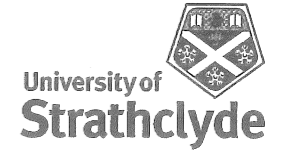




**Research into professional identities:
theorising social and institutional identities
ESRC Seminar 1 Proceedings**

**SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
University of Aberdeen
RESEARCH PAPER 18 • January 2009**



ESRC research seminar series 2008-09
**The effects of professionals' human and cultural
capital for interprofessional social capital**

Seminar 1 Proceedings
**Research into professional identities:
theorising social and institutional identities**

Joan Forbes & Cate Watson (Editors)

The effects of professionals' human and cultural
capital for interprofessional social capital



RESEARCH PAPER 18

**THE EFFECTS OF PROFESSIONALS' HUMAN AND
CULTURAL CAPITAL FOR INTERPROFESSIONAL
SOCIAL CAPITAL**

RESEARCH PAPER EDITORS

JOAN FORBES AND CATE WATSON

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

Identifying and examining the disciplinary and other knowledge bases with which practitioners across the children's sector identify and draw upon as intellectual resources in their integrated service for children, young people and families is an important and timely concern currently in Scotland and other places. To explore the interfaces and interstices of professional knowledge, values and their effects for/in practice, a group of researchers from the universities of Aberdeen, Glasgow and Strathclyde has instituted a programme of research seminars. This research seminars series is supported by an Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) award.

In April 2008 the first two day research seminar in the series was held at the University of Aberdeen, its title: *Research into professional identities: theorising social and institutional identities*. This first seminar introduced theorisations of identity and explored these in the context of cultural and social capital in relation to the institution and the professional. It examined subject positionings and self-positionings within discourses and the effects of these in the constitution of practice relations and social capital formation and reformations. Current assumptions concerning demarcations of practice based on, for example, specific subject disciplinary knowledge and initial professional education were examined and the effects for more integrative working in the children's sector of practitioners' personal commitment to and professional identification with particular forms of capital acquisition and deployment were interrogated. Debate in the seminar sought to uncover the kinds of capitals, professional identification and practice knowledge, needed in future children's sector places and spaces to properly equip practitioners to work better together for children and families.

The civic and the civil in initial professional education © 2009 Julie Allan
The development of school leaders' professional identities: challenges and implications for interprofessional practice © 2009 Gary Crow
Capitals in the time of integration: theorising interprofessional social and human capital in children's services transformations © 2009 Joan Forbes
Neither social nor working: changing social work identities in Scotland © 2009 Mark Smith

Published by the School of Education, University of Aberdeen
Printed by the Central Printing Service, University of Aberdeen

ISBN 1-903714-18-4

Aims and Objectives

An aim in this seminar series is to bring together social science and health researchers, children's sector practitioners and members of the children's public services' governance and policy communities together with representatives of interested voluntary agencies, professional associations, regulatory and inspection bodies and, most importantly, service users to explore important critical issues and questions around the building and operation of practitioners' human, cultural and social capital in the current drive towards children's services integration. Seminar themes include:

- researching into professional identities: theorising social and institutional identities;
- exploring subject disciplinary and practice-specific knowledges and learning for interprofessional practice;
- examining how practitioners work together in schools and children's services: current practices and future prospects;
- analysing the confluences of identity, knowledge and practice;
- in/through the seminar series, building interpersonal and interprofessional social capital between and amongst group members.

The objectives of the seminar series are to:

- examine the tensions and complementarities in the theory and practices of interprofessional working in schools and children's services found in the different disciplinary and knowledge base identifications drawn upon by different professional groups;
- investigate the implications and challenges for the multiplicity of theorisations and self-positionings of practitioners and professional groups for the operation of co-practice work relations, networks and teams in schools with particular reference to how children's services integration policy and related school workforce remodelling is operating in schools;
- examine the wider socio-economic debates relating to the social capital-human capital relation and, specifically, to explore how professionals' human capital may create interprofessional social capital, the inverse of much of the relevant social-human capital literature which examines how social capital builds human capital;
- provide a practitioners' forum that focuses on current and future developments in interprofessional, interagency, integrated services in schools, providing a space for participant practitioners from education, health, social care, and other agencies involved in children's sector reform, to learn about, share and consider ideas of good practice in 'joined-up' working;
- identify opportunities to build collaborative research networks, and openings and spaces for cross-disciplinary and cross-professional theoretical scholarship and empirical research, producing and exchanging knowledge that will continue to inform debate in the substantive fields.

The papers from the first seminar in the series are now brought together in this edited collection: *Research into professional identities: theorising social and institutional identities. ESRC seminar 1 proceedings*, which is published in the Research Papers publication series of the University of Aberdeen. In keeping with the seminars, this edited collection is intended for all who are interested in the current transformations in children's services including, but not limited to, practitioners, managers and leaders, academics, policy makers and representatives of government agencies from the fields of education, health and social care.

It intended that this publication, and a forthcoming number of publications in the series emerging from the seminar series, *The effects of professionals' human and cultural capital for interprofessional social capital: exploring professional identities, knowledges and learning for inter-practitioner relationships and interprofessional practice in schools and children's services*, will present interested readers with thoughtful and challenging analyses that provide timely critical critique of important, and sometimes troubling, issues and concerns emerging from current radical restructurings and reformations of the children's sector for the capitals and identities of those involved.

RESEARCH INTO PROFESSIONAL IDENTITIES: THEORISING SOCIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITIES

LEILA HOLM

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

INTRODUCTION

The four papers in this collection address issues relating to children's services integration and the concomitant imperative for cross-boundary working and unified approaches. One of the leitmotifs of these papers is circumscription: of academics constrained by the 'audit culture'; of social workers controlled by a massive increase in regulatory regimes; of constriction by the narrow focus on technical competencies in the professional development of school leaders; and of teaching and other professions delimited by cultural and contextual boundaries. More generally there is a recurring sense in these papers of practitioners being constrained by the lack of a conceptual framework for identifying and analysing changing professional relations and knowledge bases involved in 'joined-up' practice. These constraints limit the capacity of initial professional educators, social workers, schools leaders and other practitioner groups to progress their engagement in interprofessional practice. Despite these impediments and notes of pessimism, the authors offer a range of proposals for developing integrated approaches to children's services provision.

In the opening paper Joan Forbes addresses three key issues relating to children's services transformations: the need for a full and focused critique of changing discourses in policy statements; a new conceptual frame that takes account of these shifts, including the implications for inter/transprofessional work and children's services location; and an analytic that can encompass the more fluid kinds of professional relationships necessitated by the integration of children's services and the resultant impact on professional identities and changing power relations.

Forbes charts the governing inter/integrated Scottish policy trajectory commencing with *New Community Schools: the prospectus* (Scottish Office, 1998), which initiated the notion of schools as hubs for integrated children's

services delivery and aimed to secure social justice and social and educational inclusion. Yet in *The Sum of its parts: the development of integrated community schools in Scotland*, (2004) HMIE acknowledged that schools as hubs for the integration of policy were not working. Forbes notes the policy shift in *Improving outcomes for children and young people* (Scottish Executive Education Department [SEED], 2006) in which the Community Schools project has been overtaken by a wider children's services agenda.

In response to this Forbes calls for a conceptual frame capable of taking account of the key step change in policy from inter/transprofessional working in school hubs to the spaces in which children's services are located. She advocates that such reconceptualisations are needed to analyse the integration of children's services governance at agency and systems level and at the level of institutional practice and practitioner relations.

This brings us to Forbes' third area of concern: the need for a framework to explore professional relations, their underlying knowledge bases, identities, practices and governance at all levels in children's services. Forbes proposes that bringing together the conceptual frames of social capital and human capital offers a helpful analytic. She suggests a social capital matrix with three sub-types of social capital – bonding, bridging and linking – mapped along the horizontal axis of a social capital matrix; with key terms in social capital – networks, norms and trust – along the vertical axis. She envisages applying this social capital matrix to map types of social capital relations in the context of the wider policy background to gain a clearer picture of what needs to work better and change if integrated working is to progress and be maintained.

In the second paper Julie Allan voices concerns about the erosion of that sense of civic duty which was the founding principle of Universities in 'Scotland, other parts of Europe and the US'. Arguing that academic culture and autonomy have been subverted by the audit culture, she highlights a general sense of disquiet that the regulatory practices which circumscribe scholarly activity and research are destroying thinking, encouraging conformity and generating an ethos of fear. Allan sees initial professional educators as driven by the imperative to cultivate new teachers as expert autonomous professionals, thus promoting individualistic development and territorial attitudes which provide little incentive for beginning teachers to consider those professional 'others' with whom they might work; and she is critical of a curriculum so packed with coverage of policy initiatives that there is no room for in-depth critiquing of theory and no time to explore the philosophical influences on pedagogy. Instead, beginning teachers are offered a theoretically light-weight approach which amounts to 'theory junk sculpture' in an era of the sound bite. Drawing on Goodson, Allan proposes collaborative work as the only way to counteract this reductionism, resistance to thinking and a concentration on the practical. But, while Allan highlights the many entreaties in policy documents to engage in interprofessional work she is concerned that the rhetoric is founded on limited knowledge and scant evidence of what is actually perceived as helpful by families, children and young people. Instead we are presented with the cliché of joined-up working which creates the illusion of consensus and imposes a premature closure.

Allan concludes by considering how academics might break free of the insidious pressures and restraints imposed by performativity which are seeping into their souls and deflecting them from their civic duty. She suggests that academics may regain their direction and re-commit to civic duty through three possible kinds of re-orientation: the ontological – a commitment to self and other to *act* politically; the epistemological – which seeks to address the lack of knowledge about what interprofessional practice is and seeks understanding of the ‘inter’, or as she puts it ‘interstanding’; and the epiphanic – creating spaces for learning which encourage opportunities for ‘chaos and creativity’ from which insights and diversions might emerge.

Like Allan, Gary Crow is concerned about the narrowness and impoverishment of professional development. He argues that the focus is more on technical competence than facing up to the changes in the nature of work which require creativity and ingenuity in the face of complexity. As a result, he contends, educators are inadequately prepared for working with diverse professionals when responding to the needs of children and young people. As he states, these kinds of interactions involve a mix of the values, perspectives, knowledge and skills that constitute a person’s professional identity. This aspect, he argues, tends to be ignored in pre- and post-qualifying professional learning and development.

In his paper, Crow sets out to explore the concept of professional identity in relation to school leaders and their practice. He aims to encourage a conversation about the importance of professional identity, with regard in particular to the leader’s role in interprofessional collaboration. Drawing on the work of Gee, Wenger and Sachs he analyses several dimensions of professional identity that are of significance. Accepting that identities are shaped by context and relationships, he highlights the important influence of socialisation and networking for new headteachers in the process of trying out provisional professional identities through a negotiation process.

Crow revisits an earlier empirical study which focused on new school leader socialisation, to address issues relating to the formation of professional identity. The new headteachers emphasised the need to develop managerial competencies, as well as the themes of adjustment to the school environment and self-learning. Crow has identified the development of self-confidence as being a particularly significant aspect of self-learning in relation to shared endeavour and interprofessional working. He concludes by arguing that school leadership development should support schools leaders in developing role conceptions that enhance interprofessional collaboration rather than merely developing technical competence.

In the final paper Mark Smith considers social workers’ identities. Smith maps the ways in which the ‘social work project’ as instigated by the *Kilbrandon Report* (1964) has been undermined by successive legislation, the growth of neoliberal ideas in the 1980s, marketisation and the seductive powers of managerialism. He asserts that there has been a retreat from welfare principles and a shift from generic social work to discrete services. He contends that New Labour, whilst purporting to adopt a broader and more enlightened vision, has in fact expanded regulatory regimes and greatly added to bureaucratisation. Instead of the desired goal of

efficiency and effectiveness, there has been a fragmentation of services and a shift from the concept of the ‘whole’ child. As with the persuasive discourses of choice and empowerment, Smith argues that government has hijacked notions of rights and protection for political ends. Rather than considerations of welfare, legal principles are now uppermost in child-care decision making, as evidenced by the automatic involvement of police in child protection cases. There is a shift from caring to protection which presupposes intention to harm. This trend, he claims, is also evident with regard to the whole area of youth justice and has affected relationships between social workers and the families and young people with whom they work. In an attempt to ‘tidy up’ social work and make it less messy, social work, he argues, has become a technical/rational task rather than a relational and moral one.

The publication of *Changing Lives* (Scottish Executive, 2006) appeared to presage a return to greater professional autonomy, a decrease in ‘red-tape’, and recognition of the importance of therapeutic relationships. And yet in the report there are indications of the influence of a neoliberalist doctrine with the emphasis on wellbeing rather than welfare, and of the ‘personalisation’ agenda, a key driver in all public services. Smith laments the failure of *Changing Lives* to challenge political orthodoxies, reflecting as it does the public’s fear of crime and anti-social behaviour. *Changing Lives* reinforces calls for social workers to collaborate with other professionals as part of single unitary system, but as Smith asserts, this will not happen as long as changes are only at policy and organisational levels. Teachers and social workers will continue to operate along parallel lines. The remedy, Smith proposes, rather than adherence to a common set of standards which tends to increase and indeed reify the technical/rationality of social services, is a conceptual shift to the alternative paradigm of social education rooted in European models of social pedagogy. Smith advocates the introduction of a ‘social pedagogue’, a professional equipped to work with children and families across all disciplines. He cites the unifying notion of upbringing, as a holistic concept which encompasses what is required for children to develop into ‘healthy and competent adults’.

The notion of the social pedagogue serves to draw attention to the *ad hoc* boundaries that have hitherto, and unhelpfully, carved up children’s services and produced the ‘fragmented’ child. Within the rapidly shifting policy grounds currently surrounding children’s services provision the four papers presented here point to the urgent need to re-conceptualise and re-theorise interprofessional work and the identifications which underpin this in order to create integrated services and to prevent children falling through the gaps in provision.

**CAPITALS IN THE TIME OF INTEGRATION:
THEORISING INTERPROFESSIONAL SOCIAL AND
HUMAN CAPITAL IN CHILDREN'S SERVICES
TRANSFORMATIONS**

JOAN FORBES

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses a concern that is current in research concerning children and young people: the adoption of an integrated approach to delivering services for children and young people using schools as the 'hub' for changing children's services. The paper opens by introducing Scottish policy statements that recommend that it is at the level of the school and its community that integrated work needs to be effective if the policy aims of social justice and inclusion are to be achieved. Policy discourses are analysed to reveal a number of issues of contention and potential barriers to collaboration between different practitioner groups involved in changing children's services relating to the relocation of the space of integration and the nature of practitioner, practice and governance level relations. Social capital theory is then introduced and a multi level conceptual framework of sub-types of social capital is proposed to chart and analyse intersections and potential points of disjuncture in the work of different practitioner groups in schools. The concept of human capital is used to explore questions of practitioner knowledge, expertise and research practices. It is suggested that mapping the critical intersections in the social capital and human capital formations of children's sector practitioners provides a framework to analyse how professional work relations currently operate and to identify interstices where interprofessional social and human capital need to be reconstructed to better serve the needs and aspirations of children and young people, and their families.

The paper emerges from previous research into interprofessional relations and social capital within the Schools and Social Capital Network (SSCN) of the

Applied Educational Research Scheme (AERS) in Scotland into redesigning professionalism and enabling professionals to use, recognise and develop social capital. More specifically this analysis draws on the work of a subgroup within that SSCN research activity which examined inter/transprofessionalism: social capital, professional knowledge bases and inter/transprofessional and interagency working. The paper is also informed by ideas introduced and explored in an earlier Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) research seminar series co-organised during 2006-07 by colleagues from Aberdeen, Birmingham and Ulster universities: *Service integration in schools: research and policy discourses, practices and future prospects*.

My purpose here is to examine three key issues in research into children's services transformations that emerged in the context of those earlier literature review activities and seminar debates. The issues identified in research into children's services transformations in the current moment in Scotland, and in parallel change initiatives that are occurring in the other UK countries (Moran, Abbott & O' Connor, 2007, 2009; Pugh, 2007, 2009) and more globally across the Anglophone world (Butt & Gunter, 2007, 2009), focus on the need for:

- appropriately full and focused policy study to critique the changing discourses in children's services policy statements;
- a new conceptual frame that adequately takes account of recent shifts in the focus of children's sector policy and the effects of that for/in practice, for example, from 'inter/transprofessional' work relations in schools as hubs (what Hartley [2007, 2009] terms the 'inter-regnum'), to a relocation of the space of services integration in recent policy from school sites to wherever children's services are located (Smith [2008] names this the 'integration interlude');
- an analytic that adequately grasps new cross-cutting relationships in children's services as those may relate to the formation of new practitioner knowledge bases, (inter)professional identities and changing power relations in the context of movements towards the integration of children's services in the current moment in Scotland and other places.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to offer a comprehensive critique of the range of relevant policy documentation across the domains of education, health and social care policy – and wider social inclusion and social justice policy – and so what follows identifies and analyses a number of key shifts in the trajectory of policy in relation to children's sector transformations.

INTRODUCING THE INTER/INTEGRATED POLICY TRAJECTORY

The publication of the (then) Scottish Office document: *New community schools: the prospectus* (1998) signalled a key shift in Scottish children's services policy. *The prospectus* introduced the concept of the School as *the hub* for an integrated approach to the delivery of education and other children's services; and, fundamentally, viewed such school hubs for services as the means by which social justice and social and educational inclusion for all Scotland's children would be

secured. A new policy priority sought the integration of children's services in Scotland as a (perhaps the) means to:

- improve the educational outcomes for children;
 - improve the life chances of young people;
 - tackle the opportunity gap;
 - [introduce] a more holistic approach to [children's] needs;
 - [address] social, emotional and health problems;
 - [ensure that] children...achieve.
- (Scottish Office, 1998, parentheses added)

The prospectus introduced integrated working in school sites as the means by which all children's needs might be most effectively addressed 'in the round' (foreword, unpaginated). In addition to introducing the fundamental principle of social justice, *the prospectus* invoked the concept of *integration* in relation to a number of changed systems, structures and practices across children's services. It called for an *integrated approach* by all practitioners, including health, social care and other agencies now charged to work in schools, stating that 'integration of services is essential' (p.4). Further, *the prospectus* prescribed:

- *integrated* provision of school education, informal as well as formal education, social work and health education and promotion services;
- *integrated management*;
- arrangements for the delivery of these services according to a set of *integrated* objectives and measurable outcomes;
- *multi-disciplinary training and staff development*. (pp. 4-5; original emphasis)

Focusing on agency partnership working for educational and social inclusion, a report by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIe), *Count us in – achieving inclusion in Scottish schools* (2002), provided an educational perspective that restated earlier Scottish Executive policy that instituted the school as the hub for services. The document proposed a twin strategy to promote social inclusion and raise educational standards by bringing together 'education, health, social work and a range of other agencies, to provide a more integrated and holistic support service' (p.9). In addition, the statement invoked the concept of interagency partnership working. HMIe (2002) states unequivocally that 'inclusive education relies on schools working in partnership with others' (p.33). The document then sets out a number of recommendations for effective working relationships *between* education and other children's services' agencies:

- shared understanding of aims and objectives and a clear understanding of the contribution that each agency can make towards achieving them;
- true partnership...all partners are prepared to share decision making and the leadership of specific pieces of work in appropriate ways;
- ways in which staff from schools and other agencies relate to each other and to pupils have to be flexible and managed responsively to meet the needs of individuals and groups;

- good opportunities...for joint training between professional groups are crucial (p. 33).

