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This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree PhD.

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ABSTRACT

This research was born out of innovative work undertaken by the Department of Social Work at Monash University, the first Australian social work education programme to undertake the delivery of an Australian Bachelor of Social Work at an offshore location. Accreditation to deliver the degree of Bachelor of Social Work in Singapore was gained from the Australian Association of Social Workers and the Singapore Association of Social Workers, the first Australian social work education programme to gain accreditation from two professional bodies.

The research is posited in a context of contemporary trends and issues in internationalisation and globalisation. It also examines policy and educational trends in both Singapore and Australia, as central to understanding the complexity of different contexts associated with the delivery of the Bachelor of Social Work in Singapore. The research also examines contemporary debate surrounding the nature of international social work and seeks to understand these issues not only from an Australian perspective but also from other perspectives both globally, and specifically as they pertain to the Singapore programme.

This research adopts a case study approach to examine the development and delivery, of the Monash University Bachelor of Social Work, in Singapore during the period 2004 – 2006. Through this case study it is possible to identify messages for social work and social work education programmes seeking to develop an international focus. The research also offers important messages for the internationalisation agenda not only of Monash University but also for the University education sector at the national level.

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The ongoing input of the students (many now graduates) from the Monash Bachelor of Social Work cannot be overstated, even though few elected to participate formally in the research process. These students revealed many

insights through their various assessment tasks and their fieldwork experiences. They also shared many views by e-mail and all assumed an active stake in the development of the programme. At a personal level, all students were unfailingly welcoming when meeting the researcher.

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GLOSSARY

These are some organisations particularly relevant to this thesis. They are introduced at this early stage as one means of introducing the reader to the context that will be explored through the research, with a particular focus on organsiations and institutions relevant to the Singapore context and the context of higher education.

AASW:

Australian Association of Social Workers. The AASW is the professional representative body of social workers in Australia. It was formed in 1946 at Federal level although a number of state branches had formed prior to this. The AASW has a Code of Ethics which contains a set of principles agreed to by all members (AASW website accessed 5 January 2006).

APEC:

Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation. The APEC forum was formed in 1989 to capitalise on the growing interdependence of Asia-Pacific economies. By facilitating economic growth, intensifying economic and technical cooperation and enhancing a sense of community, APEC aims to create greater prosperity for the people of the region (APEC website accessed 14 February 2006). Both Australia and Singapore have been members of APEC since its inception.

ASEAN:

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. This regional group was established on 8 August 1976 in Bangkok by five member countries namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. The purposes of this association are (a) to accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint endeavours in the spirit of equality and

partnership and (b) to promote regional peace and stability. Since it's founding, Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia have joined ASEAN. Australia maintains the status of *Dialogue Partner* (ASEAN website accessed 30 January 2006).

ASIAN TIGERS:

Also known as the *Little Tigers*, the term refers to Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan. These countries have experienced a rapid economic growth rate in the past four decades, including significant growth in GDP. Having faced devastation and uncertainty in the aftermath of World War II, all achieved *developed country* status in the 1970s. All rejected the Western model of the welfare state and all are hailed as evidence of the success of the developmental state (Tang 2000).

AVCC:

Australian Vice Chancellors Committee, the council of Australia's University presidents. The intent of the AVCC is to advance higher education through voluntary, cooperative and coordinated action. The AVCC has a continuing aim to serve the best interests of universities and, through them, the nation (AVCC website accessed 3 January 2006). In May 2007, this Committee was replaced by Universities Australia (Universities Australia 2008d).

CDAC:

Chinese Development Assistance Council (Singapore) seeks to nurture and develop the potential of the Chinese community in contributing to the continued success of multi-racial Singapore (CDAC website accessed 19 December 2006).

CDC:

Community Development Centres. Under the PAP coming to power in 1959, the People's Association was established to coordinate the work of community centres which remain

managed by Community Centre Management Committees (Vasoo 2002). The primary responsibilities are to promote social, recreational and educational activities and to raise funds to support their activities (Vasoo 2002). They represent a tripartite partnership of government, the community and to corporate sector (Vasoo 2002; Mehta 2004c).

CPF:

Central Provident Fund (Singapore). The colonial government recognised the need for retirement benefits in view of poor social conditions prevalent in the late 1940s and 1950s. The CPF came into being in 1955 to provide retirement benefits (Low & Aw 2004). This scheme was maintained when Singapore achieved independence in 1959 and since then has grown and expanded (Low & Aw 2004). CPF is closely triangulated with EDB and HDB, financing the purchase of housing (Low & Aw 2004).

EA:

The Eurasian Association (Singapore) formed in 1919. It seeks to build a cohesive and vibrant Eurasian community that integrates with, and contributes to, the success of multi-racial Singapore. (EA website accessed 19 December 2006).

EDB:

Economic Development Board (Singapore). Formed in 1961, the primary function is to attract investment and, by doing so, to create jobs for Singaporeans (Low & Aw 2004).

ENTREPOT:

According to the Encyclopaedic World Dictionary (1971) an *entrepot* is a commercial centre for the collection, distribution and transhipment of goods. The term *entrepot* features in the history of the region and specifically in the history of Singapore. According to on-line dictionaries,

accessed 27 July 2009, the *entrepot* is a port where merchandise is imported and exported without incurring duties and/or taxes. Typically, such ports are located at the intersection of important trade routes and profit is achieved by buying goods from ships travelling one part of the route and then selling them at a higher price to ships travelling another part of the route.

HDB:

Housing Development Board (Singapore). Formed in 1960, this authority sought to raise the physical living standards of Singaporeans (HDC website accessed 20 February 2005).

HECS:

Higher Education Contribution Scheme (Australia). Firstly introduced in 1988, HECS is a scheme under which students are required to pay a contribution to the costs of their higher education studies. Under reforms to the scheme in 2003, the level of student contribution may vary from course to course and institution to institution as well as a new suite of loans being introduced which enable students to either pay their fees up front or by taking out an Australian Government loan that is repaid through the taxation scheme when their income reaches a certain level (Caldwell 2005).

IFSW:

International Federation of Social Workers. The IFSW is successor to the International Permanent Secretariat of Social Workers, which was founded in Paris in 1928. In 1950 the decision was made to create the IFSW and the organisation was finally founded in 1956 after much preliminary work (IFSW website accessed 14 February 2006). The IFSW had, and has, the intention of being an international organization of professional social workers. Today the IFSW represents over half a million social

workers in fifty-five different countries. The intent is to promote social work as a profession, link social workers from around the world, and promote the participation of social workers in social policy and social planning. (IFSW website accessed 14 February 2006). Both the Australian and Singaporean professional social work associations are members of IFSW.

IMF:

International Monetary Fund, established in July 1944 at the Conference of Bretton Woods. The IMF is an organization of 184 member countries and was established to promote international monetary co-operation, exchange stability and orderly exchange arrangements; to facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade; to foster economic growth and high levels of employment; and to provide temporary financial assistance to help ease balance of payment adjustments (IMF website accessed 20 June 2006).

MCYS:

Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Sports (Singapore). This is the lead ministry in the provision of welfare services to the people of Singapore. It is similar in purpose and function to Department of Human Services in Victoria, Australia and other similar state bodies across Australia.

MENDAKI:

Yayasan MENDAKI (Singapore) is a self-help group dedicated to empowerment of the disadvantaged through excellence in education (MENDAKI website accessed 19 December 2006). The Malay/Muslim Council on Education of Muslim Children was established by the Singapore government in 1982, representing a marked shift in the government's management of the intractable socio-

economic and educational malaise confronting the Malay community (Rahim 1998).

NCSS:

National Council of Social Services (Singapore). The national coordinating body for around 300 Voluntary Welfare Organisations in Singapore (NCSS website accessed 30 June 2004). It is similar in function to the Australian Council of Social Services, although NCSS does not engage in the same degree of lobbying for policy directions.

NUS:

National University of Singapore. NUS grew from being a small medical college in 1905 to an internationally acknowledged global University of high standing. It has adopted an entrepreneurial dimension and is consistently ranked as one of the world's top universities (NUS website accessed 7 May 2009).

OECD:

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. This organization groups thirty member countries sharing a commitment to democratic government and the market economy. Australia, but not Singapore, is a member country. OECD has global reach and plays a prominent role in fostering governance in the public service and in corporate activity. Dialogue, consensus, peer review and pressure are at the heart of the OECD (OECD website accessed 3 January 2006; OECD 2006a).

OFFSHORE

EDUCATION:

This term describes the situation where international students are located in a different country to that of the institution providing their education (Chapman & Pyvis 2006a). This is a relatively recent development in international education. Offshore Education is different to

Distance Education and exists where there is a formal agreement between an Australian University and an overseas organisation or institution to participate in the delivery of the educational programme (Universities Australia 2007b).

