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BROADENING THE VISION: LAW TEACHING, SOCIAL WORK AND CIVIL SOCIETY¹

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Abstract

In the context of debates about social work's relationship with individuals, the state and civil society, educators face a challenge. How best to ensure that professional education prepares practitioners to engage with the task of promoting social justice and human rights? This paper draws on a systematic knowledge review of learning, teaching and assessment of one key subject area in social work education - that of law - to explore the contribution legal knowledge and skills can make to social work's engagement with its vision of empowerment and liberation.

Key Words:

law, social work education, social work practice, social change, civil society

Introduction

Engagement with social change is a key focus of social work practice. The definition of social work adopted by the International Association of Schools of Social Work³, with its twin emphases on social justice and human rights, presents educators with the challenge of ensuring that all aspects of the social work curriculum prepare students to promote the vision of empowerment and liberation. More specifically, the theme of the Global Social Work Congress 2004 - Reclaiming Civil Society – invited educators to consider how social work can develop its contribution to the social, political and economic networks in the civil space between individuals and the state. Law is one key aspect of the social work curriculum that deserves scrutiny in both these contexts.

The strength of the relationship between law and social work practice varies, however, from one national jurisdiction to another. In the UK, legal frameworks have a high profile within the range of core mandates for professional practice (Braye and Preston-Shoot, 1997) and law is prescribed by government as an essential component of the qualification curriculum

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³ "The social work profession promotes social change, problem solving in human relationships and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance wellbeing. Utilising theories of human behaviour and social systems, social work intervenes at the points where people interact with their environments. Principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work."

(Department of Health, 2002). In the United States, by contrast, educators have struggled to locate law within the time-table (Kopels and Gustavsson, 1996). The importance attached to law teaching, therefore, risks being constrained by national contexts.

Local features of the legal framework in different jurisdictions also compromise the potential of law teaching to engage with the social change agenda. Legal mandates for responding to need in the UK context, for example, predominantly locate professional intervention at the level of individual problem-solving. Yet global developments require social work to develop a broadened vision. The movement of peoples between jurisdictions challenges the preoccupation with national contexts. conventions⁴ are important tools for social workers seeking to engage with the social context in which human need arises. In addition, professional values as expressed in ethical codes (NASW, 1996; IASSW and IFSW, 2004) and the voice of people who use services (for example, Oliver, 1992) both call for responses to human need that step beyond individual deficit. This requires educators to help students move beyond a view of law as a tool for individual intervention by the state to seeing it as a proactive tool for collective action to promote social justice and human rights⁵. But where is current education practice located in terms of this agenda, and how might it be developed to support a broadened vision of the relationship between law and practice for social change?

To address these questions, this paper draws on findings from a systematic review of knowledge on teaching, learning and assessment of law in social work education (Braye and Preston-Shoot, et al., 2005). The review was commissioned by the Social Care Institute for Excellence in the UK as part of a series of studies in core curriculum areas to support the introduction of new social work degrees in the UK from 2003. The review had two components:-

- A systematic review of international literature, evaluating both published and unpublished research;
- A survey of education practice on programmes in the four countries of the UK: England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.

The methodology is reported elsewhere in detail (Braye and Preston-Shoot et al., 2005). In summary, the research review involved the systematic search for and sifting of published and unpublished accounts of research in the subject area, quality assessment of the material selected using appropriate

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⁴ For example, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

⁵ It should be acknowledge that social work education and practice are at various stages of development. Where systems are in the early stages of (re)development, this could mean additional barriers to engaging in social change. The contested nature of human rights in some national contexts, coupled with diverse conceptions of the need and/or goals for social welfare policy, further complicate the educational task.

quality criteria (Boaz et al.,2002; Pawson et al., 2003), and in-depth data extraction and narrative synthesis (Campbell et al., 2003). The practice survey involved analysis of data from postal questionnaires, telephone interviews, focus groups, documentary analysis and quality assurance reports, drawing on the views of educators, practice teachers, students and inspectors. Two consultation events sought the views of a range of stakeholders, including a wide range of service user and carer perspectives.