Offering such recommendations, HMIE evidently continues to envisage working relationships occurring between separate agencies – that is, in the form of ‘inter’ relationships. In 2002 policy did not yet seek the transformation or restructuring of children’s services into *integrated services*; rather, in David Hartley’s elegant and memorable phrase, this is the period of the ‘*inter*’-*regnum* (2007, 2008) when partnership working between professions and agencies is invoked in policy.

However it is not ‘just’ a matter of ‘inter’ work. There are glimmerings in *Count us in – achieving inclusion in Scottish schools* (2002) of moves towards the integration of services. It calls for:

- capacity building...in relation to coordinated planning of services for children and young people (p.8); and
- reformed relationships between agencies’ practitioners in support of the ‘inclusion agenda’ (p.7).

Further, *Count us in – achieving inclusion in Scottish schools* states that the new community school (now integrated community school, ICS) programme was envisaged as a key element in a twin strategy to promote social inclusion and raise educational standards by bringing together ‘education, health, social work and a range of other agencies, to provide a more *integrated* and holistic support service’ (p.9, emphasis added).

Inter/trans professional and related terminology

Drawing on a number of definitions (by the AERS, SSCN, Policy Review Group, 2005; Biggs, 1997; Brown & White, 2006; Ozga, Hulme & McGonigal, 2008; and Tisdall & Wallace, 2004) distinctions may be drawn between the myriad terms deployed to figure interprofessional work relations:

- *inter-agency working* – where two or more agencies work together in a planned and formal way;
- *multi-agency working*– where more than one agency works with a young person, family or a project;
- *multi-professional working* – where staff who have different professional backgrounds and training work together;
- *inter-professional working* – working between professional groups on areas beyond the scope of one profession;
- *trans-professional working* – working across professional groups in areas and issues that are cross-cutting;
- *interdisciplinary* – where two or more disciplines work together in a planned and formal way.

Lastly, Gibbons, Limoges, Nowotny, Schwartzman, Scott and Trow (1994) introduce the concept of *inter-sectoral working* – where two or more public sectors

(e.g. health, education, social care) work together – a conceptualisation that is helpful here in an analysis of current transformations in relations and *flows* (Castells, 2000) of knowledge amongst all agencies involved in the children’s sector.

And what of the earlier notion of ‘the school as the hub’?

The school as the ‘hub’ – and catalyst – for local school and community change was instituted in the policy statement: *New community schools: the prospectus* (Scottish Office, 1998). In 2004, the HMIE report *The sum of its parts: the development of integrated community schools in Scotland* identifies difficulties in operationalising and implementing the policy aspiration of establishing schools as hubs for integration policy and concludes that, ‘The ICS initiative has not been fully successful in its aim of establishing a new over-arching vision and framework for the delivery of education and other children’s services, using schools as the hub’ (p.28). Thus, *The sum of its parts* officially recognised that schools as hubs were not working.

RELOCATING THE SPACE OF INTEGRATION FROM SCHOOL HUBS TO CHILDREN’S SERVICES

At this point it is helpful to recall the second research issue of concern here: seeking a suitable conceptual frame to analyse the shift in policy focus, outlined above, from earlier invocations of inter/transprofessional work relations in school sites as hubs, to a relocation of the space of integration to the spaces in which children’s services are located. That key shift in policy constructions is evident in, for example, *Improving outcomes for children and young people: the role of schools in delivering integrated children’s services* (Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED), 2006). Policy now relocates integrated organisation, structures and practice and their governance in the space that cuts across children’s services boundaries, a key step change.

Developing a conceptual framework for services integration: some terms

In considering integration in the space that cuts across children’s services and the various home agencies in which these services are located, a conceptual frame is needed to analyse the integration or merger of children’s services governance at agency and systems level – with effects in practice at the levels of institutional practice and practitioner relations. Percy-Smith (2005, pp.24-25) introduces a number of analytically helpful distinctions:

- *holistic government or governance* – integration and coordination at all levels and in relation to all aspects of policy related activity – policy making, regulation, service provision and scrutiny;

- *cross-boundary working* – agencies working together on areas that extend beyond the scope of any one agency;
- *cross-cutting* – issues that are not the ‘property’ of a single organisation or agency – e.g. social inclusion, improving health;
- *integration* – agencies working together in a single, often new, organisational structure.

Policy re-statement of integration

As noted above, in *Improving outcomes for children and young people* the Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED, 2006) stated that ‘it no longer makes sense to think of schools separately from other agencies’ and that there is now a wider integration agenda relating to ‘delivery of Integrated Children’s Services’ (p. 2). Integration has emerged as a discrete and important strand in policy. Initiating (or re-focusing on) integration, the document *A partnership for a better Scotland* (Scottish Executive, 2006a) made the commitment that by 2007 every school in Scotland would be an Integrated Community School. In the event, the Community School initiative has developed and mutated and the 2006 commitment has been overtaken by a wider children’s services integration agenda.

INSPECTORATES AND AGENCIES: A JOINED-UP INSPECTION REGIME

Since 2005 a series of policy moves towards a joined-up inspection regime have provided drivers for effecting integrated strategic and operational level relations between the inspectorates and agencies. *A common approach to inspecting services for children and young people* (HMIe, 2005) proposed a coherent inspection and self-evaluation approach using generic quality indicators. *The code of practice for the joint inspection of services to protect children and young people* (Scottish Executive, 2006c) speaks of a ‘new multi-disciplinary children’s services inspection team led by HMIe...to put in place *integrated* inspections for all services for children, by 2008’ (p.1, emphasis added).

The powers that the joint inspection team needed to work jointly, for example to access and share records and information, were provided under the *Joint Inspection of Services for Children and Inspection of Social Work Services (Scotland) Act* (Scottish Parliament, 2006). It may be considered that joint inspections of services themselves have acted as a driver towards integration as an effect of their joint assessments of three levels of service: the strategic level of leadership and planning; the delivery of systems and processes; and service receipt level including the experience of and impact on the individual child. In 2006, the Scottish Executive published *A guide to evaluating services for children and young people using quality indicators* – prescribing a coherent approach to self-evaluation and inspection in agency provision of services for children and young people (2006b, p.7). Subsequently, the HMIe document *Improving services for children: excellence for all* was introduced in 2007. The effects of the institution and operation of this strand in policy, in parallel with policy specifically relating to joint child protection practices, have linked and integrated agency inspection and self-evaluation approaches in Scotland in ways that are similar to the integrated

inspection framework introduced in the *Children Act (England)* (UK Parliament, 2004), related to the *Every child matters* agenda (HM Treasury, 2003; Department for Education & Skills, 2004) which informs the inspection of all children’s services in England.

THE WIDER AND MORE RECENT SCOTTISH POLICY CONTEXT

In 2004 *A curriculum for excellence* (sic) (Scottish Executive Education Department), a policy relevant to the learning and teaching of all children and young people in Scotland, envisaged and articulated the notion of wider achievement for all in and through schools *and their communities* (see, for example, Arshad, Forbes & Catts, 2007, for further analysis of this new emphasis on communities), thereby requiring better integrated services working for all Scotland’s children and young people to enable them to achieve the educational outcomes indicators that it instituted. *Curriculum for excellence* (as now re-titled) prescribed that children and young people in Scotland are to be enabled to become:

- successful learners
- confident individuals
- responsible citizens
- effective contributors to work and society.

Subsequently, emerging from and building on the *Curriculum for excellence* (CfE) vision for the outcomes of schooling, the *Getting it right for every child: proposals for action* (GiRfEC) (Scottish Executive, 2005) introduced seven well-being indicators. Schools and communities must ensure that all children are:

- safe
- nurtured
- healthy
- achieving
- active
- respected and responsible
- included.

The seven GiRfEC indicators cut across previous agency domains and responsibilities, and so require cross-boundary working and a unified approach, demanding associated reform of the children’s sector workforce including the kinds of holistic government or governance relating to inspection regimes.

The child at the heart of children’s services

The foreword to GiRfEC states that ‘the child is at the heart of children’s services’ (and thus of policy integrating children’s services) and so in current research and debates into the re-design of children’s services any changes must benefit children. Transforming services must be viewed as a means to the end of putting (and keeping) children at the heart of services, ‘improving the educational outcomes for

children and tackling the opportunity gap, not an end in itself' (Pugh, 2006). Speaking of the five main outcomes for all children prescribed in the *Every child matters* (ECM) (2003) agenda in England, and the ECM five main outcomes for all children, Pugh (2006) urged that a key question be kept at the centre – 'what does it feel like to be a child or young person using this service?'. As outlined above, how to reform and integrate children's public services to the benefit of user children and families are, of course, questions faced not only in Scotland but more generally across the UK and elsewhere.

INTEGRATION: ARE CHANGED PRACTITIONER RELATIONS (SOCIAL CAPITAL) AT ALL LEVELS NOW NEEDED?

We come to the third research issue of concern here – the pressing necessity for a framework with which to explore professional relations, and their underlying knowledge bases, identities, practices and governance, in relations of power at all levels in children's services in the current integrative moment. In the Schools and Social Capital Network research cited above, the conceptual frames of social capital and human capital together offered a potentially fruitful analytic. Halpern (2005, p.4) defines *social capital* in the following terms:

Social networks and the norms and sanctions that govern their character. It is valued for its potential to facilitate individual and community action, especially through their solution of collective action problems.

Viewing children's services as the location of integrated practice, a conceptual frame is needed to identify and analyse the changing practitioner *relations* and different practitioner *knowledges* that may be involved in joining-up practice. Together, the concepts of social and human capital seem to offer such a framework to differentially grasp and analyse professional relations and knowledge bases as these are re-forming or are reformed at all levels, including those of policy and agency governance; interprofessional practice; and individual practitioner's knowledge/s and identities.

Key social capital theorists

In response to the challenges of social justice and social inclusion in countries globally, the conceptual frame of social capital has been drawn upon by a number of institutions involved in public policy formation including the World Bank (Narayan, 1999); the UK Government Performance and Innovation Unit (2002); and, as noted above, by the Schools and Social Capital Network (SSCN) of The Applied Educational Research Scheme (AERS) in Scotland. Ecclestone and Field (2003, p.267) confirm that 'the concept of social capital has...started to attract attention among policy-makers' and further 'unlike many social science concepts, it has proven remarkably interesting to policy makers' (p.270).

No single definition of social capital adequately captures all of the slippery nuances of the concept. Narayan (1999) characterises social capital as the 'social glue' which holds society together; Baron, Field and Schuller (2000) speak of the

effectivity of social capital in 'providing access to new knowledge and resources' (p.8); and with Bourdieu (1977a, 1977b, 1986, 1991, 1992; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), earlier Schools and Social Capital Network research has conceptualised social capital as a form of power.

Early theoretical work by Coleman (1988) that drew on his empirical studies in US schools viewed stocks of social capital as not limited to the powerful. Coleman argues that trust and reciprocity, key terms in social capital theory, constitute a resource for poor and marginalised communities; and his research places emphasis on the role of social capital in building individuals' human capital. Coleman focuses on what social capital does: 'social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible' (1988, p.96).

Bourdieu (with Wacquant, 1992) introduces the social capital theory notion of networks and the resources which accrue, to individuals from network membership. Bourdieu (1977a, 1992) develops a relational sociology and a concern for structuralist accounts of inequality and power. Bourdieu states that social capital 'may serve as currency' (Bourdieu, 1977b, p.503). The Bourdieuan strand in social capital theory views social capital as the asset of elites in a zero-sum relation.

In contrast, Putnam (1995) states that social capital lies in the productive functioning of networks of relationships based on shared norms and trust: 'social capital, in short refers to social connections and the attendant norms and trust' (pp.664-5). So Putnam characterises social capital as a resource that functions at societal level underpinned by individuals' active participation in the social organisation and networks of civic society (1995, 2000).

Field (2003) notes that the key social capital theorists focus on relationships as a resource; and are concerned with 'how networks and shared values function as a resource for people and organisations (p.43); but do not really 'distinguish sub-types' of social capital (p.42). The conceptual framework of 'bonding and bridging' sub-types of social capital is provided by Woolcock (1998).

Such key ideas in social capital theory, focusing on the formation and operation of networks at individual, group and societal levels and how these are underpinned by shared norms and trust, seem to offer a timely analytic to examine inter-practitioner relations, including power relations, as these are reforming in the current moment in/through the integration of services.

Mapping social capital

Of particular interest in exploring the nature and operation of integrating and/or integrated practitioner relationships is a conceptual frame that encompasses both the key terms in social capital identified in the foregoing discussion of social capital theory: *networks, norms, trust and reciprocity*; and encompasses and distinguishes the forms or distinct sub-types of social capital relations: bonding, bridging and linking. Ozga and Catts (2004, p.2) summarise the distinguishing features of these three sub-types of social capital:

Bonding social capital: characterised by strong bonds among family (or professional group) members. This variety of social capital can help people to 'get by' but may also be limiting.

Bridging social capital: is less strong but builds relationships with a wider, more varied set of people, for example, workplace or business associates, friends from different ethnic groups (or practitioners from other professional groups). Good for 'getting on'.

Linking social capital: connects people who occupy different power positions so works across differences in status, for example connecting individuals to different agencies or services (or connecting practitioners to other agencies' hierarchies).

Mapping social capital connections at the intersections of bonding, bridging and linking, networks norms, and trust may productively disentangle and foreground for analysis some of the new and somewhat slippery forms of inter and/or integrated relations in children's services as these are re-formed (or let go – as obsolete). Conceptually, social capital grasps the relational inter or integrated aspect of practitioner working relationships, institutional level services, and agency or governance level re-structuring – allowing examination of those specific flows and/or relations. Thinking about such junctions would seem vital analytically as these constitute the critical intersections where social capital may – even if perhaps momentarily – be visible.

Social capital: a mapping along two axes

For integration to operate in ways likely to persist, more work is needed by those involved to unpack, re-think and re-make relations at all levels – to re-constitute policy, governance and practice underpinned by re-designed knowledge and expertise bases. For service integration to succeed a focus is again needed on how *inter/trans* relations in children's services – and the knowledges, identities, and (power) relations at governance, service, and practitioner levels that underpin and legitimate *inter/trans* relationships – are constructed, built-up and operated. As argued above, it is not a question of either/or inter or integrated relations; rather, relationships between and across agencies, professional groups and practitioners must be optimised if children and families are to be at the heart of services which they experience as 'good'.

Any analytical account of social capital relations (and of integrative re-structurings of such relations) needs to distinguish between the different micro-meso-macro levels and to consider at each level the plots of the intersection of *networks, norms and sanctions/trust* with *bonding, bridging and linking* connections. In terms of practitioner, professional and agency relations, the three sub-types of social capital may be operationalised in the following terms. *Bonding*: ties to own disciplinary knowledge base, practice expertise, knowledge production practices, and agency policy and governance; *bridging*: connections across boundaries to practitioners from other professions/home agencies and the practices, including research practices, policy and governance of those disciplinary groups; and *linking*: practice, knowledge and knowledge production and exchange

connections across agencies – linkages up and down at all levels of agencies' hierarchies. These three sub-types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking may be mapped along the horizontal axis of a social capital matrix; and the key terms in social capital – networks, norms, and trust – may be mapped along the vertical axis of a social capital matrix.

INTEGRATION: ARE CHANGED PRACTITIONER KNOWLEDGES AND EXPERTISE (HUMAN CAPITAL) NOW NEEDED?

Halpern (2005, p.4) defines *human capital* as the 'stock of expertise accumulated by a worker – knowing how to do something; for example, a professional training'.

For integrated working to develop in the ways exhorted in policy it may be argued that different knowledges, and practices of knowledge production and transfer beyond those previously acquired in initial subject disciplinary qualification or initial (mono) professional training are necessary. Moves from previously professionally and subject-disciplinary Balkanised silos towards agency cross-cutting and cross-boundary working call for different practical and contextual knowledges at the individual level of social and human capital formation. Gibbons, Limoges, Nowotny, Schwartzman, Scott and Trow (1994) and Nowotny, Scott and Gibbons (2003) argue that the production of such hybrid knowledge created and applied in specific work contexts by inter-disciplinary and inter-sectoral teams in response to context specific practical problems will require changed processes of research. Nowotny and colleagues characterise this as a new 'Mode 2' paradigm of knowledge production which is 'socially distributed, application orientated, trans-disciplinary, and subject to multiple accountabilities' (p.179) in contrast to 'Mode 1' knowledge 'characterised by the hegemony of theoretical or, at any rate, experimental science; by an internally driven taxonomy of disciplines; and by scientists and their host institutions, the universities' (p.179). Nowotny et al identify five characteristics of Mode 2 knowledge:

- knowledge is generated within a context of application;
- the second...characteristic is 'trans-disciplinarity', by which is meant the mobilisation of a range of theoretical perspectives and practical methodologies to solve problems;
- the third characteristic...is the much greater diversity of the sites at which knowledge is produced, and in the types of knowledge produced;
- it is highly reflexive;
- the fifth characteristic is seen in novel forms of quality control...scientific 'peers' can no longer be readily identified, because there is no longer a stable taxonomy of codified disciplines from which 'peers' can be drawn (pp.186-7).

Given the complexities of the current transformations in children's services, the characteristics of Mode 2 processes of knowledge production identified by Nowotny and colleagues would seem to have direct relevance and potential purchase in the current moment of integration and inter/transdisciplinarity in children's services for application in future examinations of the number of

challenges and tensions inherent in processes of knowledge production (and exchange).

A MULTI-LEVEL MAPPING OF HUMAN AND SOCIAL CAPITAL?