PAP:

Peoples Action Party (Singapore). Formed in November 1954, the party positioned itself as non-communist rather than anti-communist and proclaimed a manifesto to end colonial rule (Oei 2005). The PAP has been the ruling party in Singapore since independence from colonial rule in 1959 and independence from Malaysia in 1965, at which time it achieved total dominance over the political scene in Singapore (Chua 1995).

PA:

People's Association (Singapore). This was formed on 1 July 1960 to help foster racial harmony and social cohesion, seeking to be the bedrock of nation building (Singh 2007). This organisation was necessitated by the difficulties of the 1950s in terms of strikes and racial riots and is a statutory board that has the primary interests of community action, promotion of racial harmony and lifestyle and skills upgrading (Singh 2007).

SASW:

Singapore Association of Social Workers. The organized social work movement in Singapore originates from April 1953 when a group of almoners first considered the subject of a formal organization. The contemporary SASW was formed in February 1971. SASW is a member of the International Federation of Social Workers and has a membership of more than 500 (SASW website accessed 20 September 2005). Registration of social workers was introduced in Singapore, with the SASW acting as the secretariat, on 1 April 2009.

SINDA:

Singapore Indian Development Association (Singapore) is a self-help group that was formed in August 1991 to address the pressing educational and socio-economic issues facing the Indian community of Singapore. It aims to raise the educational performance of Indian students and to promote family unity (SINDA website accessed 19 December 2006).

SSTI:

Social Service Training Institute (Singapore). This body was launched in June 2003 as an academy of the National Council of Social Services mandated to assume a strategic and leadership role in driving training efforts for the social service sector of Singapore. SSTI is the major partner of Department of Social Work, Monash University, in the BSW Singapore programme (Department of Social Work 2006a).

THE STRAITS

TIMES:

The *Straits Times* is the English flagship daily newspaper of Singapore Press Holdings. It contains a comprehensive coverage of world news, East Asian news, Southeast Asian news, home news, sports news, financial news and lifestyle updates makes The *Straits Times* is the most-read newspaper in Singapore (*Straits Times* website accessed 14 July 2006).

TWO LITTLE

DRAGONS:

Refers to Singapore and Hong Kong. Although little dots on the global map, they are well known through the world (Choi & Lo 2004). Singapore and Hong Kong co-exist in Asia as competitors but together they draw investment into the region. The two societies have much in common but are different. Both have their origins as colonial *entrepot* trading ports. However, Singapore has been characterised

by strong government intervention during the past four decades whereas Hong Kong has largely remained a *laissez* faire entrepot.

UniSIM:

SIM University (or UniSIM) is the first and only Singapore University dedicated to working adults. It was established in 2005 and has been approved by the Ministry of Education to award recognised Singapore degrees. It is positioned to meet the higher educational needs of adults and to develop a top quality workforce. It was developed from a beginning in 1992 when the Ministry of Education appointed the Singapore Institute of Management to collaborate with the Open University in the United Kingdom to jointly offer the Open University Degree Program (UniSIM website accessed 7 May 2009).

UNIVERSITIES

AUSTRALIA:

This body was formed out of the Australian Vice Chancellors Committee on the 22 May 2007. It is the peak body representing 38 of Australia's Universities and promotes the value and widespread benefits of higher education nationally and internationally (Universities Australia 2008d).

VWOs:

Voluntary Welfare Organisations (Singapore). These are the agencies that form the network for the delivery of welfare services, ostensibly independent of government.

WORLD BANK:

The World Bank was established in July 1944 at the Conference of Bretton Woods. The World Bank is not a bank in the common sense and is made up of two development institutions being (a) the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and (b) the International Development Association. The mission of the

World Bank is the global reduction of poverty and the improvement of living standards. The primary aim of the World Bank is to provide support for developing countries (World Bank website accessed 20 June 2006).

WTO:

The World Trade Organization was established in 1955. It was established out of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) established in the wake of World War II. It is the only international organisation dealing with the global rules of trade between nations, its main function being to ensure that trade flows as smoothly, predictably and freely as possible (World Trade Organization website accessed 21 June 2006).

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This Chapter introduces the broad context and the nature of the research. The research is concerned with the delivery of an Australian social work education programme in a non-Australian setting. The research seeks to respond to the research question:

How should an Australian University introduce a social work education programme into a different cultural context? What are the historical, contemporary and policy issues and trends in the host and recipient countries (in this case Australia and Singapore) which influence and shape the delivery of a particular programme in an off-shore context?

This research utilises a case study approach based on the experience of the Department of Social Work at Monash University and considers the social work education programme that has been offered in Singapore from late 2003. This case study considers how the context might be conceptualised in both the host and recipient countries in order that the social work education programme actively responds to both contexts. The specific time frame of the research is 2004 – 2006 this period being selected both on the basis of ensuring that there was a manageable time frame and that there would be graduates of the programme able to inform the research. This exploratory research, based on the Monash case study, contributes unique knowledge and insights into social work education at both the Australian and international levels and offers a framework for the delivery of social work education that can be replicated in other contexts.

For the researcher, who commenced a coordinating role in the programme in mid 2004, the research also reflects a particular professional journey both as a social work practitioner and as a social work educator. With a background in a very different field of practice, and minimal experience in social work education, involvement in the programme and the crafting of this research represented many challenges and a very steep learning process. The challenges were, at times, daunting but mostly exciting. They led the researcher to grapple with world views that were not of the Western orientation and

gave rise to complex questions on the nature of international social work and the applicability of Western-based concepts about social work theory and practice in non-Western contexts and how these issues could be incorporated into social work education. Ultimately, it led the researcher to a position that Australian social work education must adopt a more international focus; one that enables different and varied ways of knowing, and understanding, the world to be legitimate and valid.

1.1 Introducing the context

This research is based on the delivery of the Monash Bachelor of Social Work (BSW) at an offshore location in Singapore. The research explored the implications of this educational approach for the profession of social work and the extent to which crossnational education will ultimately shape the understanding and practice of social work in both countries involved and possibly elsewhere.

The broad context for the research was the demands imposed on Australian institutions of higher education to internationalise their activities against a backdrop of diminishing government funding (Considine *et al.* 2001; Marginson 2002b; Marginson & Rhoades 2002). Internationalisation of education is the process of integrating international, intercultural and global dimensions into the purpose, functions and delivery of higher education (Clifford & Joseph 2005), and of recruiting full-fee paying international students.

Internationalisation of education is not a new trend so much as a well-established historical trend (Bruch & Barty 1998; Department of Education, Science and Training 2001; Brown & Brydon 2004; Knight 2004). It is also a contemporary trend said to be driven by the massification of education during the last half of the twentieth century, trends of changed patterns of work and employment and advances in communications and technologies (King & Kenworthy 1999; Chan 2004). Developments in higher education have also been influenced by the forces of globalisation and the dominance of

neo-liberalism (Elliot 1998; Carnoy & Rhoten 2002; Marginson 2002a; Harman 2004; Marginson 2004a; Gacil-Avila 2005).

A significant motivation driving this research has been the complexities of delivering professional education programmes developed in one context (Australia) in another context (Singapore). Such a study could explore a range of dimensions and/or perspectives but will be confined to the delivery of the Monash University Bachelor of Social Work (BSW) delivered in Singapore with emphasis on the subject of fieldwork. Before proceeding further it is important to offer a brief overview of the two specific contexts involved. Although there are many differences between Australia and Singapore, as will become evident, there are also many similarities.

Australia is a nation of around 22 million people. It has a long history of human occupation by our indigenous peoples, as well as a more recent history of European settlement dating from 1788. Australia has rich natural resources and is an island continent situated in proximity to Asia and the Pacific but distant from the Europe of its original colonisers. Today Australia is a multi-cultural nation with a Parliamentary democracy. The history of welfare provision in Australia is largely one of a residual welfare state, emphasis originally resting on the establishment of a centralised system of arbitration and conciliation and regulation of wage levels (Castles 1985; Bryson 1992). In the contemporary world, Australian welfare policies are governed by two major ideological trends. Firstly, a classical liberal concern to minimise government interference in free market outcomes. Secondly, a socially conservative concern to reinforce traditional values of the family and to substantially reduce the existing welfare state (Mendes 1998 & 2003).

Despite the residual nature of the Australian welfare state, there is a well developed system of social security. Arguably the nature of this system is changing as governments seek to limit the extent and nature of the welfare state. Nevertheless there is an expectation that the state will provide in instances where there is a failure of market

forces. The tradition of the minimalist welfare state has been to establish a safety net of last resort for those unable to work (Esping-Andersen 1990)

Lack of historical documents or documents that are fragmentary, make it difficult to specifically trace Singapore's pre-colonial history (Koh 2005). The early history of Singapore suggests that there is a long history of human occupation by indigenous Malays (Miksic & Gek 2004; Brydon & Liddell 2009a). From the fourteenth century what is modern Singapore was part of the vibrant economic activity that flourished around Malay *entrepots* of the time (Trocki 2006). Singapore was claimed as a British colony in 1819 with the arrival of Sir Stamford Raffles, and owed its early prosperity to its continued role as an *entrepot* (Fong 1988). Significant numbers of ethnic Chinese and Indians arrived in Singapore during the nineteenth century, although Singapore remained under British domination and governance.