From the data can be drawn a number of observations about how the relationship between law and social work practice is represented in professional education and the contribution of legal knowledge to the tasks of promoting social change and reclaiming civil society.

Locating social work in civil society

Braithwaite and Strang (2001: 1) define civil society broadly as "all those institutions that are intermediate between the individual and the state". This would include schools, churches, private workplaces, trades unions, indigenous organisations and social movements, of which membership is voluntary and where self-regulatory norms and trust are the glue that holds things together. Such organisations transcend the parochial lovalties that characterise families, clans or tribes, whilst remaining independent of the state (Dinnen, 2001). They are increasingly seen as having potential to enable rights and traditions to be reclaimed and strengthened, resisting the impacts of globalisation and thus as natural sites for social work to pursue social justice and human rights agendas (Dominelli, 2004). Powell (2001: 120), whilst noting fierce debates about the nature of civil society, identifies its potential to act as "a powerful means of civil renewal in an era of social fragmentation". But this is by no means an uncontested notion. Ferguson and Lavalette (2004), reviewing how civil society has developed as an umbrella term referring to organised groupings of resistance against the state, are sceptical about its potential as a coherent location for social change. Through the very diversity of interests therein, including those of the corporate market, it is characterised by contradiction and inequality and potentially becomes an arena for the pursuit of private capitalism.

The impact of welfare markets lends further credence to these doubts. If the state creates or nurtures civil society institutions through the provision of funding for outcomes agreed with government, do these institutions retain the key features of independence and intermediacy? The mainstreaming of the third sector in social welfare provision has been seen severely to compromise the campaigning functions and core purpose of many non-governmental organisations, Shearing (2001: 18), for example, commenting, "states have sought deliberately both to encourage and regulate the involvement of local partners in ways that are state compliant".

Whilst detailed debates about civil society are beyond the scope of this paper, it is clear enough that its potential as a location for both liberation and oppression makes it an important arena for social work. The question here

remains what contribution does law teaching make to preparing social workers to be active in this context?

The Systematic knowledge review

Literature identified in the systematic review was predominantly drawn from the UK, North America and Australia. The practice survey was conducted within the four UK countries. Thus the evidence reflects the law/practice relationships in those national contexts. For example in the UK the legal framework is characterised by a remedial approach to need. It mandates services to compensate for perceived deficits in individuals' circumstances, such as functional impairment or poor parenting, but not to address broader mechanisms of exclusion, such as poverty. Exclusion and oppression are framed in law as individual rather than collective experiences. People have few rights to social services. The fact that a legal framework of this nature has such a dominant position within professional practice poses a particular challenge in seeking to broaden perspectives.

The absence of literature elsewhere may reflect the fact that legal mandates are not as extensively developed or articulated, or not as connected to professional practice. Mandates such as community development or community action may be more prominent in framing social work's purpose, where roles involve capacity building and the promotion of community resilience and cohesion in response to local, regional, national and global forces. Alternatively, understanding of legal systems and the development of law may be subsumed within teaching of social policy and administration. However, the systematic literature search failed to uncover discussion of law teaching within social policy courses, but did highlight how different legal and policy systems view such issues as professional accountability and duty of care.

With these caveats, it has been possible to identify a number of debates about law teaching in the literature and in education practice, of which three are particularly pertinent to the question of broadening the vision.

1. Why do social workers need to learn about the law?

The essential debate here is whether the aim of teaching is to produce critical thinkers or technicians with hands-on skills – a question originally identified by Twining (1967), contrasting the intellectual activity of philosophy with the technical abilities of plumbing.

In the UK both the literature and the practice survey show that technical knowledge of the law, and the ability to apply it in practice, are prioritised in teaching. Critical analysis is less commonly sought, particularly the kind that interrogates the legal frameworks. Thus, whilst law is recognised as central to the curriculum, it is technical knowledge that dominates, with a particular focus on the legal frameworks for state-led activity.

