PART FIVE: Professional education and socialisation

TITLE: Contesting doxa in social work education

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Social work has traditionally inhabited the sociological position of seeing private troubles as experienced by individuals as often symptomatic of greater social problems more widely felt. Social work's core commitment to social justice and human rights reinforces this position, and is arguably what distinguishes social work from other professions (Weiss & Kaufman, 2006). However, the intensification of neoliberalism challenges the very core of social work. The focus on welfare austerity marketisation, globalisation and individual responsibility has served to accelerate inequality and marginalisation, "producing fabulous riches for some and terrible poverty for others." (Beck, 2000, p.33). Austerity squarely places the cost of capitalism on the masses who "played no part in its creation." (Ferguson & Lavalette, 2013, p.96). The social work profession struggles to retain its core values in the savagely reduced welfare state that has pushed millions of citizens into poverty.

Amplified micromanagement of social services, targeting of welfare support, and privatisation and contracting have contributed to social work becoming more micro-practice focused (Ferguson & Woodward, 2009). This trend sits alongside governments repurposing social services as a means of surveillance and control of the 'dangerous classes' (Duvnkak & Fraser, 2013; Ferguson & Lavelette, 2013; Hyslop, 2016 a and b; Keddell, 2015). Social problems are individualised and depoliticised, conceptualising people as the problem and deferring responsibility to change onto them while rendering poverty and inequality invisible (Featherstone, 2016). Social work conforms to and reproduces austerity and neoliberal politics through discourses of risk, vulnerability, eligibility and targeting (Duvnjak & Fraser, 2013), reinforcing individual responsibility and stigma.

The domination of social work by risk discourses, bureaucracy and managerialism has limited the extent to which social workers can exercise professional autonomy and expertise (Briskman, 2013). In fact, social workers may find themselves with moral and ethical

dilemma of conflicted loyalties: where their loyalty to 'clients/service users' is "compromised by obligation to the employing body, which may represent the interests of the State." (Briskman, 2013, p.54). These conditions effectively silence social workers (Briskman, 2013), who often feel unable to speak out about unjust policies because of the repercussions to their employment. Social work has been cut loose from its roots in social justice struggle. Briskman (2013) warns that if social work is not positioned as a political profession, it is simply maintaining the status quo. "Mainstream liberal social work" write McKendrick and Webb (2014, p. 359) has become captured by a discourse of both political neutrality and a sense of futility. And yet they argue as have Grey and Webb (2013), that the renewal of political consciousness and fresh analyses amidst the current crisis encourages social work to engage again in radical discourse. A critical and radical social work, drawing on compelling economic analyses (Harvey, 2010), critical social policy research and commentary (Crossley, 2015; Tyler, 2013) and increasingly persuasive social work scholarship (Bywaters, Brady, Sparks, & Bos, 2016; Featherstone, 2016; Gupta & Blumhardt, 2017) is lifting the scales from eyes that would be neutral. The new radical social work "political project confronts, unsettles and agitates. For some it may be difficult to be sure whether one is for or against a radical social work stance; things become a little clearer when one understands that the decision is also a choice for or against social justice" (McKendrick & Webb, 2014, p.358).

Social work professional bodies and institutions such as schools of social work have a major role to play in challenging any acceptance of the political formation of the social conditions exposed in the critical literature as being 'just the way things are' (Beddoe & Keddell, 2016). But how has social work education itself fared in this current regime?

Social work education in conditions of neoliberalism

Social work education holds the responsibility for shaping students' future practice. An important part of this role is to impart a critical perspective on the society in which social workers practice. This includes a critique of social work itself and the ethos of its practice under conditions of neoliberalism. Because of its marginality, social work educators have an obligation to simultaneously educate for the profession while encouraging students to critique it. This is not an easy task as the remit from 'the field' is to send graduates out ready for a practice that is often mired in bureaucracy, unduly focused on surveillance, investigation and

unwelcome intervention. To teach *how* to practice while encouraging critical appraisal of that same practice is confronting and challenging for students as well. Longer degree programmes in many countries have also changed student bodies, more coming from school or very brief engagement in the workforce (Beddoe & Keddell, 2016) and their motivations may be for a romanticised from of practice that exists only in small pockets.