It may, of course, be conceptually fruitful to apply the matrix of social capital mapped above as an analytical frame at a number of levels to grasp the multi-level functioning of professionals' human and social capital; for example, a micro-level mapping of individual practitioner knowledge bases, expertise and identifications (human capital); a meso-level mapping of practitioners' co-practice relations in schools and community services; and at the macro-level of service government and policy, a mapping of agency governance connections and relations. Heuristic use of the frame of social capital to identify and analyse current relations and connections at the intersections of sub-types and key terms at each of these levels may identify where relations need to be re-conceptualised and re-made, on the basis of transdisciplinary research and knowledge, at each/any level to the benefit of service users (and practitioners). So, a focus, albeit heuristically, on the interstices at the *individual practitioner level* would stimulate a number of questions, for example, at the following junctions of *bonding*, *bridging* and *linking* social capital in relation to networks:

- Are practitioners' professional networks *bonding* in nature – do practice and knowledge production and exchange (research) *networks* operate in ways that are closed or delimited to one's own subject disciplinary group and exclude other practitioner groups?
- Where issues cross agency boundaries and are cross-cutting, do practitioners within a specific professional group initiate and sustain good *networks* of practice and knowledge production and exchange that *bridge* across to other services and include practitioners from other professional groups as appropriate and necessary for the benefit of the users of their joint service – and is the formation of good *bridging* relations two-way?
- Do practitioners in a particular home agency ensure that good *networks* are formed, within current moves towards more holistic forms of governance at all levels, that *link* them into appropriate levels of leadership, management, resources in other agencies – and is the institution or (re-)formation of good *linking* relations appropriately reciprocal amongst all agencies involved in children's services for the benefit of service users?

Beyond the scope of this paper, the matrix of the intersections of social capital sub-types and key terms may be used heuristically to foreground these kinds of issues and questions not only at individual practitioner level but at the levels of inter-professional practice and inter-agency policy and governance.

Such mappings that identify the spaces of intersection and possible disjunctions in social capital relations and connections may produce productive analyses of the particular *social and human capital mixes* needed for specific professional roles and remits within teams, in the way that current audits of the *skills-mixes* needed by professions allied to health to undertake specific tasks have proved an effective

tool for teamwork planning purposes in the health service. As each practitioner will possess and need different mixes of the types of knowledge and expertise to undertake specific roles and tasks, it is getting right the overall balance of social capital ties, bonding, bridging and linking, appropriate to roles and tasks that is important in moves to integrate children's services – to avoid gaps or overlaps.

Research into individual professionals' knowledge bases for co-practice will need to acknowledge that each individual's human and social capital is highly person-specific and will vary dependent upon, for example, individual initial professional education and formation in an academic subject discipline, and the stocks of specific types of social capital (bonding, bridging and/or linking) which individuals have built up and utilised in/through their practice in their current and previous professional roles. Importantly, analysing actual practice relations in detail might reveal how social capital is established, is deployed and breaks down – what has been termed the 'dark side' of social capital (Arneil, 2006; Fine, 2001; Fukuyama, 1995; Narayan, 1999; Portes, 1998). For example, where intra-(within) agency bonding capital operates in ways that are exclusive of non home agency practitioners and so potentially limits the range and quality of the joined-up services offered to children and families. There is, of course, much more to develop in this kind of mapping and analysis of the spatiality of social capital, but it does signal some points of cross-reference between the two axes, the interstices in which the glue of social capital is formed or not; and in so doing its application may be productive.

RE-CONCEPTUALISING TO RE-DESIGN INTEGRATED PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE: KEY ISSUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH – AND FOR CHANGED PRACTICES OF RESEARCH PRODUCTION

And so what does this analysis suggest regarding the three specific issues outlined above that emerged from previous research and debate into children's services transformations as of concern in the current moment in Scotland and other countries?

Appropriately full and focused policy study to critique the changing discourses

As previously stated, the focus in children's services change and in policy study and research, in whatever modes or forms, into professional knowledge bases, relations and identities, holistic agency governance, and service workforce remodelling is that of 'good outcomes for all children' (Pugh, 2006). This analysis would suggest that much future work will be needed to continue to explore the gap between the policy rhetoric of 'change for children' and the current reality in schools and communities and the wider spaces of children's services for service users. Successful reformations of those places and spaces where current practice in its diverse forms and stages of transformation (integrating interprofessional, or integrated transagency service) is experienced as fragmented – and not unified or

integrated – by children, young people and families will be dependent on better knowledge, ideally produced and exchanged in inter-disciplinary research.

Research relating to integrated working in school service transformations will need to be linked to larger questions and debates about which aspects of professional practice knowledge continue to have relevance in an integrated service and which dimensions of the knowledges, relations and identities which people have previously acquired and continue to use – which capitals, social and human, expertise-related, are no longer ‘productive’ and need to change. Future studies will be needed to further explicate what underlies current versions of professional knowledge and professional practice, for example whether, and if so in what ways, it continues to be predicated on concepts and practices of autonomy, disciplinary knowledge and professional norms of expertise and responsibility that are characteristic of ‘criterion-based’, ‘ideal-typical’ versions of professionalism (Hoyle & John, 1995). The present analysis identified a number of questions relating to the knowledge bases now needed by practitioners in spaces of integrated practice that merit closer examination. As knowledge about one’s ‘own’ professional practice and expertise is formed in initial professional education, in particular disciplinary knowledge bases and discourses such as those of the sciences or life sciences, is there a risk that these are privileged over others’ knowledges, expertise and knowledge production and exchange practices – creating difficulties for integrated working? For ‘good’ change in integrated services, does the knowledge base of initial and continuing professional education, what practitioners now need to know (Ozga, Hulme & McGonigal, 2008) in order to function in integrated, unified children’s public service, need itself to become cross-cutting or inter-disciplinary in nature? Finally, given the features of the above programme of questions and suggestions, do research and the processes of knowledge production and knowledge exchange applied in the creation of the knowledge that underpins children’s services now need more urgently to take Mode 2 (Gibbons et al, 1994) inter/transdisciplinary collaborative and problem-solving forms?

A conceptual frame for children’s services policy that takes account of recent shifts in the focus of policy and the effects of that for/in practice

Applying the conceptual frame or matrix of social capital to chart types of social capital relations against the current wider policy backdrop provides a clear representation of what will need to work, work better and change if integrated working is to develop and persist. Mapping the social capital junctions can make transparent the gaps in policy rhetoric and current practice – where social capital resources required by a child or young person break down. Close examination of points of cross-reference may signal the urgent necessity to loosen old forms of professionally bonded working and knowledge production and exchange that is unhelpfully ‘Balkanised’ or in ‘silos’ and produce new professional identities, knowledge bases, types of knowledge and expertise and processes of knowledge building as cross-cutting and/or ‘networked’ professionals in ways that support service reforms and restructuring in the moves towards integration.

To appraise whether particular social capital relations are needed or excessive (taking account of the difficulties experienced by service-users when faced with multiple practitioner representatives of agencies) will require further inter-disciplinary (or rather, cross-cutting or transdisciplinary) Mode 2 (Gibbons et al, 1994) research across the disciplinary groups involved. It would seem that it is getting right the overall balance of types of connections across all levels, appropriate to ‘the service’ and service-users’ wishes, that is now the challenge. Part of the response to the challenges associated with service integration identified in a relational analytic provided in a social capital theory approach to analysis, may lie in the initial professional training and initial disciplinary knowledge acquisition of all the practitioners involved; and in the opportunities (or the lack thereof) which these individuals and professional groups have for continuing professional development and for co-research of the Mode 2 type suggested above that enable them to speak about and perhaps acquire a shared understanding of the issues (Riddell & Tett, 2004). For example, is there now a seemingly irrefutable case for moving towards re-formed elements of interdisciplinary education, including Mode 2 forms of research training, for teachers, health service and social work practitioners, community educators and professionals from the range of other agencies which are now charged to work together in a unified service? Are current separate disciplinary knowledges, processes of initial disciplinary and professional knowledge acquisition, and learning about processes of disciplinary research and knowledge production that are transferred and acquired in initial professional education acting as inhibitors to integrated work by producing practitioners who are not equipped with the capacities in the forms of knowledges, expertise and knowledge production and exchange processes that are now needed to perform such work?

As the Applied Educational Research Scheme initiative in Scotland is due to end in December 2008, there may be a timely opportunity now for the Scottish Government and Scottish Funding Council to consider broadening that educational research capacity building initiative across all the subject disciplines involved in the children’s sector to stimulate and build the inter-disciplinary research capacity and Mode 2 (Gibbons et al, 1994) types of capabilities now needed in the context of transforming services.

An analytic that adequately grasps new cross-cutting relationships in children’s services as those may relate to the re-formation of practitioners’ social and human capital

Future research into integrated relations will require re-thinking all levels and dimensions. There is a need to foreground the schools and children’s service level, the meso level, of ‘integrated people’ (Pugh, 2007), where practitioners connect and will re-connect differently in/through integrated policy and governance as the integration of practices and processes such as common assessment, evaluation and inspection frameworks gathers pace and intensifies. There is too a need to keep in mind the other levels of the social capital matrix that have direct and important effects for practice: the macro level of policy and re-designed inter-agency

governance systems and structures – social capital connections; and the micro level which is concerned with whether and how individual practitioners' human and social capital knowledge bases, skills and re-designed professional identities cohere for well connected co-practices in this time of integrating services.

Examinations of integrated relations will need to uncover and analyse not only social capital but the relations of knowledge production and exchange that underlie the forms that practitioner relations may take. Further research is needed that explores the social capital mix and flows (Castells, 2000) of knowledge and professional resources now needed in different specific children's services contexts as these are integrating or integrated (see Forbes, 2008, analysis of the knowledges needed in the context of support for a child with specific language impairment); and which will identify the human capital expertise that practitioners need in the spaces of integration – both Mode 1 subject disciplinary and Mode 2 hybrid interdisciplinary (Gibbons et al, 1994) context specific knowledge bases.

Finally, none of this is trivial, straightforward or likely to be experienced as comfortable. Acquiring new work identities and accepting new knowledge and power relations is controversial and risky. The stakes of achieving social justice and inclusion for children, young people and families are high and the risks are many in seeking to shift people's hearts and minds about how integrated working must and should be done better. But conceptualising mapping and analysing how the 'intangible resources' (Field, 2003, preface) of social capital and of human capital currently operate and break down and so do *not* keep children and their families at the heart of service in the ways articulated in policy would seem to be a vital starting point.

REFERENCES

- Applied Educational Research Scheme (AERS), Schools and Social Capital Network (SSCN), Policy Review Group (2005). *Social capital: a review of policies*. <http://www.ears.org.uk/dspace/handle/123456789/> [accessed June 2008].
- Arneil, B. (2006). *Diverse communities: the problem with social capital*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arshad, R., Forbes, J., & Catts, R. (2007). The role of social capital in Scottish education policy. *Scottish Educational Review*, 39(2), 127-137.
- Baron, S., Field, J., & Schuller, T. (Eds.) (2000). *Social capital: critical perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Biggs, S. (1997). Interprofessional collaboration: problems and prospects. In J. Ovretveit, P. Mathias, & T. Thompson (Eds.) *Interprofessional working for health and social care*. Basingstoke: MacMillan, pp186-200.
- Bourdieu, P. (1992). *The logic of practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J.G. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*. New York, NY: Greenwood, pp. 241-258.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977a). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977b). *Cultural reproduction and social reproduction*. In J. Karabel, & A.H. Halsey (Eds.), *Power and ideology in education*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, pp. 487-511.
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L.J.D. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Brown, K., & White, W. (2006) *Exploring the evidence base for integrated children's services*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

- Butt, G., & Gunter, H. (2007). Modernising and remodelling schools: are there 'global solutions' to transforming the school workforce? In J. Forbes (Ed.) *Future school services, 'global solutions': ESRC seminar 4 proceedings*. Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, pp.7-22.
- Butt, G., & Gunter, H. (2009). Modernising and remodelling schools: are there 'global solutions' to transforming the school workforce? In J. Forbes, & Watson, C. (Eds.) *Service integration in schools: research and policy discourses, practices and future prospects*. Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sense.
- Castells, M. (2000). *The rise of the network society*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Coleman, J.S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital, *American Journal of Sociology*, 94 (Suppl.), S95-S120.
- Department for Education & Skills (2004). *Every child matters: change for children*. London: DfES.
- Ecclestone, K., & Field, J. (2003). Promoting social capital in a 'risk society': a new approach to emancipatory learning or a new moral authoritarianism? *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 24(3), 267-282.
- Field, J. (2003). *Social capital*. London: Routledge.
- Fine, B. (2001). *Social capital versus social theory*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Forbes, J. (2008). Knowledge transformations: examining the knowledge needed in teacher and speech and language therapist co-work, *Educational Review*, 60(2), 141-154.
- Fukuyama, F. (1995). *Trust: The social virtues and the creation of prosperity*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Gibbons, M., Limoges, C., Nowotny, H., Schwartzman, S., Scott, P., & Trow, M. (1994). *The new production of knowledge*. London: Sage.
- Halpern, D. (2005). *Social capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hartley, D. (2007). Education policy and the 'inter'-regnum, *Journal of Education Policy*, 22 (6), 695-708.
- Hartley, D. (2009). Education policy and the 'inter'- regnum. In J. Forbes, & Watson, C. (Eds.) *Service integration in schools: research and policy discourses, practices and future prospects*. Rotterdam: Sense.
- Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE) (2002). *Count us in – achieving inclusion in Scottish schools*. Edinburgh: The Stationery Office.
- Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE) (2004). *The sum of its parts? The development of integrated community schools in Scotland*. Edinburgh: HMIE.
- Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE) (2005). *A common approach to inspecting services for children and young people*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.
- Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE) (2007). *Improving services for children: excellence for all*. Powerpoint Presentation. Edinburgh: HMIE. www.hmie.gov.uk/NR/rdonlyres/D120A12E-4950-4A83-A53D-480ABDE79BAF/0/G1Pptnotesweb.ppt [accessed November 2008].
- HM Treasury (2003). *Every child matters*. London: HMSO.
- Hoyle, E., & John, P.D. (1995). *Professional knowledge and professional practice*. London: Cassell.
- Moran, A., Abbott, L., & O'Connor, U. (2007). Communicating, co-ordinating and connecting: integrated service provision in Northern Ireland. In Forbes, J. (Ed.) *How service integration is operating in practice in the Scotland, Northern Ireland and England and Wales policy contexts: ESRC seminar 2 proceedings*. Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, pp.21-37.
- Moran, A., Abbott, L., & O'Connor, U. (2009). Communicating, co-ordinating and connecting: integrated service provision in Northern Ireland. In J. Forbes, & Watson, C. (Eds.) *Service integration in schools: research and policy discourses, practices and future prospects*. Rotterdam: Sense.
- Narayan, D. (1999). *Bonds and bridges: social capital and poverty*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Nowotny, H., Scott, P., & Gibbons, M. (2003). Mode 2 revisited: The new production of knowledge, *Minerva*, 41, 179-194.
- Ozga, J., & Catts, R. (2004). (unpublished discussion paper) *Social capital: concepts and implications*. Stirling: Applied Educational Research Scheme (AERS), Schools and Social Capital Network (SSCN), University of Stirling, August 2004.
- Ozga, J., Hulme, M., & McGonigal, J. (2008). *Teacher professionalism and social*

THE CIVIC AND THE CIVIL IN INITIAL PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

JULIE ALLAN

UNIVERSITY OF STIRLING

INTRODUCTION: THE DONNISH DECLINE?

Please do not shoot the pianist. He is doing his best (Oscar Wilde, 1882)

The only thing to do, if you want to contribute to culture, or politics, or music, or whatever, is to utilize your own persona rather than just music. The best way to do this is to diversify and become a nuisance everywhere (David Bowie, 1976, p. 338).

The role of the academic within universities has become increasingly constrained by the 'audit culture' (Strathern, 1997), what they write and for whom is more closely circumscribed than ever before, and the pressure to demonstrate 'impact,' whatever that may be, limits their capacity to have any real influence on communities and on their values. Halsey (1992) bemoans the 'decline of the donnish dominion' (p. 258), while Furedi (2004) wonders 'where have all the intellectuals gone?' (p. vii). The undermining of academic culture and autonomy (Paterson, 2003) and the regulatory practices within universities is 'producing fear and little else' (Evans, 2004, p. 63) and is 'killing thinking' and, as Lyotard (1986) notes, in a world in which success is equated with saving time, thinking itself reveals its fundamental flaw to be its capacity to waste time. Said (1994) argues that a further danger for the intellectual comes from the limitations and constraints of professionalism which encourage conformity rather than critique:

The particular threat to the intellectual today, whether in the West or the non-Western world, is not the academy, nor the suburbs, not the appalling commercialism of journalism and publishing houses, but rather an attitude

27

- capital. Applied Educational Research Scheme Research Briefing Paper 2. Edinburgh: AERS Consortium <http://www.aers.org.uk/access/content/user/admin/AERS%20research%20briefings/AERS%20research%20brief%20amended%203.pdf> [accessed November 2008].
- Percy-Smith, J. (2005). *What works in strategic partnerships for children?* Barking: Barnardo.
- Portes, A. (1998) Social capital its origins and applications in modern sociology, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24(1), 1-24.
- Pugh, G. (2006). *Every child matters: the implications for service integration in England*. Paper presented at the Economic and Social Council (ESRC) seminar: How service integration is operating in practice in Scotland, Northern Ireland and England and Wales policy contexts. University of Ulster, 12th-13th October 2006.
- Pugh, G. (2007). Every child matters: the implications for service integration in England. In Forbes, J. (Ed.) *How service integration is operating in practice in the Scotland, Northern Ireland and England and Wales policy contexts: ESRC seminar 2 proceedings*. Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, pp.38-58.
- Pugh, G. (2009). Every child matters: the implications for service integration in England. In J. Forbes, & Watson, C. (Eds.) *Service integration in schools: research and policy discourses, practices and future prospects*. Rotterdam: Sense.
- Putnam, R.D. (1995). Tuning in, tuning out: the strange disappearance of social capital in America, *Political Science and Politics*, 28, 1-20.
- Putnam, R.D. (2000). *Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Riddell, S., & Tett, L. (2004). *Education, social justice and inter-agency working: joined-up or fractured policy?* London: Routledge.
- Scottish Executive (2005). *Getting it right for every child: proposals for action*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.
- Scottish Executive (2006a). *A Partnership for a better Scotland: partnership agreement*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.
- Scottish Executive (2006b). *A guide to evaluating services for children and young people using quality indicators*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.
- Scottish Executive (2006c). *The code of practice for the joint inspection of services to protect children and young people*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive. Online: <http://www.scotland.gov/Resource/Doc/117372/0028869.pdf> [accessed March 2008].
- Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED) (2004). *A curriculum for excellence*. Edinburgh: SEED.
- Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED) (2006). *Improving outcomes for children and young people: the role of schools in delivering integrated children's services*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Education Department.
- Scottish Office (1998). *New community schools: The prospectus*. <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/library/documents-w3/ncsp-00.htm> [accessed June 2008].
- Scottish Parliament (2006). *Joint Inspection of Services for Children and Inspection of Social Work Services (Scotland) Act*. Edinburgh: Scottish Parliament.
- Smith, M. (2008). *The slow death of social work and the possibilities of social pedagogy in working with children and families in Scotland*. Paper presented at the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) research seminar: Research into professional identities: theorizing social and institutional identities. University of Aberdeen, 29th – 30th May 2008.
- The UK Parliament. *Children Act (England) (2004)*. London: The Stationery Office.
- Tisdall, E.K., & Wallace, J. (2004). Integrated services – what do they mean for children and their families? In Forbes, J. (Ed.) *Values and vision: working together in integrated community schools?* Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, pp.29-50.
- UK Government Performance and Innovation Unit (2002). *Social capital: a discussion paper*. London: Performance and Innovation Unit.
- Woolcock, M. (1998). Social capital and economic development: Towards a theoretical synthesis and policy framework, *Theory and Society*, 27, 151-208.