Singapore was granted independence from the British in 1959, at that time electing to form an alliance with Malaysia. That alliance was to prove only short lived. In August 1965 Singapore became an independent republic, with a Parliamentary and legal system modelled on the Westminster system. At the point of independence in 1965, Singapore faced a number of challenges with no natural hinterland and few natural resources other than its people, the future appearing bleak (Lee 1998; Lee, KY 2000; Trocki 2006). Singapore has achieved significant progress since independence and has moved from an *entrepot* role to that of a developed industrialised nation. Singapore is also a multicultural society, the three main ethnic groups being Chinese, Malay, and Indian with a small percentage of Other, especially Eurasians.

From a welfare perspective, Singapore makes no claims to being a Western-style welfare state, the governing party making an early decision not to pursue this path (Ngiam 2004). The view of government has long been that a consequence of a welfare state would be the loss of a work ethic among the population. Instead, traditional Confucian values of familial piety and family responsibility are emphasised. A central belief is that the individual should first seek to have his needs met within the family before seeking

external assistance (Tan, EKB 2003). In essence, caring for family members is an obligation whereas by contrast the Western notion is more one of charity (Tan, EKB 2003). As such there is not a well-established social security system in Singapore with few state provided safety nets although there are emerging calls for this to be changed (Ho 2004; Low & Aw 2004).

From this very brief overview, which will be explored in more detail in the literature review, it is possible to begin to understand the context. Firstly, there are the broad policy trends of the contemporary context. Secondly, there are the two countries directly involved. Both Singapore and Australia are former British colonies; there are similarities in political and economic systems, acceptance of racial and ethnic diversity and the prevalence of the English language (Brown *et al.* 2005). Differences arise in terms of the extent to which government is involved in the provision of welfare services, ideological values underpinning welfare provision, different ways of governing in democracy and differences in cultural heritage.

1.2 An overview of the BSW Singapore

This research is based on the experience of the Department of Social Work, Monash University, in delivering a BSW at an offshore site in Singapore. In order to contextualise this research it is necessary to begin with a description of the BSW Singapore programme. Without having an appreciation of the nature of the programme it is difficult to appreciate the discussion generated from analysis of the programme.

It is a unique programme in the sense that it is the first time any Social Work Department from an Australian University has undertaken such a project. Despite the broader contextual factors driving the BSW Singapore, it is important to establish from the start that the programme has been conceptualised, by the researcher, as a collaborative approach to the development of international social work education. This is a necessary framework to avoid the pitfall of constructing the Department of Social Work as experts in the experiences of others and therefore giving rise to challenges of professional

imperialism that feature in some of the debates about international social work and concern that promotion of a dominant Western world view denies other perspectives (Yip 2004a; Gray 2005; Haug 2005; Yip 2005a), a theme further explored in Chapter 2. The Department of Social Work's educational partner in Singapore has played a key role in the development of the programme. The partner has not acted as only a location for teaching activities and student administration; rather it has actively accepted its own stake in the programme and sought to be actively involved in various aspects of its delivery.

The reasons for Department of Social Work at Monash University embarking on this project were many and complex. Some of these will become clear in the literature review. The direction of moving towards offshore delivery of the BSW Singapore was consistent with the then directions of the Australian Federal Government. The position of the Australian Federal Government was to predict that new opportunities for higher education would develop in emerging global markets (Nelson 2002a). Such international focus was to be incorporated into Monash University's strategic directions plan that emphasises a deep commitment to internationalisation and cross-cultural communication (Monash University 2005).

The Department of Social Work at Monash University was established in 1974, its basic aim being to educate undergraduate students who, upon graduation, could take up social work practice in a variety of fields, using a variety of methods of practice. The approach was generic rather than specialised, a broad foundation upon which the course still rests (Department of Social Work 2006a).

A major innovation undertaken during the 1980s was the development and delivery of a Distance Education programme from 1989. Initially with the support of the Victorian Government and later the Australian Federal Government, this was the first course to offer social work education by distance education mode. This course was regarded as a major contribution to social work's mission of social justice and advocacy (Department of Social Work 2006a). The original intent of the distance education mode was to assist

students, who due to factors such as rural or remote locations, work or family obligations, were unable to access on-campus social work education.

The BSW Singapore project commenced in 2001 after Monash University's long-term educational partner in Singapore initiated an approach (Brown & Brydon 2004). The specific request at that time was to develop the BSW programme in Singapore, in order to meet the needs of students with Polytechnic qualifications but working in the social welfare field, to gain social work qualifications. The clear position of the Singapore Government was that they wanted students to obtain an Australian-accredited social work qualification. There were debates within the University and the Department of Social Work regarding the appropriateness of offering a social work education programme in Singapore before agreeing to do so.

During 2002 staff from the Department of Social Work, Monash University, made several visits to Singapore to investigate the potential for offering the Bachelor of Social Work in Singapore. At that time the Singapore Government had embarked on a programme to develop its social service industry and to increase the level of professionalism among welfare personnel. A series of discussions were conducted with the Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Sports (MCYS), the National Council of Social Services (NCSS), the Singapore Association of Social Workers (SASW) and staff and students in the Diploma of Human Service Management at Nanyang Polytechnic.

Supported by the wider University through a funding grant, the Department of Social Work was able to advance its endeavours to establish demand and feasibility for the undertaking, as well as comply with University procedures and quality assurance requirements to establish the BSW Singapore programme. As part of these procedures to establish the BSW Singapore, provisional accreditation was gained from the Australian Association of Social Workers (AASW) in August 2003 and accreditation from the SASW in mid 2004. A review was undertaken by an accreditation panel, under the auspice of the AASW, in late 2006. This review recommended that the BSW Singapore

unreservedly be afforded full accreditation status (Accreditation Panel 2006). This recommendation was accepted by the Board of the AASW in March 2007.

A key part of these processes was the articulation of student qualifications into the BSW. A significant concern of both the AASW and the SASW was this process of articulation, the concerns being vested in a desire to ensure that the professional standards of the respective organisations were maintained and that future students would have the capacity to meet academic standards required of University level study. There was also concern that Singaporean-accepted educational standards not be compromised as it was anticipated that a number of potential students may not have achieved the standards required of a Singaporean University degree. At the same time there was commitment to adhering to the standards of the AASW, particularly the requirement that social work students upon entering the degree have prerequisite studies of the individual and of society, on the basis that students were going to achieve an Australian qualification and needed to meet the same prerequisites as Australian students.

The educational system in Singapore is different from Australia and is seen as lacking flexibility. There are primary school leaving examinations that lead to particular streams being entered by students at secondary level. Opportunities for entry into tertiary education have been limited compared to Australia. Only the best students go into advanced level streaming and are destined for University (Tan, J 2003). The streaming flows on throughout post-school studies making it difficult to move from Polytechnic education to University courses and from one profession to another. It was discovered that some potential students struggled with access to the BSW because of the pattern of Singapore education and the absence of articulation between Polytechnic Diplomas and University Degrees. Therefore it was decided to develop special additional study units, termed bridging units, for students needing to undertake additional studies to gain entry into the degree programme. Details of the articulated pathways into the BSW Singapore are contained in Appendix 1.

Clearly a considerable degree of preparatory work had been undertaken before the first cohort of students commenced the bridging units in late 2003. This preparatory work included negotiations with the Singapore Government and its relevant agents, negotiations with the Social Service Training Institute (SSTI)¹ as the educational partner, negotiations to gain provisional accreditation from the two professional bodies involved and, of course, the recruitment of students.

A total of fourteen students commenced the BSW Singapore in early 2004. Of these, nine completed their studies on a full time basis, graduating at the end of 2005. Of the four remaining students, one decided to withdraw from the course having reached a decision that social work was not her preferred profession. The remaining three students completed their studies on a part time basis. In 2004 the course accepted twenty-two students into the bridging programme and twenty-one students entered the BSW Singapore. In 2005 the course accepted 22 students into the bridging units with nineteen entering the BSW Singapore in 2006. While the BSW Singapore continues to be offered, these cohorts of students constitute the research subjects identified for this study.

To oversight and manage the course, the Department of Social Work at Monash has adopted three key strategies. Firstly, the day-to-day management is co-ordinated by a dedicated academic position with administrative support. Secondly, in 2004 a Singapore Working Group, comprised of academic staff, was established and met regularly, throughout 2004 and 2005, to determine matters of policy and to resolve issues as they arose. The need for this approach diminished as the programme developed and other, existing committees² assumed the tasks of the Singapore Working Group. Specifically, the Undergraduate Committee assumed responsibilities commensurate with the ways that other student progress issues, across all study modes, are addressed. Thirdly, there has been established a pattern of monthly tele-conferences between the Department of Social

¹ SSTI was established in 2003 as the training arm of the National Council of Social Service (Singapore) and is mandated to assume a strategic and leadership role in the development of training and education for the social services sector.