This is not to say students come to education as empty vessels to be filled. Many social work students come with rich life experience, motivated by reflections on personal troubles or passions about public issues, many with both as care leavers or service users themselves. But many also come with a set of unchallenged ideas about the communities they will work with. They will almost certainly have been exposed to stigmatising media representations of the poor, limited or racist understanding of those beyond their own community and often quite firm ideas about what people need 'to be fixed'. They will have been immersed in doxa: the assumptions about the current order of social life that is taken for granted in society. Education can reproduce such assumptions, or it can unsettle them.

In *Outline of a theory of practice*, Bourdieu (2003, p.166) observed that "the established cosmological and political order is perceived not as arbitrary, i.e. as one possible among others, but as a self-evident and natural order which goes without saying and therefore goes unquestioned". For Bourdieu doxa limit social change and development—by ingraining assumptions about groups of people so deeply those groups (and importantly for social work, teachers, health workers and so forth) those who work alongside them) do not believe things can be different. Doxa are more than just systems of belief, they determine actions, for children being limited in their aspirations because that higher education is not 'for people like us'. While Bourdieu mainly wrote about education and the way teachers' and students' expectations of success or failure were embedded in their class position, contemporary political and public discourses on welfare also feed and perpetuate doxa and this is why this concept is so useful for social work.

Bourdieu famously depicted social workers as "agents of the state" who are "shot through with the contradictions of the state" (Bourdieu in Bourdieu et al.,1999, p. 184). He did however recognise the dilemmas of social work and its uncomfortable positioning alongside both the most marginalised and the state bureaucracies that employed them or with whom

they had to engage in advocacy. In '*The weight of the world'*, a compilation of writing about the effects of neoliberalism, Bourdieu wrote social workers would "feel abandoned, if not disowned outright, in their efforts to deal with the material and moral suffering that is the only certain consequence" of the unconstrained neoliberal regime (Bourdieu in Bourdieu et al., 2002, p. 183). Garrett (2007, p.238) noted that Bourdieu was "alert to the problems encountered by individual social workers, encased in public sector bureaucracies during a period of neo-liberal ascendancy" particularly the clash between "the logic of social work, which is not without a certain prophetic militancy or inspired benevolence, and that of bureaucracy, with its discipline and its prudence" (Bourdieu et al., 2002, p. 190). Bourdieu recognised the mediating role of social workers, a paradoxical role where "bureaucratic institutions …can only function, with more or less difficulty, thanks to the initiative, the inventiveness, if not the charisma of those functionaries who are the least imprisoned in their function" (p.191). Bourdieu's analysis assists us as educators to ensure that graduates are equipped with the analytical thinking skills to understand the contradictions inherent in their role and to counter doxic thinking which underpins so much conventional social policy.

Most social work education programmes worldwide affiliate to the global definition of social work which places human rights and social justice at the forefront of the values that underpin their curriculum (International Federation of Social Workers, 2014). Furthermore, the Global Standards for Social Work Education state that a core purpose of social work is to "engage in social and political action to impact social policy and economic development, and to effect change by critiquing and eliminating inequalities" (International Association of Schools of Social Work, 2004, p.3). These standards indicate and reinforce the need for social work to be positioned as a political profession (Briskman, 2013).

However, social work education has abandoned its emancipatory focus, instead, assert, Morley, MacFarlane, and Ablett (2014, p.42) it colludes "with neoliberal discourses to train practitioners to assess, treat and manage apparently dysfunctional others, while accepting existing inequalities … and making concessions to oppressive conditions, rather than exposing the … injustices these create and seeking to change them". In a review of social work education accreditation standards of the social work programmes in Australia, Canada, England, Hong Kong, Ireland, New Zealand and Scotland an explicitly political focus and a mandate for a clear political analysis of poverty and oppression could not be found (Bartley, 2017). Such a mandate would be deemed necessary if students are to be prepared to avoid

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unwittingly contributing to stigma and social exclusion (Beddoe & Keddell, 2016). All these standards stand alongside the code of ethics of each country's professional association, and include various aspects of social justice, but none explicitly direct educators to what 'social justice' is, or the extent to which social work students should be taught to implement it in their practice. Without a strong focus on the structural factors that are the root causes of social issues, social work education may find itself reproducing conservative worldviews, dressed up as neutrality, focused on producing efficient practitioners, rather than developing social workers with a commitment to social justice (Morley, 2016).

