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article

Discourse, identity and socialisation: a textual analysis of the 'accounts' of student social workers

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This article draws on interview data from student social workers engaged in assessing the needs of adults in Wales, UK. The data were collected as part of a doctoral study conducted by the lead author (Roscoe, 2014), which utilised a form of discourse analysis to explore students' accounts as 'texts'. The concept of 'text' refers to an account, exchange or narrative and can be interpreted at a number of levels (Halliday, 1978). Texts represent personal, occupational and professional domains of meaning, and through textual analysis, we can grasp the way occupational identity and day-to-day practices are constructed through subjective and institutional sets of knowledge, values and beliefs. This article will draw upon Fairclough's (1989) method of critical discourse analysis to explore and interpret student texts and, in doing so, will reveal their multilayered character in respect of cultural, social and political influences.

key words critical discourse analysis • identity • professional socialisation • genres

Professional identity and socialisation – the context

The socialisation of students into academic and professional subjects has been a growing interest of sociologists for a number of decades (see Hall, 1987; Colomy and Brown, 1995; Fargion, 2008). Acquiring a professional identity or persona involves the internalisation of group values and norms that inform an individual's behaviour and self-concept (Clouder, 2003; Adams et al, 2006). A process of time, adoption and change underlies the trajectory from novice to fully qualified practitioner and any associated or contingent claims to being a 'professional' in social work (see Davies, 1968; Moore, 1970). More generally, identity can be understood as a generic process of being and becoming within interrelationships and interdependencies with others (Jenkins, 1996). The self has different social identities that originate from both self-concept and from interaction, whereby the person perceives themselves to be part of a particular social group (Hogg and Vaughan, 2002). Our social and personal identities are neither guaranteed nor ever confirmed and completed (Archer, 2000), but are constantly established through social processes of performance and membership.

1 Thus, a social work professional identity might never be somehow complete, but
2 instead remains a shifting, changing and sometimes contradictory entity bound up
3 in complex relationships and meanings.

4 Although there has been much research conducted on professional identity and
5 the socialisation of student nurses, teachers, physicians and academics (see Davies,
6 1968; Hall, 1987; Du Toit, 1995; Bonsteel, 1997), there has been relatively modest
7 enquiry into the ways in which social work students construct their social work
8 identity, particularly when exposed to the socialising effects of practicums or practice
9 learning placements in local authority settings, these being a key context for student
10 performance and appraisal in the UK. Apart from Fargion (2008), who undertook
11 a qualitative study with students to explore the acquisition of an Italian social work
12 identity, it would seem that the 'organisational socialisation' into state social work has
13 been an underdeveloped theoretical starting point for exploring how the landscape
14 of social work is navigated by students. This article explores how aspects of a social
15 work identity were understood and adopted by students in the latter part (years two
16 or three) of a three-year BA Honours undergraduate programme in Wales. Their
17 accounts of practice, constructed here as 'texts', are explored to reveal not only
18 personal and occupational influences but a wider confluence of socio-political and
19 historical contexts, particularly neoliberal and managerialist influences.

20 We observe briefly that the neoliberalist ideology of privatisation and marketisation
21 in social and economic policy sits uneasily with mainstream values and practices in
22 social work in the UK and elsewhere (Butler and Drakeford, 2001). Indeed, the
23 emergence of a radical tradition in UK social work in the 1970s and its sustained
24 critique since then of the impact of neoliberal and new public management influences
25 in our human service institutions is a reminder that the vision of social work is
26 perhaps much grander than its current incarnation in typically cash-strapped and
27 strongly hierarchical public services. The introduction of business practices and
28 unitised performance measures in social work to promote service efficiencies has been
29 much criticised for deskilling, undercutting and, in many instances, privatising the
30 social work function and its ethic of care (Gregory and Holloway, 2005; Ferguson
31 and Woodward, 2009; Lymbery, 2012; Houston, 2016). This is by no means a UK
32 phenomenon, but a feature of other advanced economies, whereby the economisation
33 and marketisation of social work and an erosion of citizens' social rights and solidarity
34 has stemmed from neoliberalist economic and social policies (Verbrugge, 2004;
35 Ferguson and Woodward, 2009). It is in this context that the study was undertaken
36 into the ways in which a small sample of students constructed their understandings
37 of the occupational task around assessment and what this revealed about their sense
38 of professional identity and membership.

39 40 **Working in Wales**

41
42 At the time of the study in 2011, the students were typically engaged in routine
43 assessment practice with adults likely to be in need of care or support. Students
44 undertook this work using the Unified Assessment tool, a Wales-wide protocol
45 and processing mechanism that all workers use to determine need and eligibility
46 (Welsh Assembly Government, 2002). Their assessment activity drew upon the
47 'personalisation agenda', which remains the main policy and practice approach for
48 adult social work (Beresford, 2014), being firmly embedded in Welsh and UK law