An Australian survey (Sheehan and Ryan, 2004) suggests that technical knowledge of the law predominates in that context also, with a focus on knowledge and skills for practice and teaching around key tasks and client groups. Swain (1999) also argues that learning should focus on acquisition and application of knowledge, and on skill development.

The North American literature shows less emphasis on technical legal knowledge, exploring rather the use of legal frameworks in the pursuit of ethical social work practice (Dickson, 1997; Watkinson, 2001). Nonetheless, the imperative of knowledge for competent practice remains strong, with published examples of what curricula should cover both in respect of traditional client groups and to ensure ethical and accountable work (Jankovic and Green, 1981; Kopels and Gustavsson, 1996).

Whilst the UK practice survey indicates that an emphasis on professional values in law teaching is not uncommon, law is sometimes presented (and often interpreted by students and practitioners) as somehow oppositional to social work values. The law is seen as a necessary but negative instrument, spoiling the relationship between service users and professionals when the latter have to 'inflict' it. The same is seen to be the case in Australian context, where Kennedy with Richards (2004) comments on negative social work reactions to law, driven by emotion rather than objective assessment.

There is, however, some limited evidence of a developing emphasis on ethics in UK teaching, potentially promising a stronger framework for critical thinking. Preston-Shoot and colleagues (2001) have sought to identify where law in fact supports professional values. Indeed, writers from Australia, the US and the UK are beginning to emphasise the social and political context in which law operates. This focus covers critical policy analysis, the functions of law in society, and the interface between social issues and legal rules (Braye and Preston-Shoot, 1997; Lynch and Brawley, 1994; Madden and Wayne, 2003; Swain, 1999).

2. What should students learn?

Essentially the emphasis in the UK is on the legal frameworks for services to individuals, within the context of some individual deficit or need. There is less attention to the potential for law to promote service users' rights and empowerment, or ways in which the law might lead social work to engage in collective action. Whilst there is developing emphasis on human rights, since implementation of the Human Rights Act 1998⁶, and on administrative law as a framework for accountability of both professionals and agencies (Braye and Preston-Shoot, 1999), this appears not yet to have changed the fundamental emphasis on individual problem-solving approaches to professional intervention. The US literature similarly emphasises teaching of the legal rules that enable individuals to access provision. Legal accountability receives

⁶ The Human Rights Act 1998 incorporates the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms into UK law

greater prominence, however, reflecting perhaps the greater extent to which social work is delivered through private practice.

The Australian literature provides a mixed picture of the degree to which social workers are taught human rights law and administrative law (Sheehan and Ryan, 2004; Swain, 1999). However, the literature is beginning to advocate a move beyond concern with the immediate needs of individual clients to broader questions of policy (for example, Charlesworth et al., 2000), scrutinising the legislative basis of policy and deciding when to work for law reform.

3. How should students learn?

The literature reflects a number of debates about the relative merits of different approaches to law teaching for social workers. A key question is whether law should be taught as a discrete subject, or integrated with other aspects of the curriculum. There is evidence that discrete delivery models predominate in Australia (Sheehan and Ryan (2004) as in the UK (Braye and Preston-Shoot et al., 2005). Infusion models of teaching, whilst less common, are praised for mirroring how law is drawn upon in practice (Gustavsson and Kopels, 1996; Ward and Hogg, 1993), but criticised for lacking depth and attention to technical legal knowledge (Ball et al., 1988; Madden, 2000; Swain, 1999). What is significant about the debate in the context of the question being addressed in this paper is that technical legal knowledge and its application to problem solving in practice dominates the process of learning.

