent, specialist, flexible, competitive, outcomes focused activities which will provide quality customer service.

Payne (1998 p. 448) points out that:

> …there is no reason to believe that social work is a necessary aspect of societies. Rather, it is successful when it can show that it can enable society to deal successfully with issues that cannot be resolved otherwise. The necessary conditions are: that the issues are defined as social issues; that an articulate social response is designed; that social work is defined as competent to provide the response; and that social work has the means to make a successful response. At each stage the decision acts to symbolise social work.

Payne (1998) argues the importance of this 'symbolisation' in the current environment. He states that resource allocations are justified through creating a powerful symbol. 'Social work' as a symbol of what it can do Payne (1998) argues, must relate to the creation of a powerful professional identity, an identity unquestionably enhanced by affiliation with the profession internationally where social work is also confronted by change.

The features of future social work in the ADO can be discerned from the experience of other professionals including social workers employed in other agencies. Dominelli (1996) states that the competency driven approach is essential in the 'brand new world' of purchaser/provider splits in service delivery.

Rosenman (2000) points out that education for social work needs to include a large component of knowledge and skills that would, in the past, have been seen as antithetical to social work. These skills include management skills in budgeting and finance; tendering and human resource management; an understanding of and ability to engage with, economic and political discourse; and, increasingly, information management, public relations and information technology.

Fitzgibbon (2000) claims that one of the critical requirements in a business environment is to work out how much social work services, in all their diversity, actually cost in order to survive and compete in this purchaser/provider relationship. In Centrelink the Social Work Information System identifies client contact, service provided and customer need. Social workers, Fitzgibbon (2000) argues, must embrace this accountability and understand the link between good client service and performance management in a much changed service delivery environment. As Cintio (1994) highlights social work actions are part of a greater whole and there is a direct link between professional and management decisions (Mutschler & Hasenfeld, 1986). Social work must take the initiative to ensure their work is included in the 'big picture' as best practice.

This requires social work to 'skill up' in notions of 'management by fact', the use of statistical tools and management information systems (Cintio, 1994; Edwards et al., 1996). Donovan and Jackson (1991) point out that it is essential for social workers to be able to identify with the goals of their organisation which means a greater understanding of the purpose and function of the organisation in the society.

Genkins (1985), Jones and May (1994) and Donovan and Jackson (1991) stress the need to market social work services. They advise social workers to be clear as to what services and achievements they are offering and then 'sell' or 'market' these to show in what ways they are valuable to the organisation (Barrett, 1999). As Biehal (1993) argues critical practice entails making professional expertise transparent so that it serves as a resource that people can draw upon to inform their own decisions about services.

In order to pursue the re-invention of ADO social work practice, ADO social workers will need to incorporate a sophisticated understanding of the changing context within which they are operating in order to develop new ways of organising (Lloyd, 1998).

Ife (2000) points out that there is no simple solution, and no single solution to the issues of social change. Social workers need to experiment with multiple approaches, and avoid the fundamentalism of any single approach, which claims to be the solution for everything (International Federation of Social Workers, 2002).

Brown (1991) at the Royal Australian Navy Personal Services Conference stated that the challenge for ADO social work was to adopt and to build intellectual frameworks that will ensure its survival. It is argued that within the ADO this means urgently addressing the impact of new professionalism on understanding, systems and practice.

ADO social workers work in an organisation that is also subject to change. Cooper and Atkins (2005) for example comment that a further shift is required in public sector organisations (including the ADO) to shift to outcomes and value creation. The environment will continue to change. Jones (1999) claims that the new social work, the social work of many faces, will embrace the following qualities: diversity, permeability, pro-activity and transparency.

This thesis argues that while ADO social workers resisted change to a new professional project and pursued professionalism such an approach does not ensure a long-term future for ADO social work. The goal for the future is to investigate the possibilities of developing a social work

identity and practice as part of new professionalism that incorporates the following features:

- Contract relationships with customers;
- Specialised programs and services to meet various customer's needs;
- Marketing of social work activity in terms of the outcomes that social work can deliver;
- Competing with other groups to develop responses to the many social problems confronting the ADO its members and families; and
- Focusing on the development of competencies that will ensure that all negotiated outcomes can be achieved.

CONCLUSION

This thesis addressed the impact of change on ADO social work – one of the professional groups in the ADO (Ife, 1997; Pease & Fook, 1999). Chapter 2 reviewed the literature on professions and identified the ideological nature of professionalism. It was subsequently argued that professionalism reflected the culture of industrial capitalism and that new professionalism reflected late capitalism, the dominant culture. A consideration and analysis of the changing relationships of the political economy assist in discerning the cultural impact. The dominant culture of every age fosters its own understandings and practices.

Chapters 3 and 4 outlined various features of both professionalism and new professionalism while Chapter 5 discussed the methodologies used to undertake a case study of ADO social work from 1957-1996. The purpose of the case study was to examine the view that ADO social

workers would have initially pursued professionalism between 1957 – 1980 but would have begun to pursue new professionalism from the 1980s in response to societal and organisational change. Both society and organisations were being transformed. The case of ADO social work only was analysed and the results are generalised as they relate to the theory of a new professional project – new professionalism (Yin, 1994).

Chapters 6 and 7 discussed the findings of the case. ADO social workers did pursue professionalism but they did not attempt to pursue new professionalism. They continued to address cultural change in terms of professionalism.

A number of reasons for this were suggested including the context of ADO social work practice – the ADO. This powerful organisation was able itself to resist many attempts to change.

Given the nature of the dominant culture with its global impact, it is suggested that ADO social work will be confronted by the demand to transform its identity and practice if it is to contribute to achieving the stated outcomes of the ADO mission. In a period of continual change it is argued, the mission of the ADO itself will change.

The thesis argues that a new professional project, new professionalism is emerging. Pursuit of this professional project provides a positive focus for action for ADO social work. As Jones (1996 p. 6) states social workers should approach the task of creating a new social work in 'a spirit of enterprise and creativity, unshackled by the dogmas and shibboleths of the past decades'.

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