For the most part, social work education seems to be politically neutral in its pedagogy (Morley, 2016). Bartley (2017) noted that there was sparse emphasis on teaching on neoliberalism and the broad impact it has on social work practice, and though students are taught that they *should* critique and challenge injustice, there are no curriculum standards that address how politically active a social worker is able to be. This may be because social work is becoming increasingly oriented towards micro practice and consequentially social work students may be unable to recognise the extent to which the personal is political, and are instead, according to Swank, "not enamoured with political activism and prefer a career in micro-practice." (2012, p.246). Students who do not receive critical social work teaching are unlikely to adopt it into their practice (De Maria, 1992), or recognise the vital need for social workers to be politically active in their professional lives (Briskman, 2013).

Social work students' political activity

Social work students are of course influenced by what practices they observe within their education. And, what they see of political analysis and activism is the practice of social work academics and social work practice educators / supervisors while on placement. In a depoliticised curriculum and a constrained practice world this may be very limited. In New Zealand while political activity is mandated for social workers by the Code of Ethics (Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers, 2013), for those who work directly for the state, or for non-government agencies that receive state funding, powerful forces also discourage political activism. The New Zealand State Services Commission clearly maintains a politically neutrality policy for state workers (civil service) (State Services Commission [SSC], 2010). The policy requires state workers to be "apolitical when carrying out their

duties" (SSC, 2010, n.p), and that they are to act impartially when carrying out government policies.

Another SSC guideline states that, when commenting on issues of the day, state workers are to "ensure that it is clear to others that their contributions are made as private individuals not representatives." (SSC, 2014, p.7), though these political contributions cannot put the employer or the organisation into disrepute. In practice it is my understanding based on discussion in 'professional' social media , that many social work employers misinterpret the political neutrality guideline, or implement it as such, as to restrict all political activity of employees, and though this likely breaches employment law, it has created a climate of fear (Darroch, 2015) for social workers who feel unable to speak out about issues, or to practice from a critical theory base that challenges the dominant power structures that create and maintain injustice (Morley, 2016). Essentially, this gag-clause silences social workers who, given their unique proximity to oppression and injustice, should be at the fore-front of voicing change. "Those who speak for the marginalised have themselves been marginalised." (Grey & Sedgwick, 2013, p.4).

While a review found no studies of the political activities of social work students which reported a fear of repercussions from current or future employers the exhortation to remain politically neutral is likely to hinder political involvement. However, it has been noted that while on social work placement, a student was told by a manager that he should not be seen to be taking a public political stance (Darroch, 2015). It may well be that, in Aotearoa New Zealand at least, students are witnessing a sense of political passivity while on placement, and even in the social work classroom and this is leading them in similar directions of focusing on micro-practice rather than a political agenda of social change. While many social workers aspire to social justice aims and will enact their values every day at micro practice level, the next step is to actively challenge oppressive structures. Reporting on a New Zealand study of social work and social justice Darroch (2017, p.89) notes that "challenging existing power structures and combatting inequality can be scary, particularly if doing so may risk one's career, or result in censure" and this fear, along with lack of skills and confidence is severely limiting social work activism.

Internationally research has explored the political behaviour of social work students. A US study (Swank, 2012) surveyed 125 BSW students, and self-identified as liberal or

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conservative. The students' political affiliation was measured across various forms of political activism, namely electoral behaviour such as writing a letter, signing a petition, contributing financially to a political candidate, or volunteering time for a political cause; and protest behaviour such as attending lawful demonstrations or participating in civil disobedience. The study found that, overall, electoral involvement was much more common, with 75% of students signing a petition at least once, and around 30% volunteering for a political cause, writing a letter or displaying a political button (Swank, 2012). Less than 20% of students had attended a protest demonstration, and only six students had participated in civil disobedience.

Demographic factors such as gender, ethnicity and rural or urban origins were not significant indicators. Female students were less likely to be involved in any political activism, although the only statistically significant difference was the protest behaviour of conservative women. Similarly, having a rural background lessened political activism, but significant only for liberal students' protest behaviour. Again, people of colour were generally less politically active than white Americans, but the only significant difference was in the electoral behaviour of conservative students. Socialisation among politically active family or friends had little impact on students, however political activism increased when students were personally asked to join a political cause. Students who were involved in or had access to social networks that actively sought to increase political activism were more likely to be politically active themselves. Importantly, when students held a personal commitment to social justice, they were more likely to engage in political activism, and to resort to protests and confrontational actions when they were "convinced that the system needed more radical change and that electoral mechanisms seemed unresponsive to the demands of radical challengers." (Swank, 2012, p.260).