1 through the implementation of the Social Services and Well-being (Wales) Act 2014
2 and the UK Care Act 2014. Both Acts and their guidance dictate how social work
3 professionals should apply self-directed, outcome-focused and ‘person-centred care’
4 (Department of Health, 2010). This typically takes the form of person-centred
5 models of counselling, person-centred planning and the personalisation of services
6 (Houston, 2016). Thus, the effective assessment of individuals and thresholds for
7 intervention are deemed to be met with the social worker facilitating the oversight of
8 person-centred care (Welsh Assembly Government, 2002). However, there have been
9 criticisms of the variability of assessment practices across the UK, particularly over
10 the nature and volume of information collected via the Unified Assessment tool in
11 Wales (see Sedden et al, 2010). Accordingly, the interviews sought to explore students’
12 understandings of their practices in relation to the assessment task, a task that goes
13 to the very heart of the social work role and identity (Lipsky, 1980). Their accounts
14 were analysed as texts to explore their discursive roots in individual, organisational
15 and institutional practices and identities that help make sense of routine assessment
16 activity. It is towards this notion of the discursive that we now turn.

17 18 **Discourse studies and social work** 19

20 Sociologists have long explored discourses in their layered contexts, focusing on
21 how discourse functions to create organisational realities and identities (Mumby
22 and Stohl, 1991; Iedema and Wodak, 1999; Weiss and Wodak, 2003). Discourse
23 is ‘that linguistic output, which is produced by human beings when they meet,
24 chat, work and communicate in everyday life’ (Yates, 2006: 82). The ways in which
25 people ‘talk’ and ‘interact’ produce the objects of our knowledge and the action (or
26 practice) that is informed by that knowledge (Parker, 1998). Discourse contains sets
27 of statements that bring social objects into being and become themselves practices
28 that are continuously created and recreated in patterns of communication (known
29 as discursive practices) (Mumby and Stohl, 1991).

30 Discourse-analytic studies of workers’ ‘talk’ have more often been carried out in
31 children and families social work (Pithouse and Atkinson, 1988; Riemann, 2005;
32 Scourfield and Pithouse, 2006). Pithouse and Atkinson (1988) demonstrated how case
33 talk relied heavily on the structuring of the social worker’s narrative. Hall, Sarangi and
34 Slembrouck (1997) argue that such stories involve highly complex structures, which
35 include narrative scenarios and multiple voices. They describe how social workers
36 appropriate a range of ‘institutional voices’ (such as legal, medical, administrative)
37 to support their practice decisions. Case talk is only one ‘type’ of discourse, or what
38 Fairclough (2001) calls a ‘genre’ of talking and interacting, in social work practice.
39 These genres were often embedded in common-sense ideas or lay theorising as
40 opposed to professional theorising (Hall et al, 1999; Riemann, 2005; Scourfield and
41 Pithouse, 2006).

42 Within adult social work, the talk of workers has been subject to similar approaches
43 (Ramcharan et al, 1999; Jones, 2001; Postle, 2001, 2002; Carey, 2008, 2012) but with
44 less emphasis on discourse-analytic traditions. Jones’s (2001: 555) study captured the
45 wider effects of managerialism in adult practice, where social work was described
46 mainly as ‘a job that you do in boxes, you just tick boxes’. Carey’s (2008: 351) study
47 likewise revealed how adult practice was viewed as involving ‘too much bureaucracy’,
48 with ‘limited skill involved’. Carey’s (2008) research captures some of the rhetorical

1 linguistic features in the representation of adult social work that will inform later
2 discussion, such as the recursive nature of occupational talk. Recursive language,
3 defined in this article as routinised language, is related to repeated application or
4 use (Fairclough, 2003). We will explore how the recursive nature of ‘talk’ in adult
5 social work connects closely with the way in which a social work identity (both
6 personally and professionally) is discursively made sense of. To reiterate, we conceive
7 discursively of talk as ‘texts’ to be analysed for their multiple meanings and levels of
8 interpretation. Hence, we must recognise the ‘intertextuality’ of talk (Fairclough,
9 1989). Intertextuality views a text or narrative not in isolation, but as containing a
10 network of fragments of other texts (Kristeva, 1986). Any account is shaped by prior
11 accounts that inform the current, which implies the insertion of history (society)
12 into a text. This historicity enables the researcher to understand the discourse types
13 or genres available over time within the linguistic territory of adult social work. We
14 now turn to the method of textual analysis used in this study – critical discourse
15 analysis (CDA) – and the sample and settings in which it was deployed.
16

17 **Methodology**

18
19 This article focuses on a segment of a doctoral study by Roscoe (2014) comprising
20 a small self-selected sample of seven students in years two and three of their
21 undergraduate BA Honours in social work studies (five females and two males). The
22 students undertook three separate practicums or placements during each academic
23 year of study and for different lengths of time (year one for 20 days, year two for
24 80 days and year three for 100 days). Ethical approval for the study was granted in
25 2011 and the interviews were conducted during the year two and three placements.
26 The students are aged between 22 and 43 years; all are given fictitious names. The
27 students participated in interviews lasting an average of 60 minutes, which were
28 fully transcribed. Key topics for conversation included their expectations of social
29 work practice and their experiences with regard to practice learning. The invitation
30 to participate and information about the study were disseminated via their virtual
31 learning environment (VLE) in the university. Detailed textual analysis was conducted
32 manually until thematic saturation was reached (Silverman, 2006). This small number
33 of interviews cannot offer insights much beyond the sample itself; however, it was
34 not a study aim to garner generalisable data on qualifying training, but to explore the
35 utility of applying CDA in order to generate insights into the developing professional
36 social work identity.