that I will call professionalism. By professionalism I mean thinking of your work as an intellectual as something you do for a living, between the hours of nine and five with one eye on the clock, and another cocked at what is considered to be proper, professional behaviour – not rocking the boat, not straying outside the accepted paradigms or limits, making yourself marketable and above all presentable, hence uncontroversial and unpolitical and ‘objective’. (p. 55)

The civic duty which was behind the creation of universities in Scotland, other parts of Europe and the US, in what was known as ‘democratic intellectualism’ (Paterson, 2003, p. 69), appears to have been lost. It might be questioned, however, whether UK and US universities have ever fostered the kind of intellectualism which could be seen in French universities, through for example the likes of Foucault, Derrida and Deleuze, or those emanating from the Frankfurt school such as Habermas and Adorno. The contemporary German theorist Sloterdijk whose book, *Critique of cynical realism* (1988), was bought in vast quantities by a public tempted into philosophy, has no parallels in either the UK or the US, although writers such as Michael Apple, Terry Eagleton and Slavoj Žižek appear to have made some inroads into the public imagination through their engagement with the media. E. P. Thompson (1970) is somewhat damning of those who inhabit the UK universities:

I have never ceased to be astounded when observing the preening and mating habits of fully grown specimens of the species *Academicus Superciliosus* [sic]. The behaviour patterns of one of the true members of the species are unmistakable. He is inflated with self-esteem and perpetually self-congratulatory as to the high vocation of the university teacher; but he knows almost nothing about any other vocation, and he will lie down and let himself be walked over if anyone enters from the outer world who has money or power or even a touch line in realist talk ... *Superciliosus* is the most divisible and reliable creature in this country, being so intent upon crafty calculations of short-term advantages – this favour for his department, that a colleague who, next week, at the next committee, has promised to run a log for him, that he has never even tried to imagine the wood out of which his timber rolls. He can scurry furiously and self-importantly around in his committees, like a white mouse running in a wheel, while his master is carrying him, cage and all, to be sold at the local pet-shop. (p. 154)

Although Thompson’s observations pertain to an earlier period, the simultaneous self-importance and willingness to be bought are sinister features of contemporary academic life. Žižek (2005) offers a more recent, but equally damning, account of the

prattling classes, academics and journalists with no specialist education, usually working in humanities with some vague French postmodern leanings, specialists in everything, prone to verbal radicalism, in love with paradoxical formulations that flatly contradict the obvious. (p. 23)

Such disenchantment with academics seems unfair and misplaced since the greater problem may be their apathy and unwillingness to face up to their civic duty. Performativity may have become a convenient justification for lassitude.

INTER-PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE IN THE ACADEMY

Academics involved in initial professional education face a number of pressures. They are expected to ‘deliver’ people to the profession in an appropriate state and having reached an acceptable standard of expertism. As Britzman (1986) notes, the cultivation of teachers as experts promotes individualistic development at the expense of any communitarian orientation:

The view of the teacher as expert also tends to reinforce the image of the teacher as an autonomous individual. As a possession, knowledge also implies territorial rights, which become naturalized by the compartmentalization of the curriculum. The cultural myth of teachers as experts, then, contributes to the reification of both knowledge and the knower. (Britzman, 1986, pp450-451)

Furthermore, the cultivation of the new professional, in teaching or in other areas, encourages them to aspire to enter what Diken and Bagge Lausten (2005) have described as ‘camps’ which simultaneously create belonging and displacement:

This experience of displacement is increasingly threatened within the horizon of ‘camping’ today insofar as the camp bypasses the city as a space of exposure and touching. The logic of (self-)exemption tends to turn difference into indifference, while otherness is ‘tolerated’ but walled-off. The ‘tolerance’ of the camp neatly places every culture on its own turf in a mosaic bereft of interaction. In its horizon, in other words, tolerance cannot become solidarity and forced contingency cannot turn into a chosen destiny ... The camp ... makes it impossible to confront others and to take moral/political choices, because its logic defines the others before they are met. (p.1)

Initial teacher education programmes are packed increasingly tightly to ensure each new policy imperative is covered, but there are few possibilities for removal to make space for the new additions. Furthermore, there is no incentive or opportunity to allow beginning teachers to engage with educational theory. There is no room within the curriculum for this and the material resources on teaching are theoretically light and amount to ‘theory junk sculpture’ (Thomas, 2008). The plethora of handbooks, promising such goodies as *Six principles for teaching English language learners in all classrooms* (McIntyre, Kyle, Cheng-Ting, Kraemer & Parr, 2008), *60 research-based teaching strategies that help special learners succeed* (McNary, 2005) or *Commonsense methods for children with special educational needs* (Westwood, 2002), present teaching as technical matter and offer no more than simplistic soundbites about teaching. As Brantlinger (2006) points out, textbooks - the ‘big glossies’ (p. 45) - function as ‘authoritative

purveyors of technical knowledge' (p. 67) and portray idealised versions of classroom life and of children benefiting from interventions. These are presented as having a sound theoretical base, but as Thomas (2008) observes, they offer beginning teachers a 'cacophony of incompatible explanations,' which amount to 'a bazaar... in which plausible homily, mixed with large portions of psychoanalytic and psychological vocabulary, take the place of a rational consideration of children's behaviour at school'. Gregoriou (2004) notes the increasingly widespread demand for the simple, the practical and the reducible which

threatens to totalize experience, to reduce language to Newspeak, to rob thinking of its childhood and pedagogy of its philosophical moment. It is the 'demand' for reality (for unity, simplicity, communicability) and remedy: remedy for the parcelling and virtualization of culture, for the fragmentation of the life world and its derealization into idioms, *petits récits*, and language games (p. 233, original emphasis)

This demand for simplification is accompanied by a resistance to thinking and, as Colebrook (2006) suggests, 'all around us ... we encounter the absence of thinking, the malevolence and stupidity that go well beyond error' (p. 2). Goodson (2003) accuses teacher educators of having surrendered to the practice ethos and 'surrendered their theoretical missions' (p.9), while Hirst (1989) bemoans the fact that in-service teacher education is 'now concentrating severely on the practical demands of new legislation ... Advanced study of a systematic kind is now much reduced' (p. 272). According to Greene (1991, p.541), this has created a displacement of teacher education from both the public and teachers themselves:

There are moments when many of us sense an odd distance between the ethos of teacher education and lived lives of the publics to whom we hope the schools can respond. There are moments when I feel a similar gap between ourselves and many of the teachers in those schools. I have some of our normatives in mind, our styles of explanations, our ways of putting things.

Goodson sees collaborative work as the only way in which teacher educators can be rescued and allowed to reconnect with educational theory in ways which will make practice more meaningful.

The individualistic approach to initial professional education provides little incentive to beginning professionals to consider those in other professions. The *Standard for Full Registration* (GTC Scotland, 2002a), against which the teachers are judged, includes an element of working co-operatively with other professionals and adults. However, in order to meet this particular element teachers merely have to demonstrate that they can 'create and sustain appropriate working relationships with other teachers, support staff and visiting professionals'. Such low expectations in relation to inter-professional practice, together with the scarce mention of other professionals, and even then only as generalised others will inevitably leave the beginning teacher surmising that a lack of importance is given to this work. This othering of professionals with whom teachers are supposed to engage 'appropriately', seen in the *Standard for Full Registration*, is continued in the *Standard for Chartered Teacher* (GTC Scotland, 2002b). However in order to gain

this enhanced status, teachers are expected to exert an 'influence' on these generalised others. The influence does not appear to be a benign one.

There are many enjoinders, within policies, to undertake inter-professional practice, to collaborate, or to engage in 'joined up' working (Makareth & Turner, 2002; Milne, 2005). For example, the HMI report (2002), *Count us in: Achieving inclusion in Scottish schools*, identifies integrated service provision as essential for inclusion, while *Educating for excellence, choice and opportunity* (Scottish Executive, 2003) calls for professionals in health, education and social work to work together in the interests of young people. There is, however, limited knowledge about how to engage in inter-professional working practices and little evidence about the impact such efforts might have on the children and families they are supposed to support. The language used in these policies – of joined up working, the 'whole' child and initiatives being rolled out – the last of which, as Daniels (2005) suggests conjures up notions of laying carpets and ensuring all the bumps are ironed out privileges consensus and creates closure. Joined up working in particular appears to be more of a cliché than a policy, ordered by government departments which are themselves disconnected and function within cells.

In spite of the absence of any clear rationale for inter-professional practice, knowledge of how to do this and evidence of impact, there appears to be a generally positive regard for it. However, academics who have taken on the task of promoting inter-professional practice may have inadvertently descended into emotivism, which Alasdair MacIntyre (1999) describes as a confusion between two kinds of reply to the question 'why should I do...?'. The first reply takes the form 'because I wish it' and is confined to the personal context of the utterance and the characteristics of the speaker. The second reply is unconditional and independent of who utters it, taking the form 'because it is your duty'. MacIntyre suggests that the second reply is often used to mean 'I like it and urge it on or recommend it to you' (Hernstein Smith, 1992). Inter-professional practice, in this respect, is urged and pressed on people under the guise of a well argued and moral evaluation and arguments, which may be fallacious, in the sense of having an error in reasoning on material, psychological or logical grounds (Fearnside & Holther, 1959), are constructed to trick people into accepting inter-professional practice as a good thing. This is potentially effective:

Here is another trick, which, as soon as it is practicable, makes all others unnecessary. Instead of working on your opponent's intellect by argument, work on his will by motive, and he, and also the audience if they have similar interests, will at once be won over by your opinion, even though you got it out of a lunatic asylum. (Schopenhauer, 1896, p. XXXV)

Emotivism, according to MacIntyre, is a widespread phenomenon, but it leaves an overwhelming sense of confusion and of having been deceived:

Now people still say 'It is good' and *think* they mean 'It is good', but, without knowing, they are really doing only what people used to do when they said 'I like it' or 'I want it,' namely expressing their own feelings and trying to get other people to feel, do, or believe certain things. And everyone is deceived: listeners are deceived about what speakers are doing; speakers are self-deceived about what they themselves are doing; and moral

philosophers are either deceived, complacent, or complicitous. (Hernstein Smith, 1992, pp. 213-214)

The external pressures upon academics concerned with initial professional education, together with those they create for themselves, appear to be enormous and are likely to produce both frustration and impotence. Bourdieu (1998) maintains that it is vital that they are protected from urgent duties and that they can be allowed to 'play seriously' (p. 128):

Homo scholasticus or *Homo academicus* is someone who can play seriously because his or her state (or State) assures her the means to do so, that is, free time, outside the urgency of a practical situation.

So how might academics regain control, rediscover their civic duty and engage in serious play? I want to suggest three possible kinds of reorientations which academics themselves might be able to effect. These concern the ontological (their own selves and others) the epistemological (knowledge) and the epiphanic (the unforeseen and inaccessible aspects of ordinary life).

AN 'OTHER' ONTOLOGY

On a basic level, academics concerned with initial professional education and inter-professional practice might ask 'what *can* we do?' and to respond to that question effectively, I am suggesting, what is required is an ontological reorientation of themselves as political individuals who must *act* and who, in order to do so, will have to realign themselves in the academic and professional world. To effect these realignments, initial professional education might be conceived of as an ethical project, using the framework offered by Foucault (1984, 1994), and in which one's own self – and one's capacity to be in relation to others – is considered part of the material on which work has to be done (Allan, 2005, 2008). Maxine Greene (2008) offers a helpful construction of the becoming nature of the self: 'I am what I am not yet.' What seems necessary, is both desire – for inter-professional practice – and an undertaking to enact that desire on behalf of others and this potentially takes the debate on from one of the universalists against the moderates or homogenising versus distinguishing tendencies (Cigman, 2007). To return to MacIntyre's question of 'why should I do?' the academic's answer may become a purposeful elision which avoids emotivism because the imperative is directed back towards themselves. In other words, 'because I wish it' and 'because it is *my* duty'.

Academics may find it difficult to act politically within their own institutions, but there are multiple ways in which they might oppose institutional practices which are restrictive (Ballard, 2003; Brantlinger, 2006) and encourage 'communication across a multiplicity of cultures, identities and ways of thinking' (Booth, 2003, p. 55). Apple (2001) recommends that we face up to the dynamics of power in unromantic ways and promotes the use of subversive tactics to challenge the hegemonic order, including tactical and counter-hegemonic alliances and heteretical thought. He also suggests that while we might recapture our past to see what is possible, it is important not to romanticise dreams about the future. Corbett and Slee's (2000) depiction of academics as 'cultural vigilantes' (p. 134) is a useful

starting point and the language of enmity is appropriate as a *casus belli*, an occasion of war for which there is just cause.

Evans (2004) suggests the kind of refusal of institutional power evoked by Virginia Woolf in *The three guineas* which amounts to an 'attitude of complete indifference' (p. 309). Woolf envisaged this as a war against the 'pompous and self important' (Evans, 2004, p. 76) behaviour of males, but Evans suggests that this kind of resistance (by anyone) could be effective within universities and could lead to a different kind of politics which seeks to undermine those 'practices and processes which increasingly deform much of academic life' (Evans, 2004, p. 102).

KNOWING THE UNKNOWNNS

The lack of knowledge about what inter-professional practice is is a serious omission which must be addressed with urgency. Furthermore, consideration needs to be given to identifying the most appropriate way to undertake this research (Allan, 2008; Allan & Slee; 2008; Gallagher; 2008; Thomas, 2008). Flyvbjerg (2001) suggests that judgements about the efficacy of social science research in general are based on criteria which are inappropriate and, therefore, unjust. He argues that it is compared to research within the natural science on the basis of its *episteme* (scientific knowledge) and *techne* (technical knowledge or know how). Judgements about social science research are based on its capacity to produce explanatory and predictive theory – on its epistemic qualities. This is, he says, simply not fair, since these terms are self-defeating and whilst social science research has indeed contributed little to explanatory and predictive theory it has contributed a great deal to reflexive analysis and discussion of values and interests – as *phronesis*. Flyvbjerg contends that it is social science's *phronetic* qualities – its concern for values and power – that should be evaluated and this would seem to be a more appropriate basis for undertaking research on inter-professional practice and making judgements about its quality:

The goal is to help restore social science to its classical position as a practical, intellectual activity aimed at clarifying the problems, risks, and possibilities we face as humans and societies, and at contributing to social and political praxis. (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 4)

Addressing imbalances of power between researchers and researched and ensuring that research practices are just is also vital and this requires academics to interrogate the way in which their own research positions their research subjects. New alliances with individuals, groups and organisations, and among professionals and students, which seek to flatten the division between the researcher and the researched and provide a better understanding of the potential for resistance, are necessary. There is a need to undertake analyses that uncover and do justice (in both senses) to the complexity and messiness of inter-professional practice and the philosophers of difference - Foucault, Derrida and Deleuze and Guattari - seem to offer some considerable promise in this regard (Allan, 2008). Thomas (2008) has

argued that instead of structured theoretical frameworks, what we need are 'simpler and looser understandings' (p. 7), based on a Deweyan form of investigation, while Gallagher (2008) advocates a consideration of the consequences of adopting one theory over another. Finally, there is a responsibility to communicate research findings in ways which are truly engaging. There is considerable pressure on academics not to spend time and effort on more journalistic forms of writing and to concentrate on the more weighty 'outputs' in academic journals, but it is important to try to develop a civic voice and to find appropriate outlets for this.

There is also some merit in the collective recognition of the many unknowns which surround inter-professional practice:

As we know, there are known knowns. There are things we know we know. There are known unknowns. That is to say, there are some things that we know we don't know. But there are also unknown unknowns. The ones we don't know we don't know. (Rumsfeld, as cited in Žižek, 2005, p. 23)

Žižek (2005), rather than adding to the gleeful contempt with which Rumsfeld's stammering admission was greeted, suggested that he'd missed a fourth term 'the unknown knowns' (p. 23), things we don't know that we know, 'the disavowed beliefs, suppositions and obscene practices we pretend not to know about' (p. 23) and argued that the function of academics or 'intellectuals' was to unearth these. Much of the work needed in this regard involves undoing current ways of thinking and practice, seeking to understand the role of misunderstanding within educational processes and attempting to unravel much of what we think we know (Biesta, 2001).

Academics may do well to be more honest about their own lack of knowledge and to position themselves as curious, rather than as experts and 'to complicate rather than explicate' (Taylor, 1995, p. 7). Furthermore, it might be more propitious to avoid a quest for understanding – and what stands under – and to look instead, for what lies between, or for 'interstanding' (1995, p. 6):

When depth gives way to surface, under-standing becomes inter-standing. To comprehend is no longer to grasp what lies beneath but to glimpse what lies between...Understanding is no longer possible because nothing stands under...Interstanding has become unavoidable because everything stands between. (Taylor & Saarinen, 1994, pp. 2-3)

The pursuit of interstanding involves risking the personal (Ware, 2002) because it requires individuals to tolerate the diminishment of the borders which define their identities and their sense of place, and much of the knowledge which is used as warrants for action. These ambivalences, however, could give rise to more positive ways of being in, and engaging with, the world and Anzaldua (1987) suggests the model for such existence could be found among those of mixed ethnicity:

The new mestiza [person of mixed ancestry]...copes by developing a tolerance for contradictions, a tolerance for ambiguity. She learns to be an Indian in Mexican culture, to be Mexican from an Anglo point of view. She learns to juggle cultures. She has a plural personality, she operates in a pluralistic mode – nothing is thrust out, the good the bad and the ugly, nothing rejected, nothing abandoned. Not only does she sustain

contradictions, she turns the ambivalence into something else. (Anzaldua 1987, p. 79)

Such tolerance of contradictions and ambiguity may be something which can be sought and practised in the pursuit of the 'something else' of inter-professional practice.

EPIPHANIES OF THE EVERYDAY

Although the pressures on academics and the quest for certainty which has been a feature of educational practice may have clipped the wings of Socratic insight by insisting that all learning is tied down, there may be scope for opening learning up for colleagues and for stakeholders in policy and practice communities. Specifically, academics could help to create learning spaces which could allow exposure to what James Joyce has called 'epiphanies':

The epiphany was the sudden 'revelation of the whatness of a thing', the moment in which the 'soul of the commonest object ... seems to us radiant'. The artist, he felt, was charged with such revelations, and must look for them not among the gods but among men, in casual, unostentatious, even unpleasant moments. (Ellman, 1982, p. 83)

James Ellman (1982), the foremost biographer of James Joyce, explained how an epiphany, a sudden bringing into presence that which is otherwise inaccessible, was often achieved through great art and this view is endorsed by Taylor (1989, p.419):

What I want to capture with this term is just this notion of a work of art as the locus of a manifestation which brings us into the presence of something which is otherwise inaccessible, and which is of the highest moral and spiritual significance; a manifestation, moreover, which also defines and completes something even as it reveals.