Whichever model is favoured, law remains located predominantly within learning that takes place within the academic institution. Arguably this represents further missed opportunities to locate law as a living tool to address broader issues in the lives of people who use human services. There is recognition that insufficient emphasis has been placed on law in practice learning, in both a UK (Preston-Shoot, 2000) and Australian context (Sheehan and Ryan, 2004). The practice survey found dissatisfaction amongst students about this aspect of their studies.

Assessment methods are inherently influenced by the nature of the legal frameworks in the national context. Thus in the UK students are assessed on how well they apply their law knowledge to situations of individual need and can identify mandates for service provision. It is, however, relatively rare to assess understanding of human rights frameworks, or anti-discriminatory legislation or levels of critical analysis.

In relation to the question of who teaches law, whilst both legal and social work academics and practitioners are commonly involved in teaching, it is relatively rare for service users to be involved, despite a strongly expressed requirement in the UK (Department of Health, 2002) for their participation in all aspects of professional qualification degrees. The service users who participated in this knowledge review, in contrast, felt it was crucial for social

workers to learn from first hand accounts about the impact of law on service users' lives, and to work more proactively as allies, using law as a proactive tool for pursuing their rights.

Implications for education practice

It is hard to escape the conclusion, drawing on the evidence from the study, that law teaching as currently practised does not support the potential of the profession to be proactive in promoting social justice and human rights. Equally, it predominantly addresses the individual/state relationship rather than activity in the networks and groupings of civil society. In the UK context at least, the individual, remedial law that is seen as the defining mandate for social work dominates what students learn. Moreover, because it is seen as the defining mandate, the emphasis upon it potentially constrains social work's ability to act outside of this framework, with a temptation to ignore aspects of potential practice that appear not to fall within it. Nevertheless, ways forward can be identified.

There emerge from the research data three distinct orientations to law teaching for social workers. Within these approaches are demonstrated different configurations of knowledge, skills and values, and it will be argued that law teaching must draw more systematically on each of them in order to broaden its vision and engage with the social change agenda.

FIGURE ONE HERE

The rational/technical model presents the law as a clear, uncontested framework for action, emphasising factual knowledge of the powers and duties contained within it. This is to be applied to practice in a procedurally correct way, acting within the constraints and boundaries of the organisational framework.

The moral/ethical model adopts a more critical perspective. It recognises conflicting imperatives and practice dilemmas in the relationship between law and practice, emphasising the professional values and skills that assist in managing those dilemmas and negotiating a way forward in practice. Both models still construe social work's activity within the legal framework as a way of meeting need, and predominantly need expressed at individual level.

The structural/rights model takes as its starting point that social work's core function is to promote social justice and human rights. Law may be used to challenge the power structures and processes of social exclusion and to secure rights at both individual and collective level. It draws on a wider construction of the legal framework, and locates its critical analysis within a human rights perspective.

It is open to social work educators both to expand and to move beyond the rational/technical model, with its focus on law that provides for state-led responses to need, which is dominant in current education practice (Braye

and Preston-Shoot et al., 2005). This is not a question of downgrading the status of technical legal knowledge, but of defining it more widely, and drawing more overtly on ethics and rights perspectives to ensure that such knowledge is approached critically.

Ethical frameworks can be used proactively to interrogate both the legal rules and the purpose of legal intervention. UK guidance on the content of professional education is only partially helpful here. Both the National Occupational Standards (TOPSS, 2002) and the Code of Practice (GSCC, 2002) present a restricted view of professional roles and ethical duties, constructed essentially around the obligations owed within individual service relationships between professionals and service users, or between professionals and their employers. In contrast the New Ethical Document adopted by the general assemblies of IASSW and IFSW (2004) frames social work's obligations within principles of human rights and social justice, and provides a framework for delivering practice that gives expression to these. It locates, for example (p4), a responsibility to challenge unjust policies and practices, where resources are inadequate or distributed oppressively, unfairly or harmfully.