An earlier study of the political participation of social workers emphasised the significance of political efficacy and the extent to which participants believed that their participation would generate real change (Hamilton & Fauri, 2001). Political self-efficacy is defined as "an individual's belief that through their efforts they can impact political processes, and has been shows to be highly predictive of political participation and voting intent and behaviour." (Kushin & Yamamoto, 2010, p.610). Belief in the potential to influence was found to be one of the strongest predictors of political participation, which included the various activities similarly described by Swank (2012).

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Enabling a pedagogy of discomfort and challenge

To choose not to be politically active is not neutral, it "is to choose the status quo." (Darroch, 2015, n.p). Academics are generally not subject to requirements of political neutrality and indeed in many countries universities are described as nurturing those who will be the critic and conscience of society. In the academic response to neoliberalism this core expression of academic freedom is a mandate for speaking out. Harland, Tidswell, Everett, Hale, & Pickering, 2010, p.85) note that "Neoliberalism shifts academic life towards the authority of the market and is less concerned about freedom of thought and action". From this standpoint we have a double obligation to educate for a politically engaged social work. While most current social work programmes do promote social justice and the need for structural change, students may not always be taught how to engage effectively in political action, or indeed that gain an understanding that it is political action that will act as a catalyst for structural change. Educators could address this by offering students a broader understanding of social work, specifically incorporating community based practice (Preston, George & Silver, 2014). Swank (2012, p.261) argues that we must "try to convince students that politics is not a 'spectator sport'; that is social work ethics requires involvement in political struggles." Classroom activities should be designed to move students to a sense of informed outrage around poverty and stigma, and to develop students' political efficacy through writing and presenting submissions to the class and practicing advocacy, as well as attending protests and demonstrations, meeting politicians, and being exposed to the realities of poverty (Beddoe & Keddell, 2016). Educators must provide students not with just the facts about societal issues, but with a structural analysis of those issues, and the damage caused by individualistic neoliberal discourses.

In field education discrepancies occur when students are exposed to a critical education in the classroom, and then placed in a mainstream, agency-based practicum. Preston, George and Silver (2014) argue that the current agency-based model of field education is reinforcing the neoliberal doxa that we have tried to educate about. A transformative shift away from field placements that are focused on mainstream social work to community-based placed can provide opportunities for students to learn the skills of advocacy and to challenge the status quo, not reinforce it. It is important to note however that if social action is not sufficiently

integrated into teaching in the classroom, students who are placed in the social change organisations can potentially find that their experience is not congruent with the social work they had been taught. Placements may accentuate the dichotomy between micro and macro practice, and serve to emphasise that macro-work is undertaken by those outside of the profession as suggested by Weiss & Kaufman (2006). Russell (2017) writing about social work in a fully independent poverty advocacy organisation notes that too few social work students were prepared for the conflict that ensure when advocating for people's rights with a large state bureaucracy. Social action should be presented as a legitimate form of professional intervention, and students should be encouraged towards social action and what Russell terms 'competent solidarity'. In addition, students on placement should be given the opportunity to engage in intellectually demanding tasks such as research, writing and presenting submissions, involvement in campaign strategies, and participation in coalition building in relation to social issues that are impacting on their organisation's service users.

An Australian social work programme has reported on making a significant commitment to offering critical social work education (Morley, 2016). Students are politicised and conscientised via participation in a curriculum that focuses on community development, social action, critical reflection, anti-racism and social theory (O'Connor, Thomas, White, & Morley, 2016). Placements are not exclusively community-based, but students are encouraged to maintain critical reflection and dialogue while out in the field. Out of the formal curriculum emerged a student activist group called Social Work Action and Advocacy Network for Students (SWAANS), which engages in social action and change events (Morley, 2016). The relationship between the programme and SWAANS has allowed students to build solid foundations in critical practice and explore ways of being activist social workers. In a recent study Morley (2016) found that students' engagement with a critical social work education was an overwhelmingly significant catalyst for their involvement in SWAANS. Through their education and activism praxis, students gained a broader understanding of social work that is more socially and politically engaged, they learned to resist the dominant social forces of neoliberalism, and they have gained a tangible understanding of how the personal is political (Morley, 2016; O'Connor et. al., 2016).