Hogan (2005) suggests that this could be achieved by educators, but it would require a different orientation to one's work, which, above all, involves the 'ever alert acknowledgement of the possibilities and limitations which constitute our own way of being human among others' (p.91). The gradual shift by public research funders from 'stakeholder engagement' to 'knowledge transfer' and now to 'knowledge exchange' (Ozga, 2006) reflects a more sophisticated understanding of the needs of different interest groups among researchers, funders and 'researched' and a recognition of the need for greater reciprocity in research relationships. This shift also creates a space into which academics could position themselves as facilitators of 'everyday epiphanies'. These would bring to attention 'the quality of what is actually experienced' (Hogan, 2005, p. 92), but which is bypassed because it is part of routine and therefore undertaken unreflexively, and invite a dwelling upon it. To produce these epiphanies, the academic would need to work at convincing the participants not simply to engage in dialogue, but that they 'are a dialogue' (ibid, p. 93). This means abandoning

conventional approaches to stakeholder meetings which seek shared meanings and consensus (but which, of course privilege certain perspectives over others) and creating instead a smooth space for learning (a deterritorialised space in Deleuze and Guattari's, 1987, terms) in which partiality – or one's position and interests – is the material for discussion and incompleteness is a specific goal. Approaches such as Open Space Technology (Openspaceworld) developed by US businessman Harrison Owen, provide a smooth space for the participants to determine their own agenda for discussion. It has been described as 'passion with responsibility' and as 'chaos and creativity' and is simultaneously loose, because the agenda is not set, and highly structured, using the responses of the participants to determine activities and outcomes. This technology has been used to try to bring student teachers and students together and to obtain insights from young people in relation to diversity (Allan, I'Anson, Mott, & Smyth, forthcoming). The approach appears to be successful in altering the relations of the participants and the balance of power and, in our experience, allows 'epiphanies' to emerge.

RETRIEVING THE CIVIC

I think what you'll find is, whatever it is we do substantively, there will be near-perfect clarity as to what it is. And it will be known, and it will be known to the Congress, and it will be known to you, probably before we decide it, but it will be known. (Rumsfeld, 2003)

The pressures faced by the present day academic are significant and the climate of accountability and mistrust gets at the souls of individuals and at their sense of capacity for civic duty (Ballard, 2003; Sennett, 1998): 'Operationally, everything is so clear; emotionally so illegible' (Sennett, 1998; p. 68). For the academic committed to inter-professional practice, the stresses are possibly even greater because of the imperatives for clarity, urgency and solutions and of the difficulties of trying to resist these. I have suggested that academics may have allowed themselves to be defined by 'the disfiguring language of performativity' (Fielding, 2001, p. 8) and may have used this to displace their civic duty. It need not be this way. The possibilities for reorientation by academics, in relation to the ontological, the epistemological and the epiphanic, are extremely lucrative. They offer a way of recovering the civic duty and to put that into practice in relation to the academics themselves, and to the professionals to whom they are responsible.

REFERENCES

- Allan, J. (2005). Inclusion as an ethical project. In S. Tremain (Ed.) *Foucault and the government of disability*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp.281-297
- Allan, J. (2008). *Rethinking inclusion: the philosophers of difference in practice*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Allan, J., I'Anson, J., Mott, J., & Smyth, G. (forthcoming). Understanding disability with children's social capital, *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs*.
- Allan, J., & Slee, R. (2008). *Doing inclusive education research*. Rotterdam: Sense.
- Anzaldua, G. (1987). *Borderlands/La Frontera*. San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute.
- Apple, M. (2001). *Educating the 'right' way*. New York: Routledge/Falmer.
- Ballard, K. (2003). Including ourselves. Teaching, trust, identity and community. In J. Allan (Ed.) *Inclusion, participation and democracy: What is the purpose?* Dordrecht: Kluwer, pp. 11-32
- Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Practical reason*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Biesta, G. (2001). "Preparing for the incalculable": deconstruction, justice and the question of education. In G. Biesta, & D. Egéa-Kuehne (Eds.) *Derrida and Education*. London: Routledge, pp.32-54
- Booth, T. (2003). Views from the institution: overcoming barriers to inclusive education? In T. Booth, K. Nes, & M. Strømstad (Eds.) *Developing inclusive education*. London: RoutledgeFalmer, pp.33-58
- Bowie, D. (1976). Musicians on life and politics. In D. Watson (Ed.) *Chambers musical quotations*. Edinburgh: Chambers.
- Brantlinger, E. (2006). The big glossies: how textbooks structure (special) education. In E. Brantlinger (Ed.) *Who benefits from special education? Remediating (fixing) other people's children*. Mahwah, New Jersey/London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, pp.45-76
- Britzman, D. (1986). Cultural myths in the making of a teacher. *Harvard Educational Review*, 56(4), 442-455.
- Cigman, R. (2007). A question of universality: Inclusive education and the principle of respect. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 14(4), 775-793.
- Colebrook, C. (2006). *Deleuze: A guide for the perplexed*. London/New York: Continuum.
- Corbett, J., & Slee, R. (2000). An international conversation on inclusive education. In F. Armstrong, D. Armstrong, & L. Barton (Eds.) *Inclusive education: Policy, contexts and comparative education*. London: David Fulton, pp.133-146
- Daniels, H. (2005). Young people at risk of social exclusion: interagency working and professional learning. Presented at the Participation, Inclusion and Equity Research Network, Stirling, 20 June 2005.
- Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1987). *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*. London: Athlone Press.
- Diken, B., & Bagge Lausten, C. (2005) *The culture of the exception: Sociology facing the camp*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Ellman, R. (1982). *James Joyce*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, M. (2004). *Killing thinking: The death of the universities*. London/New York: Continuum.
- Fearnside, W., & Holther, W. (1959) *Fallacy: The counterfeit of argument*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Fielding, M. (Ed.) (2001). *Taking education really seriously: Four years hard labour*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Flvybjerg, B. (2001). *Making social science matter: Why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed again*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1984). On the genealogy of ethics: An overview of work in progress. In P. Rabinow (Ed.) *The Foucault reader*. New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M. (1994). A Preface to Transgression. In *Michael Foucault Aesthetics: Essential works of Foucault 1954-1984, Volume 2*. London: Penguin.
- Furedi, F. (2004). *Where have all the intellectuals gone?* London: Continuum.
- Gallagher, D. (2008). Hiding in plain sight: The nature and role of theory in learning disability labelling. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association, New York, 24-28 March.
- General Teaching Council for Scotland (2002a) *Standard for Full Registration*. Edinburgh:GTC.

General Teaching Council for Scotland (2002b) *Standard for Chartered Teacher*. Edinburgh: GTC.

Goodson, I. (2003). *Professional knowledge, professional lives: Studies in education and change*. Maidenhead/Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Greene, M. (1991). Retrieving the language of compassion: The education professor in search of community. *Teachers College Record*, 92(4), 541-555.

Greene, M. (2008). From bare facts to intellectual possibility: The leap of imagination. A conversation with Maxine Greene. Presidential Address. American Educational Research Association, 24-29 March.

Gregoriou, Z. (2004). Commencing the rhizome: Towards a minor philosophy of education. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 36(3), 233-251.

Halsey, A. (1992). *The decline of the donnish dominion*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE) (2002). *Count us in: Achieving inclusion in Scottish schools*. Edinburgh: Stationery Office.

Paterson, L. (2003). The survival of the Hernstein Smith, B. (1992). Judgement after the fall. In D. Cornell, M. Rossenfield, & D. Gray Carlson (Eds.) *Deconstruction and the possibility of justice*. London: Routledge, pp.211-231

Hirst, P. (1989). Implication of government funding policies for research on teaching and teacher education: England and Wales. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 5(4), 269-281.

Hogan, P. (2005). The politics of identity and the epiphanies of learning. In W. Carr (Ed.) *The RoutledgeFalmer reader in Philosophy of Education*. Abingdon/New York: Routledge.

Lyotard, J. (1986). *The postmodern explained to children: Correspondence 1982-1985*. Sydney: Power Publications.

MacIntyre, A. (1999). *Dependent rational animals: Why human beings need the virtues*. Chicago: Open Court Press.

McIntyre, E., Kyle, D., Cheng-Ting, C., Kraemer, J., & Parr, J. (2008). *Six principles for teaching English language learners in all classrooms*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Makareth, C., & Turner, T (2002). *Joined up working*. London: Health Visitors Association.

McNary, S. (2005). *What successful teachers do in inclusive classrooms*. London: Sage.

Milne, V. (2005). *Joined up working in the Scottish Executive*. Edinburgh: Office of Chief Researcher, Scottish Executive Social Research.

Openspaceworld (n.d.). Open space technology. Retrieved 10 April, 2006, from: <http://www.openspaceworld.org/>

Ozga, J. (2006). Travelling and embedded policy: The case of knowledge transfer. *Journal of Education Policy*, 21 (1),1-17.

democratic intellect: academic values in Scotland and England. *Higher Education Quarterly*, 57(1), 67-93.

Rumsfeld, D. (2003). *Department of Defense Briefing*. Retrieved on 13 march, 2008, from <http://www.slate.com/id/2081042/>

Said, E. (1994). *Representations of the intellectual*. London: Vintage.

Schopenhauer, A. (1896). *The art of controversy*. New York: Cosimo.

Scottish Executive (2003). *Educating for excellence, choice and opportunity: The Executive's response to the National Debate*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Sennett, R. (1998). *The corrosion of character. The personal consequences of work in the new capitalism*. New York: W. H. Norton.

Sloterdijk, P. (1988). *Critique of cynical reason*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Strathern, M. (1997). Improving ratings: audit in the British university system. *European Review*, 5(3),305-321.

Taylor, M. (1989). *Sources of the self: The making of the modern identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, M. (1995). Rhizomic folds of interstanding. *Tekhnema 2: Technics and Finitude*, Spring. Retrieved 27 June, 2003, from: <http://tekhnama.free.fr/2Taylor.htm>

Taylor, M., & Saarinen, E. (1994). *Imagologies: Media philosophy*. London: Routledge.

Thomas, G. (2008). Theory and the construction of pathology. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association, New York, 24-28 March.

Thompson, E. P. (1970). *Warwick University Ltd*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Ware, L. (2002). A moral conversation on disability: Risking the personal in educational contexts. *Hypatia*, 17(3), 143-172.

Westwood, P. (2002). *Commonsense methods for children with special educational needs*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Wilde, O. (1882). *Lecture tour*. Leadville, Colorado, USA. Retrieved 18 September, 2006, from: <http://www.neuroticpoets.com/wilde/>

Žižek, S. (2005). The empty wheelbarrow. Guardian Comment, 19 February. Retrieved 6 March, 2006, from: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,3604,1417982,00.html>

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOL LEADERS'
PROFESSIONAL IDENTITIES: CHALLENGES AND
IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERPROFESSIONAL
PRACTICE**

GARY M. CROW

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

INTRODUCTION

The nature of educators' work has changed in fundamental ways in the last decade. Although most education still occurs with one teacher and a group of students, the technology of the work and the interactions and demands of the work have changed dramatically. Often the various reforms that currently exist to improve student learning and to respond to public accountability mandates ignore these changes in the nature of the work. For example, while educational work in our contemporary society requires creativity, ingenuity, and complexity, the way educators are being prepared and the images of their work have turned more toward technical competence.

One of the most apparent changes in the nature of educational work is the need to understand education as a process that requires the interaction of a variety of professionals. At the school level, this frequently means a group of individuals with various perspectives, disciplinary knowledge, technical skills, and dispositions. Teachers and administrators, in many contexts, are now required to interact with diverse professionals, including social workers, psychologists, health care professionals, nutritionists, and others to meet the unique needs of individual students. This interaction involves, in part, the interplay of a variety of professional identities that include values, perspectives, knowledge and skills. Educators are seldom prepared for interprofessional practice and the development of professional identities that go with these interactions has been largely ignored in much of their preparation.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the concept of professional identities of school leaders. I hope to encourage a conversation about the importance of professional identity for school leadership practice, in particular the leader's role in interprofessional collaboration. I claim no expertise in the field of identity theory.

I have come to this subject more through my research on professional socialisation and the frustration with how that socialisation, in the case of school leaders, has turned towards the technical and ignored larger issues, such as identity. Thus, this chapter serves as an initiation of an intellectual journey.

To accomplish this, the chapter will first explore the changing nature of work in post-industrial society and the importance of professional identity for one aspect of this work—interprofessional practice. Second, I will examine what I believe is an unfortunate trend in which professional identity is being ignored in favour of a more technical orientation to the role of school leader. Third, I will explore the concept of professional identity—its definitions, importance, and development. I will use an empirical study I conducted in England to identify elements of headteachers' socialisation that hopefully will contribute to an understanding of the development of professional identity among school leaders. Finally, I will identify implications of the development of professional identity for strengthening interprofessional practice.

CHANGING NATURE OF WORK

In the move from industrial to post-industrial society (Bell, 1973), the nature of work changed to respond to new demands, new technologies, changing demographics and the increasing importance of knowledge. What some have called the knowledge society (Hargreaves, 2004) has emphasised service and knowledge work rather than manufacturing. Hage and Powers (1992) maintain that the fundamental change in the nature of work from industrial to post-industrial, knowledge society is the move from an emphasis on rationality/linearity to an emphasis on complexity. This move highlights the nature of work as underscoring qualities such as ambiguity, discretion, judgement, imagination, and creativity, rather than following a preordained script or set of standard operating procedures of the old scientific management perspective. Hage and Powers identify several characteristics of this emphasis on complexity: the need for individualised responses to solving problems, the importance of human agency, increased substantive complexity, and greater social interaction among roles. Although these changes and features are to some degree only partially apparent in educational roles, there is evidence of their influence on educators' work (Crow, 2006a). For example, recent reforms stress the importance of all children learning and therefore the need to respond to individual needs with a customised response rather than a one-size-fits-all or teach-to-the-average response. In addition, the demands on teachers and administrators have stressed the importance of individual human agency for the type of ingenuity and creativity needed to develop and implement these customised responses. The nature of knowledge also demands that the work of educators emphasises substantive complexity, which includes discretion, judgement, imagination, and so forth. As I will point out later, not all socialisation and evaluation processes in schools adopt this assumption of substantive complexity. Finally, the complexity perspective of post-industrial work emphasises the increasing importance of interacting with multiple roles to meet the needs of individuals and organisations. Therefore, educators must know how to

collaborate with these multiple roles that impact student services through the use of interdisciplinary teams and other structures (Crow & Pounder, 2000).

This last feature recognises that the work of educators in general and leaders in particular is not a solo performance. The necessity of customised responses in addition to the profound and changing needs of students in contemporary society reinforced by the knowledge explosion, globalisation, and demographic changes, demand a network of professional expertise. Multiple professionals, including social workers, psychologists, health care workers, and others as well as teachers and administrators must collaborate to develop and provide services for the whole child. To some degree, our understanding of leadership has changed from a heroic, solo-performance to more distributed leadership practice in which leadership flows from various parts of the organisation, not just the formal leader.

This emphasis on interprofessional practice has highlighted the importance of professional identity. In this type of practice, individuals bring their unique knowledge, skills, perspectives, and values to bear on developing responses to student needs. These features make up a professional identity. In order to collaborate with other professionals, educators must have a clear sense of their own professional identity and what unique perspectives they bring to the collaboration as well as an identity that understands their importance and role within the network of professionals.

The professional identity of school leaders, in particular, is critical for the demands of interprofessional practice. Frequently, school administrators are responsible for facilitating interprofessional practice in the school context, by providing resources, enabling group interactions, and preparing individuals to interact in productive, effective ways that benefit students.

TRENDS AWAY FROM PROFESSIONALISM AND TOWARD A TECHNICIAN ORIENTATION

In spite of the societal trends in the nature of work that require substantive complexity, interprofessional practice and other elements, significant trends are apparent that discourage a professional orientation to work and de-emphasise the development of professional identity among educators. This professional orientation to work connotes the use of expert knowledge and skills toward ends that go beyond the professional's personal satisfaction (Sullivan, 2005). Although there is certainly more to a professional orientation, e.g. language, tools, perspectives, community and autonomy, this focus on values is central, albeit contested today.

Several authors have identified trends internationally regarding the economy, the workplace, and the nature of work that de-emphasise this professional orientation and redefine the meaning of professional work. In terms of the economy, writers describe the 'new capitalism' (Gee, 2001; Leicht & Fennell, 2001) which has created greater entrepreneurialism, competition and globalisation. According to Gee, profits in the new capitalism are made by 'creating new needs and sustaining relationships with customers in which these needs are continuously transformed into ever newer needs' (p. 115). This creates what former U.S. Secretary of Labor Robert Reich (2000) calls the 'age of the terrific deal' and

breeds what Leicht and Fennell (2001) refer to as 'neo-entrepreneurialism' which emphasises competition and deregulation.

These economic conditions and changes have also transformed the workplace. Leicht and Fennell (2001) identify six workplace changes that affect the nature and status of professionals:

- flatter organisational hierarchies,
- growing use of temporary workers,
- extensive use of subcontracting and outsourcing,
- massive downsizing of the permanent workforce,
- post-unionised bargaining environment, and
- virtual organisation.

These authors argue that several of these changes have reduced the importance and autonomy of traditional professions, e.g., law, medicine, academia, teaching. For example, in academia, currently in the U.S. 49% of professors are part-time faculty members. In medicine, the growth of health maintenance organisations run by managers has reduced significantly the autonomy of doctors. These workplace changes have increased the role of managers who are responsible for assigning, contracting and supervising these temporary workers and subcontracted arrangements.

These factors, in turn, have also brought consequences to the nature of work. Robert Reich (2000) describes three changes: the loss of steady work, the necessity of continuous effort, and widening inequality. The characteristics of the workforce described above have resulted in the loss of long term employment. Work in many fields has taken on a project-orientation, in which the individual is hired to complete a project and then is let go to find some other project in another company. According to Reich, 'earnings now depend less on formal rank or seniority and more on an employee's value to customers' (p. 99). This requires continuous effort, essentially being 'on call' at all times, which leads to the vanishing border between home and work. Finally, there is a furious competition for workers, leading to extremely high salaries at the top, reduced salaries in the middle, and the absence of work at the bottom.

Richard Sennett (1998) identifies other consequences of the new capitalism. When steady work disappears, so does loyalty and a sense of belonging and commitment to the organisation and the employee. Sennett, along with other writers (Putnam, 2000) also point to the decrease in a sense of community and a 'corrosion of character' that is evident in contemporary society. These values become victims of the new capitalism, which pervades worklife and the sense of contributing beyond one's personal satisfaction or gain.