A structural/rights based approach, with stronger development of human rights as an organising principle, would bring law and ethics together in a stronger alliance for professional activity that is not confined to remedial, state-led provision. In the UK context, this is supported by the subject benchmark statement for social work (QAA, 2000), which places strong emphasis on social work's involvement with the social, legal, economic, political and cultural contexts of people's lives. Such an approach can also involve social workers using law to mediate the negative impacts of state There have been some notable challenges to UK statute that infringes rights. For example, the courts have determined on asylum-seekers denied access to state support, allowed redress against poor practice and ruled on questions of liberty, family life and proportional intervention by statutory organisations⁹. Sometimes social work has been implicated in these challenges. Less often has it supported individuals and civil society organisations in seeking social justice or promoting human rights.

A structural/rights based approach would therefore require social workers to acquire critical literacy of where the track record of law has eroded people's rights (Swain, 2002) and to work with individuals and civil society organisations to oppose legal rules that deny people access to such fundamentals as housing and social security (Humphries, 2004).

⁷ R (O) v Wandsworth LBC [2000] 3 CCLR 237; R (Q and Others) v Secretary of State for the Home Department [2003] 6 CCLR 136.

⁸ R v Birmingham CC, ex parte Killigrew [2000] 3 CCLR 109; R (Bernard and Another) v Enfield LBC [2002] 5 CCLR 577.

⁹ Johnson v UK [1997] 27 EHRR 296; Coughlan v North and East Devon Health Authority [1999] 2 CCLR 285.

This involves pushing back the definitions of the relevant legal framework that students must learn in two important ways. The first is to distinguish between social work law and social welfare law (Preston-Shoot et al., 1998). If the former comprises the powers and duties that specifically mandate social work practice, the latter comprises knowledge of legal rules that enable social workers to offer advice and advocacy across a wide social and economic spectrum, and to engage with individuals and communities to build capacity for higher order social change. Academic and practice learning should give greater prominence to social welfare law than hitherto. This would enable practitioners to enlarge their practice by offering their legal knowledge when aligning themselves with community organisations.

The second is to ensure the inclusion in teaching of mandates for promoting individual and collective rights (examples in the UK context would be the Disability Discrimination Act 1995, the Human Rights Act 1998 and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000). It also means challenging the preoccupation with local jurisdictions in law teaching and looking outside the national context, encouraging students and practitioners to engage with global (or at least trans-national) legal frameworks that reflect a more rightsorientated, collective agenda - the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and others less widely acknowledged (see Reichert, 2003). This is not a straightforward task, because the declarations and conventions themselves are partial in their approach, more easily locating civil and political rights than social and economic. Nation states also vary in the extent to which they have integrated them within their national framework. However, in the UK context it is possible to demonstrate impacts on domestic legislation in directions that accord well with social work values and objectives. European Commission law has required measures to counter discrimination on grounds of age, religion and sexuality. The European Convention has been successfully invoked on questions of liberty of people with mental distress 10, and redress for the consequences of unethical or unreasonable professional practice¹¹.

Conclusion

It must also be recognised that the declarations and frameworks themselves represent only one way of construing human rights. Moving from a rational/technical model to incorporate a stronger focus on ethics and on rights-based approaches will require social work to reflect more critically on the purposes to which law should be put, to critique the frameworks under which they operate and to move beyond them where they constrain ethical practice. Broadening the vision requires academic and practice teachers to enable students to envisage the law as one space to exploit for individual and social change. It requires them to prepare students for a practice that equips them with the knowledge and skills with which to challenge legal rules that run

¹⁰ L v UK [2004] The Times, 19 October.

¹¹ W and others v Essex CC and Another [2000] 2 AlIER 237.

counter to social work values and objectives. It invites more proactive engagement with civil society as an important location for intervention, rather than restricting social work to the role of mediating state/individual relationships. Here an important step is dialogue with people who use services, with excluded groups and with communities. Service users participating in the review reported here called for social workers to become allies, to work alongside them and alongside lawyers. In their words — "sound use of law can be another step on the way to getting things right for people".

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FIGURE ONE