² Specifically the Department of Social Work Undergraduate Committee now addresses all matters relating to students in the BSW Singapore consistent with the way this Committee manages student matters for the On-campus and Distance Education programmes.

Work and SSTI. These tele-conferences, supplemented by face-to-face meetings when academic staff are in Singapore, address all matters of programme development in a collaborative fashion.

With regard to the teaching model a mode of study has been developed that combines features of both an on-campus and a distance education approach. Based on advice from the Singapore partner that students would want face-to-face tuition, the mode of study is that at the commencement of each semester staff from the Department of Social Work at Monash University travel to Singapore to deliver workshops to the students. The students then work through the course material over the course of the semester. Under the original model, weekly classes were delivered by tutors recruited, employed and supported by SSTI. However, as time progressed it became apparent that more students than anticipated undertook full time study and they faced difficulties in keeping up with the pattern of weekly classes on top of full time work and so the model was modified³. The students are required to submit the same work as students in other Department of Social Work teaching programmes and academic staff at Monash carry out all assessment.

As well, the tutors engage in a meeting each semester with visiting Monash staff, to review the teaching of the previous semester and to plan teaching for the coming semester. The tutors are provided with tutor's manuals and also maintain direct contact with the subject unit co-ordinator, mainly via e-mail.

Students in the BSW Singapore undertake field placements in Singapore based agencies. The AASW gave permission in 2003 for students to undertake both field placements in a non-Australian setting. However, in all other respects, the field placements mirror AASW requirements for Australian delivered courses.

³ The variation to the teaching model came after a process of consultation with students, the Singapore Standing Committee of the Social Work Board of Studies and the educational partner. The model implemented in mid 2007 consists of weekly face-to-face classes in all skills subjects and monthly face-to-face contact in all other subjects. Under these changed arrangements there has been no evidence of change (deterioration) in the academic results achieved by the students. These arrangements have been subject to ongoing discussion and monitoring and are due for review in the latter half of 2009.

Students in the BSW Singapore also meet the other requirements of Monash University, as evidenced by the fact that all University rules and regulations govern all aspects of the programme. Students are provided with Supplementary Manuals that very closely resemble the Supplementary Manuals offered to students in other BSW programmes offered by the Department of Social Work. They are subject to University policies regarding extensions, penalties for late submissions of work, attendance at class, oversight by the Departmental Undergraduate Committee and all other aspects of monitoring of academic progress.

1.3 The themes emergent from the BSW Singapore

In any pioneering undertaking there are inevitably a plethora of issues which emerge. The BSW Singapore was no exception. To a significant extent the programme unfolded as a *work in progress*, problems emerging where none were foreseen and questions arising for which there was no precedent for the answer.

However, key themes did become apparent. Some had relevance specifically to social work and others had relevance to the broader context of intentional education in a rapidly changing world. What follows is a brief summary of the emergent themes, each of which will be explored in detail in the literature review. They are, however, the themes that shaped the research questions and the desired research outcomes, falling into five primary categories which will now be discussed in turn.

1.3.1 The conceptual model

Australia has a history, dating from the 1950s, of engagement in international education although this was mainly in terms of recruitment of foreign academics and the provision of education to a relatively small number of overseas students under aid programmes (Department of Education, Science and Training 2002a & 2002b). The move in Australia towards the current wave of internationalisation resulted from a mixture of policy, management and circumstances (Department of Education, Science and Training 2002a

& 2002b; Marginson 2002a). From the Singapore perspective, since independence in 1965 the country has built a reputation by embracing Western economic models and technology, life in Singapore being shaped by the demands of international capitalism (Sanderson 2002). Singapore is not unfamiliar with ideas associated with cross-national movements of ideas, institutions, teachers and students (Sanderson 2002).

Despite early successes there remain a number of questions about the face of international education. Transnational education, that is education developed in one country and being offered in another country, despite its benefits, raises questions about the maintenance of quality when programmes are delivered transnationally; there are questions about the appropriateness of foreign content and teaching methods, and codes of ethical practice (McBurnie 2000). There must also be a question as to the intent of transnational education. There are clear motivators regarding funding and policy driven market strategies. However, there are also motivators about ensuring that curriculum development will enable students to work anywhere in the world, to better equip students to develop cultural competency, and to develop better educational programmes through benchmarking (Department of Education, Science and Training 2001), although it is not clear as to the extent to which these latter objectives are achieved.

To some extent these issues have begun to be addressed. There is a Code of Ethics developed by the Australian Vice-Chancellors (Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee 2005c) as well as quality assurance guidelines (Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee 2005a). As well, Monash University has set directions for the long-term development of internationalisation strategies (Monash University 2005). The Department of Social Work has also commenced to consider the implications of offshore programmes for curriculum development across social work education programmes, although these efforts remain in their infancy.

That there are moves towards internationalisation of education is clear. What is not so clear is the model which is being, or should be, adopted. In the move to internationalisation, student mobility is replaced with mobility of the study programme,

transnational education being attractive to students wishing to gain a foreign qualification without leaving their home country (McBurnie 2000). Australia outpaces the United States in the Asian market and is a serious player in the emerging market in China (Marginson 2002b). However, Australian higher education remains essentially monocultural in form and American/Anglo in content (Marginson 2002b).

1.3.2 Teaching in offshore programmes

Australian Universities, in accordance with government policies, have placed significant emphasis on internationalisation of curricula but the moves towards an international focus raise multiple issues around the nature of curricula, and challenge learning and teaching approaches (Rizvi 2002; Asmar 2005). The focus of moves towards internationalisation have, however, rested on revenue generation with less focus on what this means for teaching students in offshore contexts in particular and from international backgrounds in general.

To date, little has been written about teaching and learning in higher education in offshore programmes (Dunn & Wallace 2004). Although students may have selected the Monash programme due to a desire to be a part of international education, they may also have selected a Monash programme due to difficulties in gaining a local University place. Students also want case studies to be culturally specific, criticising case studies developed only from an Australian perspective (Dunn & Wallace 2004). Academics travelling to foreign locations face intensive teaching and are often required to teach over weekends (Gribble & Zigarus 2003). Academic staff therefore have to balance travel, offshore teaching and, potentially, diminished time for onshore students.

1.3.3 Student readiness

The other aspect of teaching in offshore programmes is about student readiness for the learning approach. Singapore is a pluralist society consisting of four main ethnic groups, being Chinese, Malay and Indians with a smaller number of other ethnic groups. The

experience in Singapore has demonstrated that students come from a wide variety of educational and ethnic backgrounds, the majority not possessing an undergraduate degree of Australian University standard.

Education in Singapore prior to World War II consisted of different language schools catering to the different ethnic groups (Gopinathan, Kam & Saravanan 2004; Kang 2004). The national education system of Singapore was planned in 1956, with government policy from 1959 making it clear that social cohesion and the development of national identity would be achieved through education (Kam & Gopinthan 1999).

The challenge facing Singapore in the 1960s was to rapidly industrialise and, in order to gain maximum benefits from economic development, there was need to upgrade the skills of workers. Government has since linked educational policy to continued economic development, defining its future skill needs and translating these into targets to determine outputs from the education system (Ashton *et al.* (2002). Throughout the past forty years education in Singapore has been through a series of reforms, as the maturing economy required different skills. In 1979 streaming of students was introduced as a means by which the demand for education could be managed, with need to identify and develop both general educational and vocational approaches. Streaming was planned on the basis of academic ability, primarily in languages and mathematics (Kam & Gopinthan 1999). Government has expanded tertiary education but, in doing so, has maintained the distinction between the technical orientation of Polytechnics and the academic orientation of Universities (Ashton *et al.* 2002).

Policy directions, linked to economic needs, have largely determined student educational experiences and there are still differences in achievement between the ethnic groups (Kang 2004), and the nature of these differences will be outlined in subsequent chapters. From an Australian perspective, Asian students are commonly stereotyped as rote learners whereas the demands for flexible learning calls for students to be more self-directed and self-motivated in order to learn (Samarawickrema 2005). This raises

questions about how prepared Singapore students are to enter a programme of tertiary education based on flexible learning models.

1.3.4 The nature of international social work

There is a history of social work having an international focus dating from the midnineteenth century when representatives of private and public charities began to organise international conferences to share their experiences (Friedlander 1968). Despite the historical focus on internationalisation, within social work several definitions of international social work persist.

The term, *international social work*, was originally coined to describe the professional activities of agencies engaged in international activities such as the Red Cross and the United Nations (Friedlander 1968; Abram, Slosar & Walls 2005). The question of international social work is both complex and contested. At this point only a brief summary of the nature of international social work will be offered preparatory to a more detailed discussion in the literature review in Chapter 2.