Other authors document changes in professional work. Sullivan (2005) describes the drift away from the view of professionals as 'social trustees' to a purveyor of expertise. He refers to this as a move to a 'technical professional' who is more entrepreneurial than collegial and whose focus is more on technical expertise than contribution to larger values and service to the society. Sullivan also laments the loss of vocation or calling of the professional, which is related to the demise of long term employment and many of the other trends we have identified.

Leicht and Fennell (2001) note a similar shift in the work and autonomy of professionals versus managers. They provide ample evidence of the growth in numbers and prerogatives of business managers: 'In many of the work settings the control of professional work no longer rests with peers or even the administrative elite of the profession. Instead, control over professional work is vested in managers of the employing organizations' (p. 11). This has reduced the autonomy of professionals over time, so that work is now subject to external oversight within organisations.

A widespread anti-professionalism is also apparent. Some of this is reinforced by the economic trends, including outsourcing, globalisation, and other changes these authors have identified. But we must also acknowledge that this anti-professionalism, this loss of faith in the expert, has been reinforced by high profile ethics violations in large companies, such as Enron and Arthur Andersen.

Hargreaves (2004) sees many of these trends in the educational work arena, especially the shift to emphasise more technical competence. His research in Canada, the U.S. and England identified several consequences to the economic, organisational and work changes we have previously identified. These consequences include insecurity, the end of ingenuity, and the loss of integrity. He particularly points out the 'compulsive obsession with standardization' (p. 2) taking place in schools and the development, especially in urban and poor school districts, of 'performance training sects that provide intensive implementation support for teachers but only in relation to highly prescriptive interventions in "basic" areas of the curriculum that demand unquestioning professional compliance' (p. 7). Instead of the professional learning communities, inherent in the traditional notion of profession, these performance training sects emphasise 'transfer knowledge, imposed requirements, results driven approaches, false certainty, standardized scripts, deference to authority, intensive training, and sects of performance' (p. 184).

In an interesting study in Australia of the professional identity of teachers, Sachs (2001) identifies two discourses around professional identity found in documents and policies: democratic professionalism and managerial professionalism. She notes the development of 'entrepreneurial professionalism,' a term used by Menter Muschamp, Nicholls, Ozga & Pollard (1997) to refer to the professional 'who will identify with the efficient, responsible and accountable version of service that is currently promulgated' (Sachs, p. 155). This focus on the technical, leads to what Catherine Casey (1995) refers to as 'designer employees'. Sachs' designation of 'designer teachers' and Peter Gronn's (2003) idea of 'designer-leadership' apply this technical professional idea to educational roles.

School leadership is a particularly interesting example of this move from professional to technician. Research has confirmed the importance of leadership for student learning and school improvement (Leithwood, Louis, Andersen & Wahlstrom, 2004). Leithwood *et al* identify three core elements of successful school leadership: setting direction, developing people, and redesigning the organisation—three elements that appear less tied to discrete technical competencies than the larger issues of complexity, creativity, values, and ingenuity. More recently, a growing emphasis on the importance of leadership development can be seen in the literature (Lumby, Crow & Pashiardis, 2008). This

literature makes the case that the important elements of leadership can be learned and that to enable professional learning communities to create environments that support student engagement and learning, school leaders must develop the knowledge, skills and dispositions to do this.

In spite of these understandings and emphases on school leadership and leadership development, the trend is towards a focus on the development of technical skills rather than professional identities. In the U.S. state of Florida, the Department of Education mandated a set of 91 competencies on which universities and school districts must organise coursework and measure outcomes in order to be allowed to prepare aspiring school leaders. These competencies range from legal skills to supervisory skills, but the focus is on specific competencies. For example, one competency states, 'Given a scenario, interpret school advisory committee requirements as identified in State statutes'. Another example: 'Given a school technology plan, assess compliance with State technology goals'. An example of one of the instructional leadership competencies states, 'Given school data, analyze or develop a plan to address statewide requirements for student assessment'. What is glaringly missing is any mention of creativity, imagination, values beyond legal adherence, ingenuity, social contribution, or civic engagement.

At a larger scale, the adoption by more and more states in the U.S. of the Interstate School Leadership Licensing Standards, as set by the Interstate School Leadership Licensure Consortium, (ISLLC) also demonstrates an emphasis on the technical rather than professional. While these standards are not written as competencies, they clearly encourage technical skills and knowledge; again, no mention of creativity, ingenuity, imagination, or identity (English, 2008).

Peter Gronn (2003) examines the standardisation inherent in both the ISLLC Standards and the English National Professional Qualification for Headship (NPQH). He notes that the development of national or system-wide standards and correlated assessment processes are the core elements of customising leader development. One consequence of this customisation is the tendency of 'teaching to the test' in leadership development programmes:

As providers in a highly competitive training market, the temptation for some university programmes to concentrate solely on the learning of model answers and finding ways of making students test-proficient, in order to satisfy accreditation and assessment requirements for certification and license, may prove difficult to resist'. (p. 25)

PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

Before moving further to a discussion of the development of professional identity, I want to define identity and discuss various perspectives and dimensions of the concept. Gee (2001) defines identity as the "kind of person" one is recognized as "being" at a given time and place' (p. 99). As the definition suggests, professional identity is not a permanent condition or quality, but is more dynamic and contextual. Gee acknowledges that this does not mean that individuals do not have core identities that are more stable and hold across contexts. O'Connor (2008) maintains that identity has both active and reflective dimensions, 'encompassing

both an individual's professional philosophy and their public actions' (p. 118), and that '...professional identities are viewed as the means by which individual teachers negotiate and reflect on the socially situated aspects of their role' (p. 118). Her definition suggests the quality of social negotiation, which we will return to later, that is involved in the development of professional identity.

Wenger (1998) (quoted by Sachs, 2001, p. 154) identifies five dimensions of professional identity, including:

- identity as *negotiated experiences* where we define who we are by the ways we experience ourselves through participation as well as the way we and others reify ourselves;
- identity as *community membership* where we define who we are by the familiar and the unfamiliar;
- identity as *learning trajectory* where we define who we are by where we have been and where are going;
- identity as *nexus of multi membership* where we define who we are by the ways we reconcile our various forms of identity into one identity; and
- identity as a *relation between the local and the global* where we define who we are by negotiating local ways of belonging to broader constellations and manifesting broader styles and discourses.

The literature suggests several dimensions of professional identity that are important in understanding the development and communication of a professional identity. Professional identities are multiple rather than single: an individual is likely to have several professional identities depending on the context and the audience. Professional identity is a dynamic rather than a stable concept, i.e., it changes over time depending on factors such as context, experience, life events, etc. Professional identities are context driven at both macro and micro levels. They are also part of a larger professional culture, which may involve various levels and groups, including the larger professional community (educators), affinity groups (inner city principals or headteachers who hold to a particular approach to education), organisations (schools and local education authorities where principals or heads are employed), or subgroups within the organisation (elementary principals or heads within a particular district or LEA). Individuals differ in terms of the degree of ambiguity or certainty with which they view their professional identity. At times, perhaps especially at the beginning of a professional career, individuals have more ambiguity about their own identity than at later times. In the same way, perhaps individuals at mid-career experience ambiguity if the requirements of the role change as they have in response to public accountability mandates. Finally, professional identity is developed and changes within a negotiated context between the individual and others who view the individual's work.

The Development of Professional Identity

Developing a professional identity involves several factors found in the literature. First, as we have said earlier, professional identity is context based and thus it is

not surprising that the development of identity is dependent on the contexts in which the individual professional works. Gee (2001) notes how important the recognition by others of the professional identity is. This identity does not form simply by the individual wishing, assuming, or imagining it. Rather, it must be recognised by those who are important to the practice of the profession. This recognition occurs in interactions and dialogue with these other individuals. This is why networking is so critical for professionals and for the development of their professional identity. This professional community contributes to the development of the professional identity by recognising the view of self as a professional. Second, this process is negotiated. Ibarra (1999) notes that

socialization is not a unilateral process imposing conformity onto the individual...but a negotiated adaptation by which people strive to improve the fit between themselves and their work environment....Over time, people adapt aspects of their identity to accommodate role demands and modify role definitions to preserve and enact valued aspects of their identity, attaining a negotiated adaptation to the new situation. (p. 765)

As we have seen, and Ibarra reinforces, this adaptation and negotiation occurs over time and is more adaptable and mutable in early career stages.

Third, Ibarra (1999) suggests that one of the methods individuals use in identity formation is 'trying on' provisional selves. This suggests that professional identity is not an immediately full-blown version of what the identity may become, but rather individuals experiment with different views of themselves in the negotiation process.

English headteacher socialisation.

At this point, I use my own work on the socialisation of English headteachers to highlight some issues concerning the development of professional identity of school leaders. The empirical study on which the following highlights are based was not designed specifically to focus on professional identity. Rather it was intended to examine how new school leaders are socialised. My more recent interest in professional identity has led me to return to this study and others to see what aspects of professional identity I might glean from them in relation to new leader socialisation.

My study of the early socialisation of primary headteachers in England is based on in-depth interviews and observations over a two year period of a group of four new primary heads in the same LEA (Crow, 2006b). I conducted multiple interviews over the two-year period and observed by shadowing these heads in their walks around the school, in faculty meetings, in parent meetings, and in board of governors' meetings. Several highlights from these studies regarding the content and methods of socialisation seem relevant to an understanding of the development of professional identity among school leaders.

In terms of content, the new headteachers emphasised themes of managerial competence, adjusting to the school environment and self-learning. All the headteachers had had significant teaching experience so they entered the role with clear instructional leadership expertise. What surprised them, and me frankly, was the degree to which they emphasised the need to develop managerial competence.

They all four entered the role simultaneous with traumatic events. These events included the firing of the former headteacher, an admission controversy between parents and headteacher that blew up, and a fire that destroyed the school building. In order to respond to these events, as well as to respond to daily needs, they discussed having to develop managerial competence in creating budgets, designing personnel contracts, and writing policies. While I would not say their professional identities changed from leader to manager, they did focus attention on developing these managerial competencies.

Their early socialisation also involved adjusting to the school environment, primarily through learning to form relationships in order to gather information, implement programmes and create learning environments. They talked a lot about these adjustment processes and the fact that they did not feel prepared to handle them. One could interpret this as their having to negotiate leadership images with school constituents.

Some of their strongest comments came in terms of the self-learning that occurred. These comments about self-learning, I believe, include some especially useful ideas about professional identity. Their self-learning involved several factors including developing self-confidence, learning to be decisive, balancing humanness while not appearing to be unable to cope, and developing a hard enough shell to take criticism without letting it affect relationships. One of these topics, self-confidence, is particularly useful in terms of developing professional identity. Self-confidence appears to be a major issue for their socialisation, but it is not a uniformly viewed issue. At times their comments about self-confidence related to feeling confident regarding technical skills. However, most of the time self-confidence took on a more personal focus of believing you made the right decision, affirming your effectiveness as a leader, and asserting a conception of the leadership role. It is also interesting that their learning confidence involved both self and school. Self-confidence can mean arriving at certainty about decisions and actions and perhaps even complacency regarding what is necessary in order to lead a school and be viewed as an effective leader. It also can mean the courage to take on controversial issues, such as a more open admissions process, or to take on tasks that are new to the leader. A third understanding of self-confidence can involve believing that 'one has the courage, sense of connectedness, and perspective to motivate others to join in the leadership endeavor' (Crow, 2006b, p. 68). Such is the self-confidence that seems most appropriate for a professional identity that would enhance and contribute to interprofessional collaboration.

Learning to be confident about their schools presented a dilemma for these new headteachers—'balancing recognition of the school's problems and having confidence that the school can change' (Crow, 2006b, p. 68). Some new heads admitted that when they first came to the school they had major reservations about the quality of the school but over time they developed a stronger sense of confidence in the school's ability to meet the needs of students. This raises the question of whether their image of themselves as leaders, and the school, changed as a result of more effective responses to student needs or whether their image was co-opted by becoming insiders.

The socialisation methods these new heads mention that were critical to their learning highlight some of the factors in the development of professional identity I

raised earlier. The role of people in the socialisation process is central. While these new heads certainly read books, attended training sessions, watched videos, and surfed the internet, their primary socialisation occurred in their interaction with individuals outside and inside the school. People helped them develop confidence, reaffirmed and challenged their ideas, complemented their skills, provided alternative conceptions of leadership, modelled skills that new heads didn't have, acted as sounding boards, forced them to develop new knowledge and skills, and offered expert advice. Mentoring and networking with LEA officials and other more experienced heads certainly helped them develop their sense of self, self-confidence, reassurance in their decisions, etc. Their experience as a deputy with previous heads and the previous heads of their schools also provided learning opportunities, especially in reflecting on leadership styles and approaches. They did not adopt wholesale the style of these previous heads, but clearly the 'shadows of principals past' (Weindling, 1992) influenced the images and identities which they considered. Ibarra's (1999) notion of experimenting with provisional selves is similar to the ways they use their experiences with these previous heads to reflect on possible alternative conceptions of leadership.

Deputies, teachers, governors, parents and students all contributed in different ways—gaining expertise, affirming or challenging views of their role, acting as sounding boards, and offering advice. The positive and negative tones of their descriptions of these individuals and how they contributed to their learning suggests a negotiation of identity. Some individuals affirmed their decisions and, perhaps we could infer, their identities, while others challenged their decisions, views, conceptions of leadership, and identities. While I did not probe particularly to discover the subtleties of this negotiation process, it is not hard to infer that they were testing out leadership conceptions and negotiating what worked in this school setting. Sometimes these negotiations were particularly painful, for example, in the case of the head whose deputy challenged her more directive approach to instruction. For other heads, the negotiation was more of an affirmation of leadership conceptions, as when a lead teacher and deputy helped the headteacher gain confidence in the rightness of her decisions.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY FOR INTERPROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

An understanding of the development of professional identity is significant for interprofessional practice. The literature discussed and the study of English headteachers' socialisation described suggest several implications of the development of professional identity for interprofessional practice.

First, professional identity impacts behaviour. The values and norms that influence how an individual practices a profession are based on a sense of identity. This occurs, according to Sachs (2001), through community: 'Developing a practice requires the formation of a community, whose members can engage with one another and thus acknowledge each other as participant' (p. 154). Interprofessional collaboration involves the formation of such a community in which the professional identities of individuals are formed, negotiated, changed, recognised, valued, and reinforced through the interaction with others with similar or different professional identities.

Second the personal and the professional are tied together through professional identities. O'Connor (2008) notes that in Nias's (1986) study of the professional socialisation of teachers she found that they invested 'their sense of self in their work' (p. 118). In order for interprofessional practice to be effective, individuals must invest themselves beyond simply attending meetings. The trend toward an entrepreneurial professionalism that Sullivan (2005) decries ignores the sense of self as contributing to a larger whole—a team, an organisation, a society.

Third, Feldman (1976) identifies three elements of the content of socialisation: learning technical skills, adjusting to the organisational environment, and internalising the values of the organisation/profession. Ibarra notes 'in assuming new roles, people must not only acquire new skills but also adopt the social norms and rules that govern how they should conduct themselves' (p. 764). This is why emphasising technical competencies, as contemporary trends demonstrate, neglects the importance of these values and norms necessary for practicing the profession. This is critical in interprofessional collaboration, where not only the technical skills which each individual brings to the team are important, but their values regarding the potential contribution of interprofessional work in addressing students' needs and the norms involved in contributing to a group are critical.

A major element in the development of professional identity is the negotiation of that identity within a context. In the interprofessional practice context, the negotiation process is obvious and critical for the group to recognise the disciplinary knowledge, values, and perspectives that different professionals bring to the setting. As mentioned earlier, professional identity is formed not just by the individual imagining themselves in a certain way but the recognition by others of the identity being formed. In the study of English headteachers this negotiation took place through affirming and reaffirming skills and knowledge, challenging ideas and beliefs, identifying alternative leadership conceptions and providing expert advice. These types of negotiating activities and responses are fundamental to the effectiveness of the community of interprofessional practice.

The development of professional identity for school leaders is critical for the success of interprofessional practice. Instead of a sole focus on technical skills, such as resource management, school leaders must be able to conceive of themselves and have others recognise them as professionals bringing certain values, beliefs, and perspectives that can contribute to the interprofessional setting and purposes and which reinforce the value and practice of interprofessional collaboration. The importance of self-learning, found in the study of English headteachers, is critical for the development of professional identity of school leaders especially in these interprofessional settings. For example, developing a sense of confidence based on the contributions of the collaborative team, rather than a self-assured confidence with its attendant heroic role image, is critical for building and maintaining successful teams.

Professional identity is a concept worth studying to understand how it impacts behaviour and is negotiated with others in the school context. It is also significant in leadership development efforts that prepare school leaders in developing role conceptions that enhance interprofessional collaboration rather than only developing technical competence. The complexity and school environment of work now and in the future demand that the preparation of school leaders reflect

this complexity in part by helping leaders develop professional identities that impact leadership behaviour.

REFERENCES

- Bell, D. (1973). *The coming of post-industrial society*. New York: Basic Books.
- Casey, C. (1995). *Work, self and society: After industrialization*. London: Routledge.
- Crow, G.M. (2006b). The professional and organizational socialization of new English headteachers in school reform contexts. *Educational management administration and leadership*, 35(1), 51-72.
- Crow, G.M. (2006a). Democracy and educational work in an age of complexity: UCEA Presidential Address. *UCEA Review*, 48(1), 1-5.
- Crow, G.M., & Pounder, D.G. (2000). Teacher work groups: Context, design, and process. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 36(2), 216-254.
- English, F.W. (2008). *Anatomy of professional practice. Promising research perspectives on educational leadership*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Education.
- Feldman, D.C. (1976). A contingency theory of socialization. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 21, 433-452.
- Gee, J.P. (2001). Identity as an analytic lens for research in education. In W. G. Secada (Ed.), *Review of Research in Education*, (Vol 25, pp. 99-125). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.
- Gronn, P. (2003). *The new work of educational leaders. Changing leadership practice in an era of school reform*. London: Paul Chapman.
- Hage, J., & Powers, C.H. (1992). *Post-industrial lives. Roles and relationships in the 21st century*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publishers.
- Hargreaves, A. (2004). *Teaching in the knowledge society. Education in the age of insecurity*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Ibarra, H. (1999). Provisional selves: Experimenting with image and identity in professional adaptation. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 44(4), 764-791.
- Leicht, K.T., & Fennell, M.L. (2001). *Professional work. A sociological approach*. Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishers.
- Leithwood, K., Louis, K.S., Andersen, S., & Wahlstrom, K. (2004). *How leadership influences student learning. Review of research*. Minneapolis, MN: Center for Applied Research, University of Minnesota.
- Lumby, J., Crow, G., & Pashiardis, P. (2008). *International handbook on the preparation and development of school leaders*. New York: Routledge
- Menter, I., Muschamp, Y., Nicholls, P., Ozga, J. with Pollard, A. (1997). *Work and identity in the primary school*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Nias, J. (1986). *Teacher socialization: The individual in the system*. Victoria: Deakin University Press.
- O'Connor, K.E. (2008). 'You choose to care': Teachers, emotions and professional identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 24, 117-126.
- Putnam, R.D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Reich, R.B. (2000). *The future of success. Working and living in the new economy*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Sachs, J. (2001). Teacher professional identity: competing discourses, competing-outcomes. *Journal of Education Policy*, 16(2): 149-161.
- Sennett, R. (1998). *The corrosion of character. The personal consequences of work in the new capitalism*. New York: W.W. Horton & Company.
- Sullivan, W.M. (2005). *Work and integrity. The crisis and promise of professionalism in America*. (2nd edition). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Weindling, D. (1992). New heads for old: Beginning principals in the United Kingdom. In F.W. Parkay, & G.E. Hall (Eds.) *Becoming a principal: The challenges of beginning leadership*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Wenger, R. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

NEITHER SOCIAL NOR WORKING: CHANGING SOCIAL WORK IDENTITIES IN SCOTLAND

MARK SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

INTRODUCTION

In this paper I chart the decline of modern social work from its optimistic beginnings in the *Social Work (Scotland) Act* (1968) to a present where it is described as 'a profession that has lost touch with some of its core purpose, lacking in confidence and uncertain about its role' (Scottish Executive, 2006a). I focus on social work with children and families addressing the retreat from a welfare discourse to one of neoliberal consumerism. This is manifest in fragmented discourses around children and how best to respond to them. It has also impacted on social workers' professional identities. Declining trust in welfare professionals, spawning rafts of regulation and scrutiny, has contributed to the air of pessimism that permeates state social work. Against this backdrop I go on to discuss the possibilities offered by European models of social pedagogy to provide an alternative conceptual framework to underpin work with children and families. Ideas at the core of social pedagogy, I argue, resonate with Scottish welfare traditions.