37 The analysis was guided by Fairclough’s (1989) method of textual analysis, which
38 examines the use of vocabulary, grammar, pronouns, metaphor/rhetoric and text
39 structure. These elements have been adapted and indexed for social work by Jones
40 (2003: 46) via the seven dimensions laid out in Table 1.

41 These dimensions facilitated a useful exploratory tool to undertake a textual reading
42 of student social work accounts of adult practice that moved through the following
43 three stages of analysis.
44

45 *Stage 1: detailed textual analysis*

46
47 Detailed textual analysis at a micro-level was undertaken to generate thematic
48 insights into accounts. In CDA, micro-analysis is considered abductive, which

Table 1: Seven dimensions of textual analysis

| | | |
|----|----------|---|
| 1 | 1 | Semiotic choices (words and their ideological and political significance in social work knowledge). |
| 2 | | Words signify a range of ideas in social work knowledge and will result in ways of (inter)acting, representing a range of cognitive, sociocultural, historical and ideological/political domains. |
| 3 | 2 | Grammar (material verbs: how this represents the role/interaction in social work as genres). |
| 4 | | Verbs uncover the principle of who or what does what to whom? The use of verbs such as 'support' or 'treat' indicate what type of (inter)actions are deemed to take place. |
| 5 | 3 | Cohesion (pronouns: this speaks of the alignment of the social actor's identity alongside others). |
| 6 | | <i>Analyses of pronouns in the use of 'I', 'she', 'he', 'we', 'us', 'they', 'them', 'me', 'our', 'yours' or 'you' show how different identity alignments work in the 'here and now'.</i> |
| 7 | 4 | Text structure (structure of account – higher-order narrative structure). |
| 8 | | <i>Each text has narrative structure-elements or episodes combined in different ways such as the combination of specific genres.</i> |
| 9 | 5 | Force of utterance (use of metaphor or rhetoric: denotes processing of information and performance in communicative aims). |
| 10 | | What the speaker actually wants to achieve in functional, communicative terms – a form of persuading with abstraction. |
| 11 | 6 | Coherence (how the account is coherent with wider ideologies of social work and society/social structures). |
| 12 | | <i>The analyst identifies 'types' of texts (genres) and how these are consumed and reconstituted by social actors (drawn from wider ideological and social forces).</i> |
| 13 | 7 | Intertextuality (texts link to past [history] and present [contemporary] narratives of social work). |
| 14 | | Intertextuality points to the productivity and consumption of texts and the ways in which new discourses can transform prior texts and thereby restructure existing practices. |

involves a process of constantly moving back and forth between theory and data (Wodak, 1996). This constant movement continues until dominant themes emerge and involves the rereading of transcripts and segments of text, for example, use of word/verb/metaphor/pronoun choice (see Table 1). Lifting out these segments and aligning them to the most appropriate 'data analysis unit' (Halliday, 1989) facilitates knowledge generation in CDA. For example, certain verb choices and their recurrence might reflect popularised ways of interacting in social work, or represent preferred identities. This micro-textual analysis captures the relational, experiential and expressive values of the social actor. Relational values refer to social relations and relationships, whereby the listener seeks insights into power, tension, conflict and harmony in the interactive arena depicted in accounts. Expressive values depict the ways in which a social actor evaluates the subjects within an account and, in doing so, reveals aspects of identity (self, others, objects) referred to in the account. Experiential values represent knowledge and beliefs that reflect an individual's own world view in the social and cultural world that they are a part of (Fairclough, 2001).

This micro-analysis instigates the second and third stages of analysis, which are more theoretical and based on interpretivist principles in qualitative inquiry. The

1 researcher aligns the themes/topics identified to their interrelationship with discursive
 2 practices (as genres/subject positions) to social practices (orders of discourse), as we
 3 outline next.

4 5 *Stage 2: macro-discursive practices*

6
7 Within discursive practices, there are 'genres', which are ways of using language
 8 in relation to particular forms of (inter)acting in social events. The textual analysis
 9 surfaces and locates these genres to explore how these might fit (or not) alongside
 10 wider social work discourses (eg administrative-welfare, therapeutic-individualistic).
 11 Understood as coherence and intertextuality within the seven dimensions of textual
 12 analysis (see Table 1), the researcher analyses which genres are preferred over others
 13 and how these are represented as characteristics of social work practices and identity.
 14 Attributes of the social actor are implicated, if not emphasised, in their choosing of
 15 some genre(s) rather than others (Mumby and Stohl, 1991).

16 17 *Stage 3: orders of discourse*

18
19 CDA relates to how discourse(s) as social practices contribute to systems of knowledge
 20 and beliefs and, by extension, the social ordering of relationships. Discourses may be
 21 ordered, for example, as mainstream, alternative, marginal or oppositional (Fairclough,
 22 1995). One example of a dominant discourse is the notion of 'troubled families' in
 23 the UK, whereas in contrast to social work in Germany, social pedagogy as 'social
 24 learning' in the UK is a marginalised discourse.