International social work has also been defined to refer to the profession and practice as it exists in different parts of the world; the different roles social workers perform; and the different social problems they face and the methods used to respond to these (Hokenstad, Khinduka & Midgley 1992). Yet another view of international social work refers to international action by the social work profession and its members (Healy 2001). The concept of international action includes internationally related domestic practice and advocacy, international exchange of social work information and experiences, international practice whereby social workers contribute directly to international development, and international policy development and advocacy (Healy 2001).

The International Federation of Social Workers continues to grapple with the definition of international social work. The current definition emphasises a focus on the person in environment, identifying the central organising concept of social work as being the

intervention that occurs at the interface of human beings and their environment (Hare 2004).

It is clear that there is difficulty in reaching agreement about the nature of international social work. This may, in part, be due to the different value and cultural bases of different societies and the extent to which they are compatible. Social work is a discipline with its origins in the Judeo-Christian tradition of western society where the emphasis is on the individualist tradition (Payne 1997 & 2005). There is debate as to the extent that the resulting models are compatible with societies that give importance to interdependence within families and a collectivist tradition (Payne 1997; Tsang & Yan 2001; Payne 2005). The same debate applies to the question of professional Codes of Ethics. Broad codes, which emphasise universality, are limited in their capacity to promote diverse interests and the different voices of modern pluralist society (Briskman & Noble 1999). Equally there is concern that the emphasis of social work on its knowledge base has come at a cost to the attention paid to social work's values and mission (Bisman 2004). As well there are voices that suggest social work is facing critical challenges and its future is by no means certain (Lymbery 2001; Asquith, Clark & Waterhouse 2005).

An associated difficulty with the nature of international social work is the way in which cross cultural dialogue is forming new forms of indigenisation as the profession seeks to move to some form of universalism, thus presenting a paradox for the profession. There are critics that will hold that the move towards internationalisation raises concerns that there is a trend towards promotion of Western world-views over diverse local practices (Gray 2005). A pressing issue would appear that each culture needs to develop improved self-knowledge in order to then engage in dialogue with other cultures.

Within a context of a contested understanding of international social work, the Monash degree in Singapore has gained accreditation by both the AASW and the SASW, as the accrediting professional bodies. Herein lays a major challenge. In seeking to ensure that the BSW remains consistent with Australian accreditation standards and requirements, the course must also reflect the offshore context and be relevant to that cultural context.

Arguably, the move to offshore delivery will, in the longer term, alter the nature and understanding of Australian social work education and social work practice as well as altering Singapore social work practice.

1.3.5 The fieldwork practicum

An integral component of social work education is the field practicum where the student undertakes field practicum with the intent of integrating classroom learning with the realities of direct practice. Such integration occurs when the student is able to make sense of previously unrelated events and becomes able to articulate the theory being applied to the situation (Cleak & Wilson 2004). Field practicum is an experiential form of learning that has goals about preparing students for direct social work practice (Jenkins & Sheafor 1982). In the Singapore programme the delivery of the field practicum is a collaborative effort between the Singapore partner and the University. The partner has responsibility to identify practicum options, to organise the actual placement and to ensure that liaison is provided in accordance with AASW standards. The University maintains the overall responsibility including the assessment of outcomes.

Although field practicum has always been a feature of social work education, social work education has been consistently unable or unwilling to submit field practicum processes to disciplined evaluation (Jenkins & Sheafor 1982; Cleak & Wilson 2004). In addition, there is a diminishing source of field practicum as governments seek to control costs and cut spending (Jarman-Rohde 1997). The AASW has always been specific about all matters pertinent to a field practicum programme, outlining length of placement, requirements for practicum in two different fields of practice and the qualifications of field supervisors (Australian Association of Social Workers 2000). However, these standards have been developed to govern the provision of social work education within Australia. Except for a requirement that Australian students may undertake only a single practicum in another country, the standards were silent on matters pertinent to social work education delivered by an Australian University in an offshore location. This began to change with the BSW Singapore being granted exemption from the above practicum

requirement and with the advent of new standards in 2008 that allowed recognition of offshore programmes for the first time (Australian Association of Social Workers 2008).

The literature on field practicum in the Asian context appears limited if not non-existent. The researcher was only able to identify one source of literature on the establishment of a field practicum option by an Australian University at an offshore location (Tesoriero & Rajaratnam 2001). However, this does not detail the delivery of an entire programme. The experience, so far in Singapore, suggests that there are similar trends confronting the fieldwork practicum, in Singapore, as elsewhere. Agencies are facing similar challenges of cost constraint and workload demands. An additional problem was the identification of field supervisors with qualifications meeting the requirements of the AASW (Australian Association of Social Workers 2000), particularly around the length of degree held by prospective supervisors. These issues resulted in difficulties until the AASW reviewed standards and gave recognition to a wider range of social work qualifications⁴ (Australian Association of Social Workers 2008).

1.3.6 Summary of themes

The development and delivery of an offshore social work education programme presents a number of challenges. The conceptual basis for the internationalisation remains unclear; that is, the nature of the model which should be utilised, and which would maintain quality, is unclear. A closely related issue is the currently only limited experience about how to effectively teach in offshore programmes and the implications this may have for curriculum. Together these components raise significant questions as to the appropriate nature of the curricula taught and teaching strategies in offshore programmes, as well as the implications this may have for curricula in onshore programmes. Internationalisation ultimately will affect both domestic and offshore teaching approaches.

⁴ In essence, these new standards allowed the supervision of a field practicum to be provided by a social worker with a qualification recognised as a legitimate social work qualification in the country where the field practicum was taking place. In terms of implementation this meant that those Singaporean social workers recognised as eligible for membership of the SASW (but not necessarily eligible for membership of the AASW) could supervise students during the field practicum.

Beyond these implications for curricula, there are also professional issues to be confronted. The nature of international social work has been, and remains, a contested entity. Within this context, there are concerns regarding efforts to internationalise which can be seen to be driven by motives of professional imperialism and colonisation at a time when in some instances countries are seeking to develop their own indigenised form of practice. This professional debate has particular implications for the development and delivery of the field practicum under conditions of diminishing resources for field practicum programmes. These identified themes will be expanded on in the literature review presented in Chapter 2.

1.4 The research

This study incorporates a thorough literature review covering issues such as policy and practice contexts in both Singapore and Australia as well as of critical debates in the realm of international social work. The literature review surveys literature and pertinent research, documentation on Singapore needs and Codes of Ethics of the relevant professional associations in both Singapore and Australia.

The selected methodology emphasises qualitative research methods. The character of qualitative research is the attempt to obtain an in-depth understanding of various perspectives (Wainwright 1997). The essence of qualitative research is inherently inductive seeking to discover, rather than explain, theory (Padgett 1998). This means that, in this research, it is focussed on gaining understanding to guide continued efforts to develop an internationalised approach to social work education.

The decision to focus the research on a single offshore location, and across a specific time period, lends itself to the adoption of a case study approach. The case study method enables holistic and in-depth investigation (Tellis 1997; Gilgun 2001). The case study approach intends to illuminate a decision, or set of decisions, investigating phenomena in real life situations (Yin 1989 & 2003). Case study approaches are usually appropriate when *how* or *why* questions are being posed (Yin 1989 & 2003).

A mixture of written questionnaires, focus groups and direct interviews were adopted as the research strategy. The study considers the students who undertook their studies during the period 2004 - 2006. This is the period of teaching of the first two cohorts of students entering and, mostly, completing the program.

1.4.1 The research questions

The purpose of this research is to critically review the Monash BSW Singapore programme over the period 2004 - 2006. The primary research question is:

How should an Australian University introduce a social work education programme into a different cultural context? What are the historical, contemporary and policy issues and trends in the host and recipient countries (in this case Australia and Singapore) which influence and shape the delivery of a particular programme in an off-shore context?

Within this overarching framework the associated research questions were:

- 1. What do the major human service providers/stakeholders in Singapore consider to be:
 - a. The significant social issues confronting them;
 - b. What they need from qualified social work professionals in terms of skills and knowledge for practice; and
 - c. What are the critical issues for an international social work education programme?
- 2. What are the experiences of our former social work students in terms of our ability to deliver what they need to enter professional practice?

- 3. What are the experiences of our former social work students in terms of:
 - a. Their ability to apply their theoretical skills and knowledge to field practica; and
 - b. To apply their theoretical skills and knowledge to professional practice after graduation.
- 4. What are the experiences of our field supervisors in terms of:
 - a. The ability of our former students to apply their skills and knowledge to field practica; and
 - b. The ability of our former students to apply their skills and knowledge to professional practice after graduation.