KILBRANDON

Many of the principles and provisions of the *Social Work (Scotland) Act* (1968), social work's foundational legislation, can be traced back to the *Kilbrandon Report* (1964). Lord Kilbrandon was commissioned 'to consider the provisions of the law of Scotland relating to the treatment of juvenile delinquents and juveniles in need of care or protection or beyond parental control'

His committee concluded that similarities in the underlying situation of juvenile offenders and children in need of care and protection 'far outweigh the differences' and that 'the true distinguishing factor...is their need for special measures of education and training, the normal up-bringing processes having, for whatever reason, fallen short' (para 15).

Kilbrandon's conception of education extended beyond teaching; it was 'education in its widest sense', social education, of 'the whole child', to support the process of 'upbringing'. It was 'to include all children whose educational

requirements are not met by the normal educational processes of the home or school' (para 94). Social work thus drew, from its inception, on an extant educational tradition (Smith & Whyte, 2008).

Education was seen as happening at home as well as at school. The remedy for a failure in 'upbringing', was 'social education', additional measures of education for the child, and where appropriate for the parents, in order to strengthen 'those natural influences for good which will assist the child's development into a mature and useful member of society' (para 17). Needs rather than deeds were to be the touchstone for intervention, reflecting a contextual morality, which deemed that behaviours could only be understood in the context of the social circumstances from which they arose (Smith & Whyte, 2008). The matching field organisation to support this social education function was identified as a Social Education Department to be located in local authorities under the Director of Education and staffed by social workers. Thus, work with children and families was conceived of as broadly educational and was to take place within a universal education system.

Social Work and the Community

While there can be a tendency nowadays to portray Kilbrandon's ideas as radical, they evince, more than anything, a patrician common sense. The 1960s, however, marked the high point of the welfare consensus, reflecting a belief that the welfare state could destroy the scourges of want, disease, squalor, ignorance and idleness (UK Parliament, 1942). A powerful social work lobby with visions of cradle to grave welfare services emerged from this heady mix. Social work as a profession was asserted to be a positive and radical force for social change (Brodie, Nottingham & Plunkett, 2008). In this climate Kilbrandon's idea of social education was considered too limiting. The Association of Child Care Officers took the view that 'social work goes much beyond the boundaries of social education and cannot be embraced by it even considered in its widest sense' (cited in Hiddleston, 2006, p.2). The Association argued that: 'Measures more radical, more logical than proposed by the committee, viz. all the social services should be concentrated in one department' (ibid). This more radical view held sway and was incorporated into the White Paper *Social Work and the Community* (1966), which adopted some of Kilbrandon's ideas, but located them within generic social work departments. The proposals set out in the White Paper became enshrined in the *Social Work (Scotland) Act (1968)*, enacted in 1971.

The Social Work (Scotland) Act (1968)

The '68 Act placed a broad duty on local authorities to promote social welfare. The years following its enactment represent the high point in Scottish social work, which, especially following the inception of regional authorities in 1975, enjoyed a place at the top table in the local authority hierarchy (Brodie *et al.*, 2008). A radical strand, linking a structural analysis of clients problems to an ethical imperative to act to address these problems (Lavallette & Ferguson, 2007), raised questions about the profession's role as operating both in and against the state. A collective dimension was apparent in the growth of community social work, especially in the

West of Scotland. In child care a group of psychologists attached to the List D Schools (the successors to approved schools following the '68 Act) drew on the spirit of Kilbrandon and on the work of the Scottish Institute of Human Relations to develop distinctively Scottish, developmentally based approaches to working with children and families, while the newly established children's hearings system, under the guidance of some impressive founding Reporters to the Children's Panel, brought a genuinely 'whole child' perspective to deliberations about how best to deal with children in trouble or in need of care.

Developments in social work were but one strand in a public sector tradition, which drew together different government departments in pursuit of a common good. As Paterson says,

Links among 'physical, mental and emotional well-being' also underpinned the child-centred ideas that grew to dominate educational policy by the 1960s, reaching their apogee in the relatively successful and popular Scottish system of comprehensive secondary schools - a policy entirely based on the premise that educational success and failure cannot be understood only in educational terms, but must be related to the social and economic circumstances faced by children. From that same time, too, we have the internationally respected Scottish system of community education, linking education, youth work and community development in an attempt to regenerate whole communities, enabling them to take responsibility for their own lives. (2000, unpaginated)

However, there were other strands in social work's development. The new profession was regulated at a UK level by the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work (CCETSW) and, unlike education, lacked a discrete Scottish identity. Social work in the UK was heavily influenced by the American psycho-social tradition (Higham, 2001) and practice developed along casework models. Responses to social problems took the form of individual or family counselling type interventions. The new profession's relationship with the educational establishment was also ambivalent from the outset. List D schools for instance were not brought under social work control and strongly resisted this outcome, regarding social work as almost *parvenu* in its understanding of how best to work with delinquent children but also clinging to the ideal of this task being best undertaken within a universal service. And, of course, the creation of a new social work profession did indeed have the effect of removing children who offended or were in need of care from the scope of a universal education service. Children came to be engaged with on account of their presenting difficulties rather than these difficulties being regarded as indicative of a need for additional measures of social education.

THE NEW RIGHT

The 1980s saw the very precepts of social work threatened by the growth of neoliberal ideas and a concomitant retreat from welfare principles. This at one level is apparent in the increasing marketisation of social work. Another aspect was expressed in the doctrine of managerialism, 'a set of beliefs and practices at the core of which burns the seldom tested assumption that better management will prove an effective solvent for a wide range of economic and social ills' (Pollitt, 1990, p.1). Managerial principles can be seductive, appealing to a common-sense view of the world, professing a 'globalising and imperialistic logic that proclaims itself as the universally applicable solution to the problems of efficiency, incompetence and chaos in the old ways of providing public services' (Clarke, 1998, p. 174). And in many respects social work was seduced.

The seduction was made possible as a result of what Clarke and Newman (1997) describe as the ability of the proponents of neoliberalism to present their own proposals as progressive. Aspiring to provide choice, meet consumer demand and empower the individual assumed a freshness when set against the bureaucracy and inefficiency ascribed to the welfare system. At a practical level the quest for a punchier, more focused social work practice was manifest in a shift away from generic social work to services based around particular client groupings. Thus, the children and families focus deemed inadequate and limiting in the post-Kilbrandon debates, became the norm. Adult and criminal justice services, similarly, became discrete entities.

The modernising agenda

The New Labour government, which came to power in 1997 introduced a different language to the public services, ostensibly moving away from reductionist considerations of cost to take into account broader criteria around value. The modernising agenda in Scotland is set out in the White Paper, *Aiming for Excellence*, which proposed that social work can make a key contribution to social inclusion. The social work task was deemed to be complex, requiring a 'competent, confident workforce' (Scottish Office, 1999, para. 1.3) thus paving the way for subsequent regulation, which trumpeted the creation of a competent, confident, profession. Current orthodoxies around partnership and joined up working also began to emerge. A language of responsiveness, delivery, reliability and continuous improvement betrays the dominant consumerist thread within New Labour's approach to the public services. An obvious illustration of this is the re-branding of clients as consumers, customers or service users.

Consumerist and inclusion discourses, however, are not self-evidently progressive. Levitas (1998) identifies how notions of social inclusion shift the policy focus away from addressing poverty and inequality towards raising

individual opportunities and emphasising individual responsibilities. There is, moreover, a strong moralising dimension to the emphasis on responsibility and those who verge outwith the moral centre ground are subject to a range of authoritarian responses (Butler & Drakeford, 2002). Indeed those who fail to measure up to the consumerist precepts of the neoliberal state, Bauman's (1998) 'flawed consumers', are positioned within an underclass, of anti-social youth, young offenders or abusive parents. Criminalising the poor identifies them as the authors of their own misfortune and places them beyond the pale of decent society, thus absolving that society from any moral responsibility towards them. This process, which Bauman (1998) calls adiaphorisation, has led to an increasing array of individually focused, authoritarian and punitive interventions with children and families, apparent in the array of anti-social behaviour legislation.

For all its promise of modernised, (and by implication more efficient and streamlined ways of delivering public services), New Labour has in fact presided over a massive increase in regulatory regimes in social care (Humphrey, 2003). Public services generally have been subject to an array of new regulatory regimes since 1999 (Crerar, 2007), which through their focus on information gathering and target setting have entrenched bureaucratic ways of working, betraying a political culture of encroaching, insidious control. This focus on control has major implications for professional identity, a point I return to. The retreat from welfare, rather than bringing about more effective and efficient services, has actually led to their increasing fragmentation (Orme, 2001). It has also brought about the fragmentation of Kilbrandon's conception of the 'whole' child.

FRAGMENTING THE CHILD

Ferguson (2007) identifies a tendency of governments to co-opt what he calls persuasive words or discourses in support of political ends. Services for children and families have shifted from a conceptual underpinning stressing the 'whole child' to become identified with the warmly persuasive, yet ultimately partial and atomising discourses of rights and protection. On the surface few might be against according children appropriate rights or protection. However, such discourses are problematic when they become the primary lenses through which to view children. Both have been co-opted within a neoliberal paradigm. While Jackson (2004) highlights an emphasis in the Kilbrandon Report and the hearings system on children's social and cultural rights the focus under neoliberalism is narrowed to individualistic and legalistic conceptions of rights. The *Children (Scotland) Act* (1995), which updated the *Social Work (Scotland) Act*, marks a shift from a welfare base 'towards a justice-oriented approach in child-care decision-making where legal principles are uppermost' (McGhee & Waterhouse, 1998, p.49). The children's hearings system is under threat, on the one hand from an increasingly correctional impulse imported from England and the US, but on the other, from a rights lobby concerned that the welfare focus of the system does not adequately safeguard children's legal rights. Rights, within such a paradigm reflect an 'increasing recourse to law as a means of mediating relationships... premised on particular values and a particular understanding of the subject as a rational,

autonomous individual' (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005, p. 30). As such they are arguably inimical to wider concerns based around notions of care or relationship. Children, within a neoliberal rights discourse are also, according to Goldson (2002), subject to inappropriate 'adulterising' and 'responsibilising.' Kilbrandon's contextual morality is sidelined as increasing numbers of children are subject to a widening array of correctional interventions, where the only rights accorded them are those of due process.

Any progressive potential that might be ascribed to children's rights has been hijacked as a result of rights being considered alongside the far less emancipatory discourse of protection, the predominant discursive strand in social work. Child protection has crowded out welfare as the basis of engagement with children and families. It has also spawned its own complex and defensive bureaucracy, contributing substantially to the process-driven nature of contemporary social work. At a wider level, discourses of protection chime with a misanthropic zeitgeist, '... protection involves a very different conception of the relationship between an individual or group, and others than does care. Caring seems to involve taking the concerns and needs of the other as the basis for action. Protection presumes bad intentions and harm' (Tronto, 1993, pp.104-105).

A stark example of the tendency of a protectionist discourse to proceed from a presumption of bad intent and harm is the automatic involvement of the police in child protection cases. The result of this is that problems that are almost invariably social in origin become re-classified as criminal or at least potentially so. Old-fashioned poverty and disadvantage are marginalised (McGhee & Waterhouse, 2007). Moreover, the involvement of the police in child protection is rarely as an equal partner. Garrett (2004) notes that the police now perceive themselves to be the 'lead agency' in child protection and that social workers go along with this, to the extent of adopting police language and attitudes. And it is not just child protection that has witnessed the incursion of the police into erstwhile social work domains. The whole area of youth justice has been hived off from mainstream social work and increasingly abrogated to specialised youth justice teams and police Youth Action Teams. The fact that problems, whether of care and protection or of juvenile delinquency, which are predominantly social in nature and ought to elicit a social or socio-educational response, become conceptualised and responded to within a justice model has consequences for the type of relationships social workers establish with families and youth. These become characterised by acrimony and a lack of trust. Social work intervention has in many cases become part of the problem rather than the solution for families.

Responding to social needs through legal and criminal discourses reflects unease with messiness and ambiguity and a searching within this for certainty. Legal discourses can appear to offer more in this regard than social work. Ferguson (2004), drawing on Bauman, notes that 'The paradox of child protection in liquid modernity is that its "liquidity" fully emerges at a time when organisationally it has never appeared more solid in terms of its bureaucracy' (p.202). The problem with attempts to make child protection more solid through ever-more procedural guidance is that the territory on which social workers operate is 'liquid', 'ambivalence and uncertainty are its daily bread and cannot be stamped out without destroying the moral substance of responsibility...' (Bauman, 2000, p. 10). The quest to reduce complexity and ambiguity, to remove the messy bits from social

work threatens its very essence. Specifically, social work has lost the 'social' from its role. It has become co-opted to neoliberal, legalistic, individualising and blaming ways of working. And when social work is seen as other than 'social', human qualities are lost to the extent that workers often lack basic relational and communication skills (Forrester, Kershaw, Moss & Hughes, 2008). Motivation and moral purpose are also affected. Bauman (2000) argues that, when the essential human and moral aspects of care are obscured behind ever more rules and regulations 'the daily practice of social work (is made) ever more distant from its original ethical impulse' (p. 9). It becomes a technical/rational task rather than a relational and moral one.

Regulating the professional

A predominant focus on child protection has acted to rein social workers in. It has established regimes of truth with regard to how they are allowed to think about or engage with children (Piper & Stronach, 2008), thus defining and constraining their practice. From a teaching perspective, and one perhaps even more true of social work,

Child Protection policies, both in their form and content, act as regulatory frameworks, which constrain and proscribe teachers' practices and ... emphasize a 'safe' and 'risk averse' form of practice. They can also be seen as technologies of performance because they presuppose a culture of mistrust in professions. (Sachs & Mellor, 2005, p. 149)

Social work is now regulated administratively as well as discursively. Over the years it has advanced claims for professional status similar to that enjoyed by more established occupations by arguing for its own professional body. It eventually achieved this through the *Regulation of Care Act (2001)*. Arguably it has been sold a pup. Unlike professions such as medicine and law, social work's professional body is a creature of government and positions social workers similarly so. The function of the regulation of care legislation is to monitor and control behaviour through codes of professional conduct and fitness to practise directives. It is predicated on wider meta-narratives speaking of a lack of trust in professionals and assumptions that they need external surveillance to ensure that they practise safely (McLaughlin, 2007).

The regulation of social work can only be understood within this broader climate of evaluation and surveillance, whereby the state assumes ever more control of professionals through strategies of information collection and management. Social workers have become, unequivocally, agents of the state. Indeed any pretensions they might have harboured that they were engaged in a political activity were explicitly dispelled by Sam Galbraith the former Scottish Executive minister when he stated:

Social work services are not about redressing the major injustices in our world. Their remit is not to battle with the major forces of social exclusion. It

is to promote social inclusion for each individual within their circumstances. (Quoted in *Community Care* 22 May 2000, cited in Lavalette & Ferguson, 2007, p.25)

The de-politicisation (or arguably the politicisation of social work in the service of a neoliberal agenda) is further advanced by developments in social work education, which has become routinised, constrained from the early 1990s within a reductionist competency framework, the erstwhile social scientific base of the profession subsumed within a technical/rational, managerial rubric. The result of this persistent erosion of moral purpose and petty proceduralism is the air of pessimism that pervades contemporary social work identified in *Changing Lives* (Scottish Executive, 2006a), discussed later.

ACCOMMODATING THE NEW ORDER

Cree and Davis (2007) suggest that social workers are still motivated to make a difference in the lives of those they work with. Many local authority social workers, however, have given up thinking they can do so. The creative tension that derived from the profession's ambiguous relationship with the state has been neutered.

This has its cost. The result is a profession at odds with its espoused values. The International Federation of Social Workers Code of Ethics states that social workers have a responsibility to promote social justice, to challenge unjust policies and practices, to challenge social conditions that contribute to social exclusion, stigmatisation or subjugation, and to work towards an inclusive society (IFSW Code of Ethic 4.2). Their current political and indeed professional subjugation precludes them from doing so. Bourdieu (1999) identifies the consequences of this state of affairs for social workers and teachers as a 'social suffering', where the gulf between the reality of their occupations and their professional aspirations becomes a source of acute personal discomfort. 'Their ability to provide even the minimum service compatible with their sense of professional duty was undermined by successive external impositions' (Nottingham, 2007, p. 471). But they adapt. C. Wright Mills (1959) outlines how they do so in situations that may be dissonant with their worthier aspirations. They 'carry out series of apparently rational actions without any ideas of the ends they serve, and there is increasing suspicion that those at the top as well ... only pretend they know' (Wright Mills, 1959, p.168). The result of this is that social work continues as an occupation but can no longer lay claim to any liberal or emancipatory purpose.

CHANGING LIVES

In June 2004 Scottish Ministers initiated a 'fundamental review of social work.' This was likened to Kilbrandon in scope, a once in a generation opportunity to set the direction for the profession. The review resulted in the publication *Changing*

Lives (Scottish Executive, 2006a), which depicts many of the problems facing social work. It identifies a profession lacking in confidence and uncertain about its role, one that is process dominated and where negative publicity around 'failures' has led to risk averse and blame cultures. The profession, it claims, had lost touch with some of its core purpose. It calls for transformational change.