25 26 **Key dimensions of textual analysis: from micro to macro**

27
28 Our micro-analysis revealed the ways in which vocabulary, grammar and force
 29 of utterance were chosen by respondents when narrating their experience of the
 30 assessment task. To demonstrate the application of CDA, we provide four thematic
 31 examples from the data that illuminate how the student's phrasing could be correlated
 32 to a particular genre (ie a way of interacting and being in social work). This textual
 33 analysis reveals aspects or characteristics of social work that are foregrounded over
 34 others in the overall text structure (narrative). These genres, act as a scaffold to support
 35 a higher 'order of discourse' of social work, which we have located in the analysis as
 36 the 'bureau-professional model'. The map laid out in Figure 1 sets out the analytical
 37 sequence of our data-driven enquiry. Thus, we start with themes emerging from the
 38 data linked to textual categories, which, in turn, are linked to genres and finally to
 39 an overarching social practice.

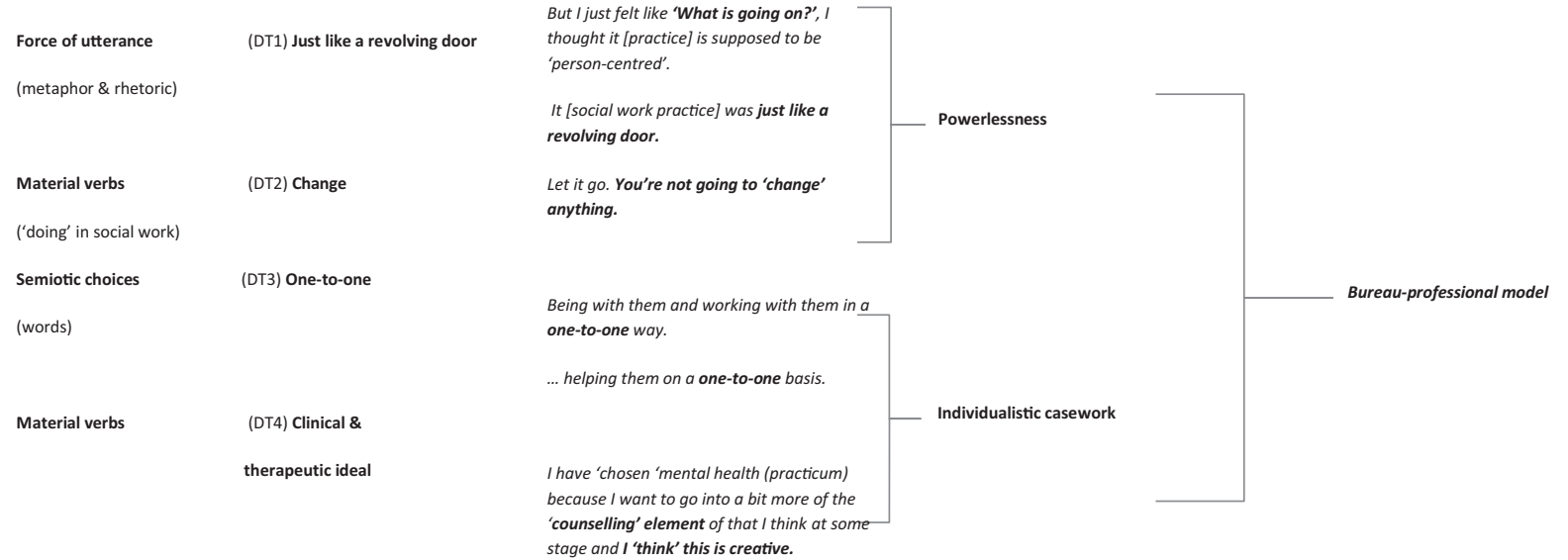
40 41 *(DT1) Force of utterance: "just like a revolving door"*

42
43 Within much of the formal codes of social work surrounding assessment, promotional
 44 tropes are embedded in policies, such as 'person-centred' practice (Welsh Assembly
 45 Government, 2002) and these stand in some contrast to the way in which policy is
 46 typically implemented via mechanistic, procedurally driven, screen-based technologies
 47 (Madoc-Jones and Parrott, 2008). Tropes are figures of speech, and a rhetorical trope is
 48 used to produce a shift in the meaning of words. These are often used in conversation

Figure 1: Map of the application of Fairclough's three-dimensional conception of discourse

| Seven dimensional category | Discourse theme (DT) | Data examples | Discursive practices | Aligned with order of discourse |
|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------|---|---|
| Stage 1 | | | (genres, style, subject position) | (social practice) |
| | | | Stage 2: Fairclough's three-dimensional analysis (consumption, distribution & production) | Stage 3: linked to social practice: ideology and hegemony |

7



1 to persuade the listener to consider an alternative perspective (Machin and Mayr,
 2 2012). The following interview extracts indicate how students had encountered a
 3 clear departure from their anticipated orientation to practice (tropes annotated in
 4 bold): “But I just felt like **‘What is going on?’** I thought it [practice] is supposed to
 5 be person-centred” (Kath, year 2). Here, Kath draws on a rhetorical trope – ‘What
 6 is going on?’ – to emphasise a sense of disjunction between the expected and the
 7 actual. This signalling device draws attention to the investment that this student had
 8 made in the ideas of ‘person-centred’ practice and her contrasting experience of a
 9 more administrative approach. Phrases like ‘person-centred’ have long permeated the
 10 formal language of the caring enterprise (Rogers, 1959), infiltrating the discursive
 11 construction of the professional self. These types of discourse result in producing
 12 organisational subjectivities in regard to a performative sense of self and identity
 13 vis-a-vis appropriate work; in essence, the good worker does/is ‘person-centred’.