1.4.2 Broader implications sought

This critical review seeks insights and outcomes able to:

- 1. Consider the role of Australian social work and its applicability to an offshore context, with particular emphasis on the Monash programme as a national leader in the field of social work education;
- 2. Identify the ways in which curriculum may need to be modified and/or redeveloped to meet the dual responsibilities towards local and offshore students;
- 3. Identify the ways in which fieldwork programmes may need to be re-developed with particular reference to the standards required by the Australian Association of Social Workers and the needs of the local context; and

4. Contribute to the further development of Australian internationalisation strategies on higher education, again with particular reference to Monash University.

1.4.3 Significance of the research

The BSW Singapore offered by Monash University is the first such social work programme offered by an Australian University at an offshore location. This factor alone makes this research significant, as it is researching new frontiers. However, there are four deeper and equally compelling aspects to the significance of this research.

Firstly, the research considers the role of Australian social work curriculum and its applicability to an offshore context, with particular emphasis on the Monash program as a national leader in the field of social work education. The research identifies the ways in which the current Bachelor of Social Work curriculum may need to be modified and/or re-developed to meet the dual responsibilities towards local and offshore students.

Secondly, the research identifies the ways in which field practicum programmes may need to be re-developed with particular reference to the standards required by the AASW and the needs of the local context. This notes a range of differences in professional association standards, different working hours/days and different professional expectations in the respective contexts.

Thirdly, the research contributes to the further development of Australian internationalisation strategies on higher education, again with particular reference to Monash University. The literature review highlights contemporary trends in the development of international education and the implications of this for both the nation developing the educational package and the nation hosting the educational package. This research yields important insights into the nature of internationalisation of the curriculum and the implications of internationalisation for all students, not just those at the offshore location (Clifford & Joseph 2005).

Fourthly, the literature review highlights key debates in the nature of international social work in both the historical and contemporary context. This research adds another dimension to the contemporary debate. It offers insights into the tensions, dilemmas and opportunities of the lived experience, rather than more academic and abstract debate about the nature of international social work.

1.4.4 Limitations of the research

As with any research there are clear limitations to this research. The research design, as well as the selection of a single subject from the curriculum as a primary area of inquiry contributes to the identified limitations. As with any research, there was a need to ensure that the research remained both focussed and manageable. Within this context a number of limitations can be discussed and identified.

Firstly, the research considers only the views of Singapore based stakeholders. A crossnational comparison between Australian stakeholders such as social work practitioners,
academics and students and their Singaporean counterparts, for example, would have
yielded valuable insights. Such cross national comparison may have been able to better
inform key debates around internationalisation of curriculum and the nature of
international social work. As will be explained further in Chapters 3 and 5, there was a
limitation in selection of the sample concerned with gaining access to organisations able
to facilitate contact with potential research respondents. The SASW generously allowed
their organisation to be a conduit for establishing contact with research respondents,
however, not all players in the social service sector are members of this organisation thus
limiting the selection of research participants.

Secondly, the research was confined to a specific, and arguably limited, time frame. New insights on the key research questions would have been likely to emerge over time. As well, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, the research needed to confine itself to selection of students, tutors and supervisors through a strategy that presupposed each being a member of the SASW. This position, although limiting the potential breadth of the

research, reflected a pragmatic choice around the capacity of the researcher to gain access to the research population.

Thirdly, the research did not consider variables such as the influence of gender, age, marital status and length of experience in the welfare and/or policy sector. Arguably, analysis of the data according to such variables would have offered richer analysis and diversity of views.

Fourthly, the research elected to emphasise a single subject from the total BSW curriculum. That subject was fieldwork practicum and was selected as it is a subject that reflects the point where theory and practice come together and allow students to demonstrate their readiness for practice. Consideration of all subjects, both collectively and individually, again would arguably have offered richer and deeper insights into the strengths of the programme.

Fifthly, it is noted that this research does not consider the views of the direct service users, or the clients, with whom the BSW Singapore students and graduates interacted. The voices of this group of service users are a noted omission in the professional literature (Payne 2005). However, it was considered that inclusion of this group of service users was beyond the scope of this research and lacked feasibility.

Finally, the research ultimately was based on a less than planned and desirable sample size, thus limiting the capacity to generalise from the findings. There were unanticipated difficulties in recruiting research subjects in all proposed categories of respondents. This problem did, however, contribute to a significant finding that will be presented and discussed in Chapter 5.

Conclusion

This Chapter offered an overview of the study undertaken. It commenced with a description of the respective national contexts for the study, described the BSW

Singapore programme developed by the Department of Social Work, Monash University and then described how the research questions evolved. The Chapter also highlights the significance and the limitations of the research.

Chapter 2 will present a review of literature pertinent to this study. This Chapter will, firstly, discuss the broad concepts of globalisation and internationalisation, with reference to the impact of these trends on the delivery of higher education. Secondly, there will be discussion of the Singapore policy and educational contexts followed by discussion of the Australian educational and policy contexts. Thirdly, this Chapter will briefly consider how social work has developed and explore key contemporary debates in social work with particular reference to the contested nature of international social work and the nature of the field practicum.

Chapter 3 will outline the methodology adopted. This research is an exploratory case study utilising qualitative methods for the collection and analysis of original data. This Chapter will pay attention to the ethical dimensions of the research and will detail the processes adopted in the research.

Chapter 4 will present the quantitative data, extracted from secondary sources, that outlines current trends in education with emphasis on trends in international education as well as educational data pertinent to Singapore and Australia.

Chapter 5 will present the qualitative data obtained during the course of the research. The Chapter will also offer discussion and analysis of the research data according to the key research questions. The intent here is to link the findings to the purpose and intent of the research.

Chapter 6 will draw conclusions emerging from the research. These will be related to the research questions and will also provide recommendations about future research directions and policy positions that should be addressed in relation to social work education and the internationalisation agenda of the University.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will explore four key areas of literature pertinent to the research questions. That this literature review is detailed, in part, reflects the journey the researcher undertook in seeking to understand the nature of the Singapore context and the complexities of international education. It also reflects the depth with which the responses to the research question needed to be developed and this literature review, to a significant extent, became a part of the data collection in this research.

The literature review offers an overview of contemporary thought in relation to globalisation and the internationalisation of education. It then considers the nature of welfare policy and educational policy in both the Australian and Singaporean contexts before moving to review some contemporary issues in social work with particular reference to the fieldwork practicum. These areas are all considered central to offering the reader an overview of the context surrounding the BSW Singapore.

2.1 Introduction

There are two major aims of this literature review. These aims are connected to the overall direction of the research and are considered directly related to the research question. The adoption of these two aims intends to offer a framework for understanding the paradigms that underpin the research and led to the formulation of the research question as well as some of the conclusions surrounding proposed future directions for Australian social work education that emerged from the research.

Firstly, the intent is to offer an overview of the contemporary forces of internationalisation and globalisation and how these complexities shape the establishment of the Monash BSW in an offshore location. Contemporary social, political and cultural discourse, as well as *lived experience*, is significantly influenced by global forces to such an extent that the future of the nation state is under question in some quarters. However, it will be demonstrated that contemporary processes of globalisation and

internationalisation are by no means new phenomena; rather they are well established historical phenomena. What is new is the pace and scope of these phenomena.

Secondly, the intent is to offer some understanding of the Singapore context specifically, as well as some consideration of the broader East Asian context. Failure to acknowledge this context runs the risk that the dominant white, Anglo/Saxon perspective, historically vested in Judeo/Christian traditions, will dominate this analysis. Singapore is part of an equally rich historical tradition vested in centuries old Asian cultural traditions.

Internationalisation is not a unilateral process (Clifford & Joseph 2005). To deliver a culturally relevant, pedagogically sound educational curriculum, able to simultaneously meet the needs of students from two different cultural and geographic locations, involves striving for changes in mind-set not only of students in the host nation but also of academics in the originating nation and ultimately also of students studying in the originating nation.

2.2 Internationalisation and globalisation

Internationalisation and globalisation, particularly the latter, have become widespread terms used across a range of discourses and disciplines in recent decades. They are interrelated but different concepts that may be understood from a range of perspectives. The dominant influence, however, tends to be one of economic development (Davies & Nyland 2004; Mullard 2004; Harris 2005), despite the fact that globalisation takes a range of forms (Mishra 1999; Meyer 2000; Mok 2006). Globalisation is a highly contested concept, poorly defined and not well understood (Scholte 2002; Dominelli 2004; Mishra 2004). It is within the context of contemporary globalisation that we also need to examine contemporary trends in higher education.

2.2.1 What do we mean by internationalisation and globalisation?

Globalisation is a term that takes on different meanings for different people, having been described as a protean, or variable, term (Gough 2001). The growing impact of globalisation has led many governments to re-think their governance strategies for coping with rapid social and economic change, some common trends emerging such as marketisation, commodisation and corporatisation (Mok 2005). However, some question the extent to which globalisation is an inevitable trend over which national governments can exert little influence, and the extent to which national governments apparently acquiesce to globalisation in order to serve their own political ends (Mendes 2002; Mullard 2004; Mok 2005).