One important step is to ensure that we educate poverty-aware social workers (Krumer-Nevo, 2017). In conditions of austerity poverty has been 'naturalised 'in neoliberal discourse. It is

too easy for people to fall into poverty when they have nil or precarious work and insecure housing. At the same time politicians and media commentators will mask the structural inequalities by promoting an individualist perspective that suggests poverty stems from personal lifestyle choices. These stigmatising perspectives disproportionately impact on indigenous and minority ethnicity communities (Beddoe, 2014). An example from the columnist Michael Laws (Sunday Star Times, 3 June, 2012):

> They're a group of individuals lacking empathy, insight and intelligence and often subject, it seems, to the instinctive or impulsive action.
> They are an untamed, untrained underclass that manage to combine transience, welfare dependence, criminal activity, violence – and a remarkable reliance upon alcohol and/or drugs. They distil all this into the feral lifestyle.
> Ferals are disproportionately Maori but they are not exclusively so – there are feral Pakeha and Pacific Islanders too.
> The fact so many ferals are also Maori deeply unsettles the politically correct and policy-makers. It seems there is something within the culture that creates them, other than socio-economic consideration.
> They tend to neglect, hurt, maim and/or kill their kids. And ferals make up the vast number of persons with whom Child, Youth and Family have contact, but also our police, justice and corrections services. Nothing good has ever come of ferals, and nothing ever will.

While this is a relatively extreme comment and was widely condemned, the sentiments were ad still are found regularly on talk-back comments in mainstream media and Facebook. There is a slew of such vile commentary when a child homicide is reported. The problem with such comment is that it sets the low bar. More moderate comments seem less shocking. For students without a clear structural analysis it is easy to fall into the trap of victim blaming and accepting welfare sanctions as part of accountability for receipt of the minimal and inadequate support provided by residual welfare states. Social work students may have fallen for the very pernicious taxpayers' rights argument about welfare, which ignores that people in poverty increasingly include people in work and that all people who consume food, goods and services pay some tax. In response to these powerful prejudices exposure to research that contradicts the doxic accounts can be combined with reading service user accounts of that will help promote empathy. Education can include reading fiction or film and television that presents humanised accounts. Social work educators promoting another perspective can reframe the personal dimensions of 'lifestyle' choice as personal agency and develop an understanding that service users' seemingly counter-productive acts of resistance—ignoring summons to welfare agencies, job centres —may be responses to social exclusion and stigma. Or even more likely part of a downward spiral to homelessness.

Students report being surprised by social workers expressing very judgmental and uncritical views about service users and these attitudes can be observed in social media discourse in professional social media groups. Students don't always feel able to comment on these conversations. They may anxious about the consequences of critique or they may lack confidence to articulate a counter to prejudice and discrimination. Over the past two years a

blog-post exercise for final year students has supported and encouraged them to develop their critical voice.

Developing a critical voice

There are many ways for social work educators to encourage students to find and use their critical voice. One approach I have taken in my teaching is a three-pronged focus: firstly, to provide a critical deconstruction of the way mainstream media promulgates stigmatising discourses about service users and people in poverty. This element involves analysing articles, and the images and headlines that accompany them. Developing media awareness involves an examination of media framing. In class we explore the links between social problems, service users' realities and media framing. Entman (1993, p. 53) defines gaming as the selection of "some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described".

Words or phrases may trigger ideological and emotional responses "as well as rhetorical devices such as metaphors, catch phrases and imagery, news-handlers use reasoning devices that draw on causal attributions … These powerful (but typically unnoticed) mechanisms affect viewers' judgments of responsibility and causality' (Bullock, Fraser Wyche, & Williams 2001, p. 233). In the New Zealand context, I have shared examples of the way poverty stigma is racialised in both mainstream and social media (Beddoe, 2014). The examples are unpacked to demonstrate the ideologies that underpin phrases such as 'feral' and 'troubled' families. Another persuasive example of such framing is found in the framing of discourse about asylum seekers in Australasia. An analysis of politicians' language and public discourse noted the powerful ways in which asylum seekers are othered and reviled as 'invading hordes' (Bogen & Marlowe, 2015).