14 Relational values in texts reveal something of the way organisational interaction and
 15 relationships construct and determine practice. Thus, in conducting assessments, three
 16 students separately referred to practice as **“just like a revolving door”** (Hilary, year
 17 2; Aiden, year 3; Kerry, year 2). This metaphor was deployed to describe the pace of
 18 work as problematic and we noted how students shared a sense of being unable to
 19 challenge this prevailing experience of practice. This revealed something of the way
 20 in which a discursive world of ‘student as powerless’ becomes normalised through
 21 metaphor across the student community (Van Dijk, 2011). For example, Kerry (year
 22 2) described how **“I just kept my head down”** rather than seek some remedy
 23 to what was perceived as unsatisfying relationship-based practice. Likewise, Simone
 24 (year 3) noted the unappetising choice of having to **“put up or shut up basically”**
 25 in relation to her unequal status as a student. It is perhaps unsurprising that students
 26 feel the effects of this power imbalance, resulting in a type of discursive practice in
 27 local government cultures. CDA makes it possible to explore what kinds of ideas are
 28 communicated in rhetorical tropes in order to identify what sorts of genres these
 29 metaphors might promote. It is to this point that we now turn.

30 31 *(DT2) Grammar: effecting change*

32 CDA draws upon Halliday’s (1978) notion of functional grammar, whereby material
 33 verbs are understood to represent ‘action’ and ‘interaction’ and uncover who does
 34 what to whom (Fowler, 1987). In our analysis of social work accounts, it was notable
 35 that verb choices in relation to ‘change’ were used to describe a sense of inefficacy
 36 in relation to practices they deemed unsatisfactory. When asked if it was possible
 37 to engage in a more relational than administrative approach to ‘doing’ assessments,
 38 their responses inferred a shared sense of powerlessness to operate outside procedural
 39 frameworks and constraints (verbs annotated in single quotations and word choices in
 40 bold): “really negative, as in almost **what’s the point? There is no point** because
 41 **you can’t ‘change’ anything”** (Simone, year 3); “Let it go. **You’re not going to**
 42 **‘change’ anything”** (John, year 2).

43 Halliday’s (1978) approach to functional grammar assumes that the choice of verbs
 44 we utilise has a material effect or consequence in practice. Thus, in this context,
 45 students are deemed, to some extent at least, to orient their practice towards the
 46 concept or action that they are describing (Machin and Mayr, 2012). In this example,
 47 the students do not consider that they are participants in ‘change’, in terms of operating
 48

1 outside local government procedures. In short, they are presenting as individuals and
 2 subject positions which imply that they have little in the way of significant personal
 3 agency to control their assessment practice, as we explore next.

4 5 **Discursive practice: subject positions and genres – powerlessness?**

6
7 Subject positions are neither constant nor static, and it is possible to hold several
 8 subject positions within discourses. This means that the students' subject positions
 9 will and can change throughout practice and socialisation (Jørgenson, 2003). Yet, the
 10 grammatical choices revealed subject positions, metaphors and material verbs that
 11 together implicitly point to a genre of powerlessness in the texts. This might well
 12 indicate a sense of defeatism for those at the very beginning of professional careers.

13 These discursive practices in adult social work are not unique to these students or
 14 the settings in question, but exist more widely (see Jones, 2001; Carey, 2008, 2012)
 15 and have an intertextual historicity, that is, they also belong to the order of preceding
 16 discourses about the social care project in the UK and their institutionalisation and
 17 normalisation in occupational cultures over time (Fairclough, 1992, 2003). CDA
 18 can assist in revealing the ways in which the institutional and political positioning
 19 of social work as a technical administrative practice becomes discursively grasped by
 20 entrants into the occupation. This sense of disjunction between idealised notions of
 21 practice can be detected in the texts, but does not infer that students are simply or
 22 passively discovering the discursive power of some prior institutional and totalising
 23 view of social work. There is often space for human agency to discursively promote
 24 alternative perspectives and strategies in which collective change and progress can be
 25 made (Mumby and Stohl, 1991: 317). As we note next, students clung tenaciously
 26 to what was a shared and preferred view of what good social work ought to be like.