Globalisation is not a new trend, exchanges between nations having occurred throughout history. The nation state was built on a principle whereby citizens were members living within the borders of a defined territory (Fulcher 2000). These historical origins are more accurately described as a process of internationalisation, as distinct from globalisation. *Internationalisation* refers to exchanges between nation states, represented by bi-lateral or multi-lateral relations between individual nations, presupposing the nation state as the essential unit (Marginson 1999). Under the paradigm of internationalisation, nation states maintain sovereignty over their own affairs (Dale 1999), and are geographic entities with national borders. Nation states define their fundamental purpose as concerned with socioeconomic development, welfare provision and individual rights, justice and equality (Meyer 2000).

Globalisation has been described as the compression of the world into a single entity, the *take-off* period for globalisation potentially being the period 1880 – 1925. During these years there were substantial advances in transcultural and transcontinental communication due to the development of railways, telegraph and steamship travel (Menhoff & Writs 1999). The term *globalisation* was coined in the second half of the twentieth century and has spread across disciplines, the world, theoretical perspectives and across the political spectrum (Scholte 2002). Globalisation represents a new form of

relationship between nation states and the rest of the world. There is debate about the extent to which the nation state remains relevant (Mishra 1998; Dale 1999; Esping-Andersen 2000; Fulcher 2000; Meyer 2000; Mullard 2004). It has been argued that, in the late twentieth century, globalisation began to dissolve the nexus between the economic and the social, downgrading the social and allowing ascendency for markets and economics (Mishra 1998; Gough 2001).

Contemporary globalisation trends clearly reflect not a new phenomenon but an existing phenomenon characterised by increased pace and degree of change (Scholte 2002). Contemporary globalisation is characterised by openness of national economies to trade and financial flows, resulting in greater mobility of capital, investment and production processes (Mishra 1999; Gough 2001; Mullard 2004; Harris 2005). Globalisation is concerned with linkages and inter-connections between nation states, through complex and all-embracing practices, that have not undermined the nation state so much as forcing it to change (Marginson 1999).

The notion that globalisation can be linked to political, rather than technological drivers, reflects the liberalisation of world financial markets which enables opportunity to amass fortunes offshore (Bienefeld 1996). Globalisation is also associated with issues of power and influence and the ability of multi-national corporations to influence change at both national and international levels (Mullard 2004). The notion is that, in seeking sources of cheap labour, multi-national corporations make deals with governments concerning tax regimes and non-recognition of local labour standards (Mullard 2004).

Forces that have made contemporary globalisation possible include the ending of the Bretton-Woods agreement that governed post World War II economic and political arrangements, dividing the world into two major blocs that promoted American hegemony (Dale 1999; Bruff 2005). The failure, or re-shaping, of communism, especially in Europe, bought about a world no longer characterised by the Cold War (Lyons 1999). As well, the world has seen the end of colonialism as well as the rise of feminism (Mishra 1984; Lyons 1999; Myles & Quadagno 2002). By the end of the twentieth century,

communism was no longer conceptualised as a viable alternative to capitalism (Mishra 1999), giving rise to changed political conditions and opening the way for globalisation to attain ascendency.

Globalisation can be defined as a process of intensifying global social inter-relatedness whereby space and time are compressed and previously separated locations are brought closer. In general terms, globalisation involves *the destruction of distance*, through the development of communication technologies that bring places closer together (Fulcher 2000), this process being made possible largely through new forms of technology, particularly information technology (Harris 2005).

In popular understanding, globalisation is strongly linked to the diffusion of orthodox neo-liberal economics through international financial institutions, the integration of the markets and the rise of transnational corporations (Eschle 2002). Globalisation has been explained as internationalisation, as liberalisation, as universalisation and as Westernisation (Scholte 2002). Notions of globalisation have blurred the boundaries between the domestic and the international (Grugel 2003). Globalisation has reached into all aspects of public and private life and in this sense can be defined as the organisation of social relations in ways that promote the penetration of capitalist forces and reproduction into arenas of life hitherto deemed sacrosanct from market driven imperatives (Dominelli 2004).

Contemporary globalisation appears to have breathed new life into the neo-conservative ideology of social welfare providing a powerful justification for retrenching the welfare state (Mishra 1996). The idea is that a strong social welfare system is incompatible with the conditions and needs of the global market and therefore is obsolete. The idea is one of shrinking the welfare sector in order to reduce taxation and lower social benefits, abandoning universality and making benefits targeted to the needy, encouraging private provision and introducing competition in the supply of social welfare (Mishra 1996). There is growing dissociation between economic and social standards, the neo-liberal thrust of globalisation being to strengthen market forces and the economic realm at the

cost of institutions of social protection, capital having enhanced power compared to other players in civil society in the contemporary context (Mishra 1998; Gough 2001). A causal link between contemporary globalisation and welfare systems is, however, difficult to establish (Gough 2001). Rather, there is evidence that the pressures of globalisation are mediated by domestic and international institutions, interests and ideas; national social polices being driven by domestic conflicts and policy feedbacks within nationally specific institutional forms and by national actors (Gough 2001). These interactions can be conceptualised as consisting of the interplay of global and domestic pressures which produce domestic policy consequences (See Appendix 2), for a model illustrating this interplay.

Contemporary globalisation constitutes a new and distinct form of relationship between nation states and world economies, taking many different forms. Financial deregulation and increased mobility of capital and money have transformed neo-liberalism from a political ideology in the market state to a policy imperative of global capitalism. It has been argued that nation states continue to play a mediating role against the pressures exerted by globalisation; however this mediating role tends to move in the directions of promoting labour flexibility, depressing wages and weakening social welfare arrangements (Harris 2005).

The lack of specific definition of globalisation, as well as the varied conceptions of globalisation, suggests, to some, that there is little purpose in pursuing a specific definition of globalisation (Scholte 2004). But, if there is a case to pursue a definition, analysis of the discussions appears to neglect the important issue of the politics of globalisation and the politics of how globalisation is studied (Scholte 2004). These are important considerations which give rise to debate about the extent to which national governments are shaped by globalisation and the extent to which they use globalisation for their own political ends.

Examination of anti-globalisation thought suggests most opponents are rejecting the rise of neo-liberal ideology rather than rejecting the spread of globalisation (Scholte 2004).

Anti-globalisation sentiment is strong in the United States where the concern is that embracing globalisation will mean that the views of the United States will be given less prominence (Robertson 2003). It has been suggested that one important consequence of globalisation is that the important distinctions between people are no longer ideological or political, but are differences between tribes, ethnic groups and religious communities. Although a strongly contested position, one suggestion is that the most pervasive and important clashes will not be between social classes but between different ethnic identities (Huntington 1996).

The extraordinary success of the post war economic miracles ultimately meant that capital, rather than state, was reconfirmed as the central social agency (Beilharz 2005). From the 1970s, both *laissez-faire* and pro-market ideologies posed an increasing challenge to the pro-state ideologies of earlier economists (Boyer 1996). The implications of globalisation for the delivery of social welfare remain a matter of much debate. The focus of the debate has rested largely on the institutional patterns of the welfare state, less attention being paid to other forms of social protection in the form of economic protectionism (Mishra 2004). The contention is that protectionism, as a form of social welfare developed at a time when the nation state was relatively protected from the global economy, has been weakened by the opening of national economies to market forces and international competition (Mishra 2004). This means that the nation state is less able to pursue welfare policies that protect the vulnerable, arguably because this compromises capacity to compete economically in a global context.

Throughout the debate on globalisation, a pervasive theme is about the role of the nation state in the contemporary world. Contemporary globalisation has been described by some as an exogenous event to which governments have to respond (Mullard 2004). There is argument that the nation state is greatly diminished in the globalised context, some claims suggesting that nation states are a thing of the past (Bienefeld 1996; Streeck 1996). Others suggest that economic globalisation has narrowed domestic policy choices and led to nation states being highly vulnerable to international trade, finance and capital movements (Mendes 2002).

In the past governments were able to manage their economies and approach full employment. However this began to change from the 1970s. From the 1990s soaring public deficits saw powerful financial markets rise to monitor every aspect of state spending to an extent that financial markets could shape broad policy goals (Boyer & Drache 1996). Nation states now develop domestic policies in line with world scripts (Meyer 2000). The globalised world is conceptualised as consisting of stateless polities, lacking central controlling political organisations with legitimate sovereignty over, or responsibility for, the whole (Dale 1999; Meyer 2000). Arguably, corporations, or more particularly multi-national corporations, have assumed this formerly political role.