Changing Lives pushes an inter-professional working agenda. Within this the social work role is positioned as being to support more universal services, particularly in relation to a preventative rather than crisis driven agendas.

What is needed is a joined up approach to prevention, in which social work services better support universal services to pick up and respond to the early signs of problems as well as tackling complex problems of some individuals and communities. (p. 42)

Elsewhere it claims that 'Social workers never work in isolation and are always part of multi-disciplinary approaches' (p.30). They might be thought of as providing the 'linking social capital' bringing together individuals with agencies and services they might otherwise find difficulty in accessing (see Catts & Ozga, 2005).

Changing Lives calls for a rolling back of managerial 'red-tape' in order to encourage autonomous accountable professionals. Leadership is couched in a language of governance, in contrast to dominant command and control cultures. Of course, ideas of governance are not necessarily benign and readily conflate with those of surveillance. There are contradictions, too in the call for autonomous professionalism. While managerial regimes are considered to limit the scope for professional judgement, a sentiment that might seem to give practitioners scope to apply such judgements, they are drawn firmly back into line by a subsequent assertion that 'they must always work within the rules, regulations and priorities of their employers and practise in line with the standards and codes of practice of their regulatory bodies' (*Changing Lives*, p.51).

One aspect of the review that has appealed to social workers is its assertion of the importance of what it terms therapeutic relationships which, within a managerial culture have been marginalised and subsumed within case management ways of working. The review concludes that the quality of the therapeutic relationship between social workers and individuals or families is critical. A new para-professional role is proposed to undertake more routine tasks to free up social workers to undertake these key aspects of their job. In many respects the para-professional role envisaged for social work mirrors developments in other professions, such as the law, teaching and health. The proposal might actually presage a situation where most direct work with clients is actually undertaken by para-professionals, leaving diminishing numbers of professionally qualified social workers to undertake what are essentially case management rather than direct engagement roles. In such a scenario para-professionals become the primary direct workers.

The location of *Changing Lives* within a rubric of neoliberalism, however, is evident in the explicit shift from welfare to wellbeing it advocates. While welfare speaks of a wider social purpose wellbeing focuses on the individual. Services are

to be individualised through the 'personalisation' agenda, which is seen as a key driver in the shaping of all public services. Ferguson (2007) notes that the concept of personalisation has attained a place at the heart of social work policy and thinking (Ferguson, 2007). Despite its rise to prominence, just what personalisation is remains unclear. According to a Government discussion paper, 'Personalisation can mean a number of things to different people' (Scottish Government, 2007, p.1). The one thing that can be safely said of the personalisation agenda is that it further continues the trend towards individualising social problems and responses. Thus, *Changing Lives* refers to social workers 'helping people to become self-reliant once more' (p.17). The failure of the review to challenge political orthodoxies is further evidenced in its acceptance that: 'Political priorities will continue to be driven by fear of crime and anti-social behaviour' (p.21). The result of this is that more and more people will be drawn into the criminal justice system.

So while *Changing Lives* might have been compared to Kilbrandon it reflects none of the latter's optimism. Kilbrandon was a child of its time. *Changing Lives* is similarly so. It is rooted in the individualism, fragmentation, anxiety and ultimately the misanthropy of late modernity.

The working together agenda

Changing Lives identifies the need for social workers to operate alongside other professionals, building upon already existing orthodoxies in this regard. The former Scottish Executive had stated as early as 2001 that children's services - 'encompassing education, child welfare, social work, health, leisure and recreation services for children from birth to 18 years - should consider themselves as a single unitary system' (quoted in Menter, 2007, p.13). Administratively, children and families social work services are increasingly merged with education. But, in the absence of any underpinning conceptual understandings of children and childhood or of families, how realistic is the assumption that injunctions invoking professionals to work together will bring about more effective services? While integration may be happening at a policy level it is scarcely impacting on teachers' practice (Menter, 2007). The same might safely be said of social workers and other professionals working with children. So long as changes take place only at policy and organisational levels they will fail to bring about the integrated service to children and families intended. Teachers will continue to teach and social workers to process children and families through an increasingly procedural and blaming child protection system.

Christie and Menmuir (2005) question whether the integrated services agenda might be advanced by the adoption of common professional standards. Menter (2007), however, suggests that recourse to standards may be implicated in the increasing technical rationality of public services. A further problem with standards is that they tend to be curtailed by the limits of our thinking in respect of children and childhood, and this currently struggles to move beyond discourses of rights or protection. These are much too limited. To address the needs of the whole child requires a shift in that thinking. Services for children and families need to be thought of within an alternative paradigm. Such a conceptual shift might take us in the direction of social education or social pedagogy.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF SOCIAL PEDAGOGY

Social pedagogy has roots in mid-19th century Europe. The aim of Pestalozzi, a founding pedagogue, was to educate the whole child, including three elements - hands, heart and head, principles that remain central to current notions of social pedagogy (Petrie, 2004). There was also a social dimension to this work. Social pedagogues were 'educators of the poor' working in special schools but also in poor rural areas. Education was seen as central to social development and the creation of community. Diesterweg, a Prussian educator argued that 'social pedagogy should be expressed in 'educational action by which one aims to help the poor in society' (Smith & Whyte, 2008, p.19). It aims to promote social welfare through broadly based socio-educational strategies, providing a framework for the consideration of the individual in society and thus offering a counterpoint to the atomistic tendencies of neoliberalism. In that sense it has the potential to put the 'social' back into social work.

Social pedagogical ideas increasingly merit a mention in discussion of integrated service provision. *Getting it Right for Every Child* (Scottish Executive, 2006b) introduces a national approach for all professionals working with children, identifying the need for multi-systemic approaches to meet the range of a child's needs. A concern is that in this context social pedagogy is grasped as a solution to problems of inter-agency working rather than being grounded in any wider understanding of the concept. Social pedagogy is less a method of working than a way of thinking about children and childhood.

Social work as social education

At a time when the future of Scottish social work is uncertain, social pedagogy or social education offers possibilities for its future direction. The literature review on the role of the social worker, undertaken for *Changing Lives* argues that social pedagogy emphasises 'working directly with people much as promised by the core values of social work' (Asquith, Clark & Waterhouse, 2005, p. 24), values that are acknowledged as having been diminished in the profession's recent history. The 'use of self' a central feature of social pedagogy is also commended as an important, yet under-emphasised element in current social work.

Adopting ideas of social pedagogy would require that social work be thought of as an essentially educational undertaking. Cree (2008) makes this point, arguing:

When we stop seeing social work as a narrow, municipally based, bureaucratic activity, we start to see that it is, at its deepest level, a form of education. ... what might be called 'social education' - it has been about getting alongside people in a process of change, about bringing about change, within individuals and communities.

Locating social work within a broadly educational framework resonates with Scottish traditions of education and social welfare. There are persistent points of departure between Scottish approaches and dominant Anglo-American models. There are perhaps two defining differences, which derive from attitudes towards education. In Scotland this is seen as a collective rather than an individual enterprise, 'having a key role in tackling a range of social problems and in promoting cohesion in a more diverse society' (Bloomer, 2008, p.32). The other relates to a philosophical predisposition to a contextual morality, which takes into account social circumstances in judging behaviours rather than more abstract and universalist principles (Smith & Whyte, 2008).

Both these dimensions are evident in Kilbrandon's proposals for social education departments. They are also reflected in mainstream European approaches to working with children and families. Indeed these traditions come together. Asquith *et al* (2005, p.23) suggest that:

There are grounds to believe that what [Kilbrandon] intended was not an 'education' department in the traditional sense but rather a department based on principles much akin to those of social pedagogy. The social education department proposed by Kilbrandon may well have had its roots more in the notion of allowing an individual to realise his/her potential in society, much as with the role of the 'educateur' in France.

Returning to Kilbrandon and social education acknowledges the fundamental soundness of proposals that were never fully realised within social work as it developed. Reclaiming Kilbrandon's ideas and articulating the consonance between these and ideas of social pedagogy might allow social work to invigorate some of its original aspirations. Social pedagogy is not necessarily a direct alternative to social work but potentially 'a mirror in which the social work tradition can become aware of its own rich but also contested diversity that already contains many of the same elements as the social pedagogy tradition' (Lorenz, 2008, p. 641).

The timing is perhaps apposite for a shift in the direction of social pedagogy. The current Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP) government professes itself to be a social democratic party with 'radical social ambitions' (Salmond, 2007), determined to consider distinctively Scottish approaches to service provision and delivery. It is drawn, in some policy areas to look to Nordic countries with well-established social welfare systems based around social pedagogy. William Roe (2008) who chaired *Changing Lives* suggests that the current Scottish Government is disposed to explore methods for building common values and language between professionals. He goes on to say that he would have liked *Changing Lives* to recommend a professional

equipped to work with children and families across all disciplines that make up the children's service sector. There remain a lot of professional barriers between distinct disciplines in Scotland and the pedagogue model...could, over time help to break these down. (p.37)

The children's charity, *Children in Scotland*, explicitly advocates the adoption of a 'Scottish Pedagogue' professional for work with children. There remains resistance to this, much of it converging around how well understood the term 'social pedagogue' might be in Scotland. Yet in failing to call it by name the impact of adopting social pedagogic ideas is likely to be lessened.

A unifying concept: the idea of 'upbringing'

An attraction in adopting social pedagogy is that its central idea, that of 'upbringing', provides a unifying concept within which to locate services for children and families. In Germany 'Erzieher', the term for a pedagogue, translates to 'upbringer', resonating with Kilbrandon's identification of the centrality of 'upbringing' in all work with children and families. At its heart, such work ought to be around promoting and supporting upbringing. Upbringing itself goes beyond partial discourses of rights or protection to encompass all that is required for children to develop into healthy and competent adults. Bringing up children is primarily educational: the Latin term *educare* means to bring up a child physically and mentally, Kilbrandon's notion of 'education in its widest sense'. Some of this traditionally broad view of education is making a comeback at a policy level. *Curriculum for Excellence* (Scottish Executive, 2004) aims to build children as successful learners, confident individuals, effective contributors and responsible citizens, embracing 'a broad view of education, which focuses on the development of the whole person in a social setting' (Bloomer, 2008, p. 32).

CONCLUSION

Social work, conceived at the height of modernist optimism, has fallen prey to postmodern fragmentation, anxiety and pessimism. This fragmentation can be applied, too, at a conceptual level. The 'whole child' model of social education or 'upbringing' envisaged by Kilbrandon and evident in European social pedagogy, has been crowded out by the intellectually and morally restricting discourses of rights or protection. I argue that aspirations for children are best served within broadly educational approaches to practice rather than those rooted in individual or family deficit or blame, which seem to be embedded within dominant Anglo-American paradigms of social welfare.

Discursive shifts from welfare towards a dominant neoliberal consumerism have also taken their toll on professional identities. While social workers may still come into the profession determined to make a difference in people's lives they are ground down in a petty proceduralism that dissipates this initial moral purpose. The profession is conflicted by internal tensions where daily practice is dissonant with espoused values. We have reached a stage where social work is neither 'social', nor is it working. Its predicament perhaps opens up spaces to reclaim some of its broadly educational roots, through revisiting Kilbrandon's ideas for social education or European models of social pedagogy.

REFERENCES

- Asquith, S. Clark, C., & Waterhouse, L. (2005). *The role of the social worker in the 21st century*. Edinburgh: Stationery Office.
- Bauman, Z. (1998). *Globalisation: The human consequences*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Bauman, Z. (2000). Special essay. Am I my brother's keeper? *European Journal of Social Work*, 3 (1), 5-11.
- Bloomer, K. (2008). Modernising Scotland's teaching workforce. In *Working it out: developing the children's sector workforce*, (pp. 32-35). Edinburgh: Children in Scotland.
- Bourdieu, P. et al (1999). *The weight of the world: social suffering in contemporary society*. Polity: Cambridge.
- Brodie, I. Nottingham, C., & Plunkett, S. (2008). A tale of two reports: Social work in Scotland from *Social Work and the Community* (1966) to *Changing Lives* (2006) *British Journal of Social Work* 38 (4), 697-715
- Butler, I., & Drakeford, M. (2001). Which Blair project? Communitarianism, social authoritarianism and social work. *Journal of Social Work*, 1(1), 7-24.
- Catts, R., & Ozga, J. (2005). 'What is social capital and how might it be used in Scottish Schools?' *CES briefing 36*. Edinburgh: Centre for Educational Sociology, University of Edinburgh.
- Children in Scotland (2008) *Working it out: developing the children's sector workforce*. Edinburgh: Children in Scotland.
- Christie, D., & Menmuir, J. (2005). Supporting interprofessional collaboration in Scotland through a Common Standards Framework Policy. *Futures in Education*, 3(1), 62-74.
- Clarke, J. (1998). Thriving on chaos? Managerialism and the welfare state. In J. Carter (Ed.) *Postmodernity and the fragmentation of welfare*. (pp.171-186). London: Routledge
- Clarke, J., & Newman, J. (1997). *The Managerial State: power, politics and ideology in the remaking of social welfare*. London: Sage.
- Cree, V. (2008) Researching social work: Reflections on a contested profession. Inaugural Lecture, University of Edinburgh 29th January 2008.
- Cree, V., & Davis, A. (2007). *Social Work: Voices from the inside*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Crerar, L. (2007) Report of the Independent Review of Regulation, Audit, Inspection and Complaints Handling of Public Services in Scotland. Scottish Government, www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2007/09/25120506/0 [Accessed: 19 September 2008].
- Dahlberg, G., & Moss, P. (2005). *Ethics and politics in early childhood education*. London: Routledge/Falmer.
- Ferguson, H. (2004). *Protecting children in time: Child abuse, child protection and the consequences of Modernity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ferguson, I. (2007). Increasing user choice or privatizing risk? The antinomies of personalization. *British Journal of Social Work*, 37(3), 387-403.
- Forrester, D. Kershaw, S, Moss, H., & Hughes, L. (2008). Communication skills in child protection: how do social workers talk to parents? *Child and Family Social Work*, 13, 41-51.
- Garrett, P.M. (2004). Talking child protection. The police and social workers 'working together'. *Journal of Social Work* 4(1),77-97
- Goldson, B. (2002). New Labour, social justice and children: Political calculation and the deserving-undeserving schism. *British Journal of Social Work*, 32 (6), 683-695.
- Hiddleston, V. (2006). *The Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968*. Paper presented at the Social Work History Network. Edinburgh University, 3rd November 2006
- Higham, P. (2001). Changing practice and an emerging social pedagogue paradigm in England: The role of the personal advisor. *Social Work In Europe* 8 (1), 21-31.
- Humphrey, J. C. (2003). New Labour and the regulatory reform of social care. *Critical Social Policy*, 23 (1),5-24.
- International Federation of Social Workers. *Ethics in social work. Statement of principals*. <http://www.ifsw.org/en/f38000027.html> [Accessed: 15 December 2008]
- Jackson, P. (2004). Rights and representation in the Scottish Children's Hearings System. In J. McGee, M. Mellon, & B. Whyte (Eds.), *Meeting needs, addressing deeds - working with young people who offend* (pp.71-79). Glasgow: NCH Scotland.
- Kilbrandon, L (1964). *The Kilbrandon report: Children and young persons Scotland* Edinburgh: Scottish home and health department. Edinburgh: Scottish Education Department. www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2003/10/18259/26877 [Accessed: 08 September 2008].
- Lavalette, M., & Ferguson, I. (2007). (Eds.). *International social work and the radical tradition*, London: Venture Press.
- Levitas, R. (1998). *The inclusive society? Social exclusion and New Labour*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Lorenz, W. (2008). Paradigms and politics: Understanding methods paradigms in an historical context: The Case of Social Pedagogy. *British Journal of Social Work*, 38(4),625-644.
- McGhee, J., & Waterhouse, L. (1998). Justice and welfare: has the *Children (Scotland) Act 1995* shifted the balance? *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law*, 20(1), 49-63.
- McGhee, J., & Waterhouse, L. (2007). Care and protection in Scottish child welfare: evidence of double jeopardy? *European Journal of Social Work*, 10 (2), 145 - 160.
- McLaughlin, K. (2007). Regulation and risk in social work: The General Social Care Council and the Social Care Register in context. *British Journal of Social Work*, 37 (7),1263-1277.
- Menter, I. (2007). Service integration in schools: research and policy discourses and future prospects: The Scottish scene and implications for teachers. In J. Forbes (Ed.), *How service integration is working is operating in practice in the Scotland, Northern Ireland and England and Wales policy contexts: ESRC seminar 2 proceedings*. (pp.7-20). Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen
- Nottingham, C. (2007). The rise of the insecure professionals. *International Review of Social History*, 52, 445-475.
- Orme, J (2001). Regulation or fragmentation? Directions for social work under New Labour. *British Journal of Social Work*, 31, 611-624.
- Paterson, L. (2000). Scottish democracy and Scottish utopias: The first year of the Scottish Parliament. *Scottish Affairs*, 33, 45-61. http://www.scottishaffairs.org/onlinepub/sa/paterson_sa33_aut00.html [Accessed: 07 November 2008]
- Petrie, P. (2004). Pedagogy – a holistic, personal approach to work with children and young people across services; European models for practice, training, education and qualification. Unpublished paper, Thomas Coram Research Unit, IoE, University of London.
- Piper, H., & Stronach, I. (2008). *Don't Touch! The educational story of a panic*. London, Routledge.
- Pollitt, C. (1990). *Managerialism and the public services: The Anglo-American experience*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Roe, W. (2008). 21st century social work. In *Working it out: developing the children's sector workforce*. Edinburgh: Children in Scotland, pp.35-38
- Sachs, J., & Mellor, L. (2005). Risk anxiety, child panic and child protection: a critical examination of policies from Queensland and New South Wales. *Journal of Education Policy*, 20(2),131-146
- Salmond, A. (2007). Interview with Andrew Marr, 20th May, 2007 news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/sunday_am/6673891.stm [Accessed:18 September 2008].
- Scottish Executive (2006a). *Changing Lives: 21st Century Social Work Review*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.
- Scottish Executive. (2006b). *Getting it right for every child. An implementation plan*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.
- Scottish Executive. (2004). *A curriculum for excellence. The curriculum review group*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.
- Scottish Government (2007). Service development change programme. Personalisation: An agreed understanding <http://www.socialworkscotland.org.uk/resources/private/Personalisation.pdf> [Accessed: 15 September 2008].
- Scottish Office. (1999) *Aiming for Excellence: Modernising social work services in Scotland*. Edinburgh: The Stationery Office.
- Smith, M., & Whyte, B. (2008). Social education and social pedagogy: reclaiming a Scottish tradition in social work. *European Journal of Social Work*, 11(1), 15-28
- Tronto, J. (1993). *Moral boundaries: A political argument for an ethic of care*. London: Routledge
- UK Parliament (1942) *Social insurance and allied services*. Report by Sir William Beveridge. London: HMSO

Wright Mills, C. (1959). *The sociological imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press.