27 28 *(DT3) Semiotic choices: 'one-to-one' social work*

29
30 The choice of words in texts represents the underlying ideologies that signify certain
 31 kinds of identities and relationships. Thus, CDA offers social work research a focus on
 32 the dialectical construction of the personal and professional identity. Here, identity
 33 is partly understood to be an effect of discourse, as well as constructed in discourse,
 34 and is based on the enactment (or avoidance) of specific roles (Fairclough, 2003). The
 35 words that students deploy become a text in which we can 'read' expressive, relational
 36 and experiential values. These values relate to identity (personal/professional) and
 37 can be understood as ways of being (Archer, 2000). They will signify a range of ideas
 38 that can be grasped as ways of performing a particular organisational subjectivity that
 39 bears upon a sense of a preferred identity. In signalling aspects of that identity, most
 40 students described their discomfort at discovering how everyday work failed to match
 41 their expectations (key words/semiotic choices annotated in bold):

42
43 "You just feel like **you're an administrator** and also you feel very much
 44 like everything's your responsibility." (Simone, year 3)

45
46 "Well after being there, I felt as if **frustration took over** because most of it
 47 was just basically **typing away on a computer, get all the boxes ticked**
 48 and doing the assessments to go to the panel." (Hilary, year 2)

Other respondents expressed similar disappointment in discovering that routinised assessment procedures and case administration had impeded their anticipated orientation to practice. Most students shared a view about ideal practice and an attachment to this ideal:

“I wanted to be able to **work** with people **on a one-to-one** and **‘make things happen** for people really.” (Aiden, year 3)

“**being** with them and **working with them** in a **one-to-one** way.” (John, year 2)

“**doing one-to-one work** with them and **being by their side.**” (Hilary, year 2)

“helping them on a **one-to-one** basis.” (Simone, year 2)

The word choices in the preceding quotes suggest how the core activities of social work had been initially understood pre-practicum and revealed a predominance of ideas associated with individualistic approaches to practice. While these might change as the student progresses through their training and practice experiences, they also reveal the expressive values and motivations of students for entering the profession (Machin and Mayr, 2012). None of the students referred to what might be termed collectivist/radical ideas or social pedagogy.

‘One-to-one’ can locate social work and the focus of practice upon restoring individual/family equilibrium, a form of social maintenance (Howe, 1985). Not dissimilar to the representations of Italian social work, there was an absence of the politically involved practitioner and of an explicit orientation towards social justice in the texts (Fargion, 2008). Here, CDA can assist in identifying a predominance of ideas and concepts derived from the historical discourses of ‘casework’ in social work, as we shall see later.

(DT4) Individual/therapeutic ideal

The verb choices in the following quotes (annotated in bold and single quotations) revealed idealised forms of practice in contrast to administrative routines. Simone and Aiden spoke of working in a care programme approach in mental health and described it thus:

“It almost feels more therapeutic. It’s like a mixture of almost like a **‘counselling’** session with a CBT [Cognitive Behavioural Therapy] session mixed in.” (Simone, year 2)

“I have **‘chosen’** mental health [practicum] because I want to go into a bit more of the **‘counselling’** element of that I think at some stage and I **‘think’** this is creative.” (Aiden, year 3)

Verbs can indicate how discourse has not just practical aspects, but cognitive and cultural elements too. Thus, verbs such as ‘counselling’ suggest something of the

1 durable and popular nature of this strand of practice, denoting a cluster of desired
 2 skills, values and identity (Bull and Shaw, 1992). The individualistic nature of practice
 3 surfaced in the texts when students discussed their view of the core purpose of the
 4 occupational task. Their resort to simple verb choices such as ‘enable’, ‘support’ and
 5 ‘doing’ indicates the role and interaction deemed to take place in the social work
 6 relationship:

7
 8 “it’s **‘trying’** to **‘keep’** families together, **‘support’** things and **‘place’**
 9 **‘support’** to them.” (Kath, year 3)

10
 11 “**‘Doing’** very positive things for people to **‘enable’** them to progress with
 12 their lives.” (Joan, year 2)

13
 14 “**‘Supporting’** people in times of crisis or need. Yeah, **‘helping’** people.”
 15 (Simone, year 3)

16
 17 While on one level basic and uncomplicated, the choice of verbs denotes a traditional
 18 mainstream sense of the occupational mission. Such formulations, in appearing
 19 unencumbered by complexity, innovation or radical departure (and no reference
 20 to group or community work), do implicitly reveal something of the discursive
 21 dominance of individualistic social work, a genre we outline next.

22 23 **Discursive practices: genres of individualistic/family social work**

24
 25 Individualistic social work is a genre and, as such, a discursive and social practice
 26 in human services in the UK (Houston, 2016). The rise of individualism has been
 27 theorised by sociologists such as Giddens (2004) and Beck (2000) in the context
 28 of reflexivity, which is considered constitutive of social life and what ‘we do’ on a
 29 daily basis. Thus, contemporary selfhood under consumer neoliberalism is viewed
 30 as increasingly asocial and bound up with quests for self-enhancement (Houston,
 31 2016). Thus, CDA enables us to recognise that in every discursive practice, different
 32 types of discourses are reconstituted in particular ways (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002).
 33 This provides an understanding about how genres are articulated together. For
 34 example, our students used the term ‘one-to-one’ alongside concepts of ‘counselling’
 35 or to ‘change their cognitive processes’. Such terms signify different individualistic/
 36 diagnostic approaches to practice originating from the inception of casework in the
 37 UK (Richmond, 1917) and its many manifestations, reflecting wider social discourses
 38 (see Payne, 2006). Several authors have noted how strands of ethical idealism (in the
 39 form of individualism) underpin liberal welfare regimes and imbue social work’s code
 40 of professional ethics with its purpose and values (Banks, 1995, Hughman, 2007). We
 41 note with Ferguson (2012) that this ‘enforced individualism’ might have the effect
 42 of impeding social justice rather than promoting it.