The second focus contains an examination of social media and the potential for social workers to use social networks for a more politically engaged practice (Stanfield & Beddoe, 2013, 2016). Social media are increasingly recognised as providing an excellent platform for social workers to participate in political discussion and activism. The option for anonymity provides a counter to the concerns about potential or current employer scrutiny and the threat of consequences of failing to preserve political neutrality. A risk averse professional approach tends to dominate contemporary social work discussion about social media. There are of course valid concerns and I do not mean to minimise these; however, we do risk missing out on important opportunities for social activism if that is where the discussion of social media stalls. Shifting the focus away from such a risk-averse positioning involves presenting blogs and independent news websites as legitimate sources of information and activism. Blogs with relevant social work and social policy content form part of recommended course reading and the lecturer models professional use of social media This is of course a departure from the rigid academic stance that the internet is not a valid source of quality material for academic work. Rather students are encouraged to be engaged, discerning and critical users of social media.

Finally, I have supported students to write blog posts on social work and political problems as

a graded course requirement. If we are to avoid students and (social workers) from staying with that notion that politics is a 'spectator sport' we need to work with what we have. Social media offers an opportunity for safe expression. I created a blog "713 Students 2017 The social work issues blog (https://713students2017thesocialworkissuesblog.wordpress.com/) which I host on my WordPress site. In the most recent delivery of the course year there were two assignments: the first to write a post on some of the big social work issues of the moment, including: new policies in child protection and youth services, mental health resource and service issues, social investment. mis(use) and use of 'big data', and the major public issue of calls for an inquiry into abuse in state care. The students' brief for the second post was to write a short blog post on aspects of professional practice in Aotearoa New Zealand social work. I was delighted to publish blog posts on a variety of topics which incorporate some great links to resources. All comments were moderated. Many bloggers chose to be anonymous and used a pseudonym.

In the main part students enjoyed the opportunity to write freely as themselves about issues that incited their passion and enthusiasm. Excerpts from the students' blog include the following examples:

From "*Who says social workers can't save the planet*?"

"Accordingly, irrespective of the field of social work you are currently practicing in, as risks are generally higher for already vulnerable and disadvantaged people, we will be increasingly exposed to adverse effects of climate change. Therefore, I urge you to take on board an understanding and openness to incorporate the natural environment into your practice now, as our skills and knowledge in this field will be of necessity rather than choice in the very near future. The more we can do now, the better prepared we will be for these eventualities." (Pseudonym: Vicky Michaels)

From "*Musing on calls for an inquiry in abuse in state care*" another blog post addresses social work's muted response:

"I could not find much online where social workers have voiced their opinion on the matter and there seems to be an almost uncanny silence. The underpinning principle of social work is social justice and one cannot deny that the issue of abuse of children in state care is one which cries out for social justice. But where do social workers stand on this issue? Is social work, which is supposed to work with principles of social justice values, reduced to what Lester Salamon (1993, p. 155) calls "the myth of pure virtue" where workplace surveillance and managerialism have turned social work value systems parallel to that of neoliberal value systems, preoccupied with turning workers into self-reliant, utility-maximising individuals who do not require cooperation from others and have no interest in mobilising society for collective action for social change? " (Pseudonym: Atticus Finch)

From "Social *work: Putting out fires for those who "deserve" it*

Practice has become "child-centred", which itself is not a bad thing, but in doing so, the child is isolated from their whānau context, and the poverty they experience is separated from that of their adults. The distinction between child and adult poverty, the deserving and undeserving poor, is a momentous misnomer. You simply cannot lift children out of poverty without also bringing their adults. That's like putting out a fire in just the child's room when the whole house is alight. (Lauren Bartley)

Conclusion

If we are to challenge doxa within social worker education we must allow for some time to untether our teaching and assessment practice from mainstream curriculum and engage students in deconstruction of current discourses. This chapter has suggested that a focus on political discourse, analysis of the influence of mainstream media and a positive engagement with social media helps student develop their critical voice in a safe way. It is one of many such strategies but for this educator has been satisfying and encouraging. Readers are encouraged to read a selection of student posts on a major New Zealand issue to see how they have engaged critically with a range of media and sources with creativity beyond the confines of an essay (https://713students2017thesocialworkissuesblog.wordpress.com/tag/abuse-in-state-care/).

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