43 The words of students, alongside their verb choices, can be viewed as affecting
 44 behaviour and action within a social system that originate from historical and societal
 45 discourses of casework. This results in the enactment of certain social relations, so
 46 by analysing linguistic choices such as ‘support’ and ‘enable’, this illustrates how the
 47 becoming-subject (student) is always surrounded by pre-existing discourses (casework)
 48 and wider intertextual dimensions in his or her understanding of what it is to ‘help’.

1 In essence, the becoming-subject is always interpellated by prior discursive practices
 2 due to reliance on a given language to establish reality. This reality also has the
 3 potential to limit a student's recognition of their own participation in reproducing
 4 ideological formations of what constitutes social work. Thus, CDA has potential to
 5 offer social work a form of critical self-consciousness from which to challenge and test
 6 the individualistic orthodoxies that continue to determine much of the direction of
 7 social work. Critical awareness of the power of discourses can contribute to developing
 8 alternative paradigms to practice and radical change (see Hall, 1985; Giroux, 1994)
 9 as within the structuring conventions of language, there are always possibilities for
 10 alternative constructions, as we will see later.

11 12 **Order of discourse: bureau-professional model**

13 Some discourses are privileged over others, while some are marginalised or missing
 14 altogether. The 'bureau-professional' model of organisation is a prominent feature
 15 of contemporary practice alongside individualism in the UK, wherein practice is
 16 subject to significant internal/external regulation as a form of managerial control
 17 (Carey, 2012; Lymbery, 2012; Houston, 2016). This order of discourse originates
 18 from the institutional circumstances that shape discursive practices and local cultures
 19 (Fairclough, 1992), and derives from the many reforms of UK social work that have
 20 given rise to neoliberalist ideologies towards social care. The students' encounters
 21 with neoliberalist ideology and bureau-professionalism (notably, in the word choices
 22 in bold in the following quotes) reveal how assessment work was seen as problematic
 23 and a matter of ideological contention:

24
25
26 "It was a **very** – yeah, **bureaucratic** culture. It was **rules, regulations,**
 27 **decisions made for you,** you had the **team meetings but they were a**
 28 **complete waste of time.** The amount of **form-filling** and **computer**
 29 work that you had to do." (Jane, year 2)

30
31 "**Very power-driven,** I suppose; if you don't sort of **conform** to what you
 32 know, what the **policies and their procedures** say then ... I suppose you
 33 have a problem. Well after being there, I felt as **if frustration took over**
 34 because most of it was just basically **typing away on a computer and**
 35 **doing the assessments** to go to the panel." (Hilary, year 2)

36
37 "It's a **top-down bureaucratic perspective** really ... I found it was
 38 controlled, **managerially controlled,** and it was in that framework."
 39 (Aiden, year 3)

40
41 These texts are not untypical of discourses of adult services and social work per se,
 42 and are directed towards bureau-professional activities. These discourses signify wider
 43 struggles for truth in the overall presentation of the social work identity (Lemke,
 44 1995). They also signify the constraints of dominant social practices, which inevitably
 45 result in some students experiencing this as a sense of powerlessness.

46 Yet, students can also structure meanings of practice on the basis of including or
 47 excluding certain discourses or moderating their impact (Mayer, 2008). In short,
 48 CDA can help locate discourses of resistance and identify how these are crafted

1 and re-presented in particular ways. While some take the view that discourse can
 2 be seen as so dominant that it leaves little space for students to challenge its effects
 3 (Ten Bos and Rhodes, 2003), others argue that discourse can be open to agency and
 4 intervention (Sveningson and Alvesson, 2003).

5 Discourses of adult social work are not fixed or immutably given, and are always
 6 subject to negotiation through competing meanings (Hall, 1985). Thus, while students
 7 were consumed and constrained by the discourse of 'tick-box' practices, there were
 8 spaces to assert a more relational-based approach in line with preferred practice ideals:

9
 10 "then I had an **assessment to do and when I did a little bit of that,**
 11 **alongside a couple of support visits,** every time I went and did something
 12 like that, it **would bring me back up on a high.**" (Hilary, year 2)

13
 14 While students' accounts were typically dominated by frustration, we can see from
 15 the preceding quote that the dominant discourse was not totalising for Hilary (or
 16 others). While students might enter an already-interpreted linguistic occupational
 17 world (Denermark et al, 1997), they soon discover that the world is fallible and open
 18 to interpretation and adjustment and that there are often other ways to view events.
 19 Such an 'either/or' perspective in the form of 'one-to-one' practice versus bureau-
 20 administration' is invariably a matter of both coexisting and both struggling to be
 21 accommodated. Thus, rather than view these ideas in opposition, through CDA,
 22 we can draw upon a more dialectical approach in which to conceive social work as
 23 comprising of contradictions and paradoxes that the student needs to come to terms
 24 with. S/he must juggle, if never fully resolve, endorsement to the socially constructed
 25 ethics and values of the profession while being located in a neoliberalist state.

26 The administrative/welfare approach and its contradictions, inherent in social work,
 27 paradoxically provide opportunities for accessing alternative discourses that might
 28 also coexist alongside dominant practice genres. CDA, in drawing upon Hegelian
 29 dialectics (Lancaster, 1959), can help us view the social work identity as a continual
 30 process of opposition, contradiction and reconciliation. Students are exposed to this
 31 process and will cognise situations that they are in with the terms that they have
 32 available (Casey, 1995; Van Dijk, 2011). Whether they and others in the professional
 33 community can challenge these discourses that make possible certain statements and
 34 communicational practices while disallowing others is a moot point.

35 36 **Challenging the orthodoxies through the discursive**

37
 38 A useful framework for shaping professional socialisation in social work education
 39 towards a more critical reflective stance can be found in Fairclough's (2005) approach
 40 to fostering change in discursive practices. His framework focuses on four key
 41 concepts: emergence, hegemony, re-contextualisation and operationalisation. The
 42 term 'emergence' is what Fairclough (2005) uses to depict the articulation of new,
 43 marginalised or alternative discourses that coexist alongside orders of discourse. For
 44 example, some authors argue that a common project is needed for social work at an
 45 international level as a way to oppose the hegemony of neoliberal ideologies (see
 46 Ferguson and Lavellette, 2004; Lorenz, 2006). Garrett (2012) emphasises utilising
 47 Bourdieu's concept of habitus in order to help students grasp how our thoughts and
 48 actions are internalised through socialisation and dominant or hegemonic orders of

1 discourse. Relatedly, Ferguson and Woodward (2009) point out how many social
2 work students will be unaware of the history of some radical movements in Britain,
3 Canada and Australia. In essence, we can interpret these examples as ways in which
4 to foster alternative discourses in order to provide a platform for students to reflect
5 on the social work world in a philosophical, political and historical way (Freire,
6 1970). This can result in a more varied synthesis of the social work identity through
7 a re-contextualisation of discourses, that is, by putting 'orders of discourse' into their
8 ideological context for students and, by doing so, creating a new critical understanding.
9 We must also remind students that while hegemony creates alienation, the individual
10 worker is still her/his own 'theorist' and is therefore equipped to grasp and resist
11 the forces of hegemony. As educationalists, we can operationalise discourses outside
12 individualism, such as competing perspectives on community (Esposito, 2010), and
13 these can be institutionalised over time. However, the process is conditional upon
14 whether the strategy proposed and incorporated is considered a positive and useful
15 one by the social work educationalist given the current climate of social work practice.

16 The emergence of discourses that challenge hegemonic practices creates a platform
17 for the critical worker to look closely at the social life of social work, to discover
18 patterns of speaking drawn from social and occupational practices, and to reveal how
19 these represent themselves as a somewhat restrictive set of institutional identities for
20 both the social worker and service user. Identities are accomplished and negotiated
21 and can be resisted in social work practices and institutions. Thus, the role of ideology
22 becomes critical in social work education because it has the potential to suggest
23 alternative 'truths' by critically deconstructing historically conditioned social forces.
24 Without CDA, discourses can reinforce the concealing assumptions of common sense
25 in social work, and so it is vital that common sense or taken-for-granted assumptions
26 are subject to critical analysis (Gramsci, 1971). Hence, discourse is understood as a
27 form of power and a way of socially relating, or, in other words, a material practice
28 (Fairclough, 1992). As Lemke (1995) points out, the social effects of power are
29 multiplied by our hopes and fears, our beliefs and expectations, and our sensitivities
30 and values.

31 Ideologies in social work characterise the way that certain discourses become
32 accepted over others. CDA can show how these help sustain power relations, such
33 as popularised genres of individualism or casework. These forms of intervention
34 can equally create the view that structural inequalities can be reduced to individual
35 deficits (Scharff, 2011). Thus, CDA methods provide opportunities to analyse what
36 is not said or is marginalised in social work texts. This provides the starting point for
37 an alternative interpretation outlining the ways in which students and practitioners
38 foreground and background certain characteristics and genres of social work over
39 others during professional socialisation.

40 41 **Conclusion**

42
43 This article has demonstrated how identities are produced and used in social work
44 talk and texts. It has illustrated how the social world of social work is presented
45 and encoded in language in particular ways. Our three stages of CDA enquiry
46 have shown that accounts about practice do not simply express feelings, attitudes
47 and judgements, but represent voices from institutional and ideological/historical
48 contexts (intertextuality). In drawing these out, CDA can provide student social

workers with opportunities to grasp how their own representations reproduce the constraining effects of the dominant mode, as well as the means for challenging it (Fairclough, 1989). Such a dialectical approach emphasises how 'social and political change begins with social relations of people's everyday lives' (Hick and Murray, 2009, quoted in Gray and Webb, 2009: 89). CDA reveals the way in which genres shape our processes of socialisation and expose opposing forces and contradictions so that these can become a platform for change in a dialectical approach to social work (Mullaly, 1997). This is because CDA is concerned with exposing ideologies within the texts provided by participants about their physical world, social relations and social identities.

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