The central debate, therefore, is about the extent to which nation states are passive recipients of the effects of globalisation and the extent to which they have elected to embrace globalisation, potentially for both political and financial gain. There is an argument that globalisation is not inevitable, rather that it represents a series of political decisions and political choices that could achieve different outcomes if there is political will (Mishra 1999; Mullard 2004). The reality is that globalisation tends to marginalise welfare by strengthening market forces at the cost of social protection, contributing to increased inequalities (Mishra 1998; Mullard 2004).

Globalisation represents a new set of rules. However, there is no reason to believe that all countries will either respond to or interpret these rules in the same way (Dale 1999). There remains pressure on governments to reduce deficits and to reduce taxes. Such pressures weaken social citizenship and also weaken strategies to fight poverty (Mishra 1999). As such, the nexus between the economic and the social is being eroded, the social being increasingly relegated to the private sphere (Mishra 1999).

As well, globalisation is not perceived to be fulfilling its commitment to free trade and open markets. Governments in powerful countries continue to provide subsidies to agriculture and manufacturing while at the same time imposing high tariffs on imports from developing countries (Mullard 2004). The two major globalising institutions are the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. However, these organisations remain

under the control of the countries that make the major financial contributions (Mullard 2004). Globalisation has never meant equality for all; its effect is to widen the divide between rich and poor, allowing wealthier nations to continue to exploit developing nations (Yang 2003).

Contemporary globalisation is couched in a discourse of the economic sphere. Current consequences of globalisation, and a rise in neo-liberal approaches, have led to widening income inequalities. More than half of the world's population feel that they are not a part of the global community (Mullard 2004) and this position has important implications for social work with its intentions to create a more equal and just society. As well, there are implications for social work and social work education and the ways in which it can develop in a range of settings across the globe.

2.2.2 Internationalisation of education

Higher education has always contained an international flavour (Bruch & Barty 1998; Scott 1998; Chan 2004), and students have moved internationally since medieval times (Welch 2002). However, in the past decade higher education has become increasingly international as more students choose to study abroad, enrol in foreign educational programmes and institutions in their home country or simply use the Internet to take courses offered in other countries (OECD 2004 & 2006a). Today, Universities form alliances for a number of reasons. In many instances these alliances are designed to enable them to compete (Chan 2004). In terms of student numbers, Europe receives the most international students among OECD countries (OECD 2004). The United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia together account for 54% of all foreign students from OECD countries; Asian countries head the list of countries sending students abroad for higher education (OECD 2004 & 2006a). These trends will be explored in more detail in Chapter 4.

Universities originated in medieval times. Most Universities, however, are not medieval, having been established in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries (King 2004b).

Their histories reflect concerns with industrialisation, nation state formation and democratisation (King 2004b). As such Universities are relatively contemporary institutions, their culture of institutional autonomy and academic freedom owing less to medieval notions of independence from the state and more to the nature of their role in national development (King 2004c).

One view of the University is that it is, or should be, a place of teaching universal knowledge, the intent being to pursue intellectual rather than moral activities and to extend knowledge rather than to develop knowledge (Newman 1927; Marginson 2004b; De Bary 2007). Historically, the University has been viewed as a special place where scholars could pursue knowledge, in a rigorous and critical fashion, enjoying independence of thought and meaning (Barry, Chandler & Clark 2001; De Bary 2007). Universities almost everywhere are defined as having a public mission, equipping people for occupations traditionally centred on public service, advancing social mobility, producing new technologies and contributing to the continuity and creativity of culture (Calhoun 2006; Bradley *et al.* 2008). The University exists for the personal development and professional preparation of students, as well as social and intellectual critique (Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs 2000). In more simple terms the stated mission of the University is not associated with revenue generation.

At several stages during the twentieth century, Universities expanded significantly but remained largely elite institutions until the post World War II boom (Calhoun 2006). With the arrival of mass education, with multiple purposes, the University no longer had a single purpose such as scientific research or scholarship (Marginson 2004b). The massification of higher education, which has quickened its pace since the 1960s, has altered the relationship between higher education, government and society (Chan 2004). The belief of politicians has become one whereby investment in higher education can promote comparative economic advantage (Chan 2004). Despite this view, however, Universities have found themselves increasingly reliant on market forces as the source of funding (Chan 2004).

Universities and other educational institutions now face greater challenges and are subject to much greater external scrutiny (Mok & Welch 2003). In other words, education, including higher education, is not immune from the forces of globalisation. Globalisation has engendered a shift from a search for national processes of development, to a competitive struggle for global positioning (Grugel 2003). To a significant extent, Universities are now experiencing a form of colonisation similar to management's colonisation of the public sector (Barry, Chandler & Clark 2001). Education has changed from being a public service driven by academics, instead becoming a market service driven by purchasers and customers (Chan 2004), knowledge being conceptualised as a product or outcome (De Bary 2007).

In order to make individual nation states more competitive, schools and Universities have been under pressure from government to re-structure education in response to this changing context (Steier 2003; Mok 2006). In essence, there has been a shift from emphasis on public responsibility and the provision of a public good through education towards the dominance of the marketplace (Karlsson & Mansory 2007). In essence, the notion of public responsibility for education is increasingly interpreted as meaning the provision of basic and school education, with higher education being increasingly privatised⁵ (Karlsson & Mansory 2007).

With heavy weight being attached to efficiency and quality, education is being subjected to unprecedented levels of scrutiny. In order to create more higher education opportunities, modern Universities have started to change their models of governance by adopting the doctrine of monetarism, thereby allowing market forces to dominate with lesser government intervention, this ideological perspective replacing Keynesianism, which had offered government intervention as the means of addressing market deficiencies (Mok 2005). Universities have turned into wealth creation institutions, although this goal is coming under some challenge to change (Bradley et al. 2008).

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⁵ This is particularly the case in the developing world. As well, the provision of conditional aid from other governments in other countries, influences decisions by governments in the developing world with regard to education as well as passing on educational programmes, policies, and curriculum designed in the developed world but seldom being adapted to the context of the recipient country (Karlsson & Mansory 2007).

Therefore, a form of academic capitalism is becoming increasingly common in shaping higher education across the globe (Mok 2005).

A key aspect of these developments has been the move towards internationalising higher education. Internationalisation of curricula seeks to recognise the uniqueness of individual societies and culture (Chan 2004), but, paradoxically internationalisation also leads to the promotion of *brand names* as key to education. The impact of internationalisation on learning, teaching and educational administration is both complex and extensive (Rizvi & Walsh 1998). It would seem that, while the rhetoric about internationalisation of curriculum is strong, there lacks a clear conceptualisation of the desired nature, purpose and scope of the process (Schoorman 2000), the definitions of internationalised curriculum being neither universal nor uncontested (Welch 2002).

Nevertheless, with government encouragement, Universities have placed emphasis on internationalising curricula. Currently Australia is the third largest exporter of higher education services internationally, following the United States and the United Kingdom (Harman 2004). Internationalisation is now a strategic corporate activity for Australian Universities, as is the case elsewhere, providing a non-government source of income as well as offering opportunities for the University to expand its activities across borders (Schapper & Mayson 2005). Cultural and academic rationales have driven internationalisation in the past. Increasingly economic rationales are acting as key drivers (van der Wende 2001). Australia, in particular, has adopted a revenue generating approach to the internationalisation of education (OECD 2006a).

Moves towards an increased international focus raise questions as to the nature of the curricula taught, challenging teaching and learning principles (Rizvi 2002; Asmar 2005). Internationalisation of curricula is both an expression of, and a response to, globalisation (Rizvi (2002), and is concerned not only with content but also with issues of pedagogy and cross-cultural understanding (Rizvi 2002). Internationalisation of curricula is concerned with how cultural, social and economic diversity in higher education impacts on teaching and learning, leading to new ways of thinking about curricula, learning,

teaching and assessment (Schoorman 2000; Clifford & Joseph 2005). The goals of an internationalised curriculum are to enable students to gain the knowledge, skills and attributes necessary to perform socially and professionally in a multi-cultural environment; and to possess inter-cultural competence (Clifford & Joseph 2005).

The economic rationalist approach to internationalisation of curricula suggests that the rationale for internationalisation is predominantly economic, the only need being to introduce some intercultural perspectives into pre-existing curricula (Knight 2004; Clifford & Joseph 2005). A transformative approach, by contrast, entails teachers and students, from the local and international context, making paradigm shifts and viewing the curriculum from different racial, ethnic and gender perspectives. Thus, the process of internationalisation of curricula, from this perspective, involves not only international students, but also domestic student and teaching staff achieving such paradigm shifts (Rizvi & Walsh 1998; Rizvi 2002; Clifford & Joseph 2005). An internationalised curriculum must ensure that academic content is updated to make global phenomena understandable while also promoting intercultural sensitivity and sustainable development (Gacel-Avila 2005). As well, the process of internationalisation needs to be integrated systematically into the curriculum (Gacel-Avila 2005).

Internationalisation of curricula also raises two other important issues, that of the teaching experience and that of the student experience. Australian academics are exposed to an increasing number of international students, with students from Southeast Asia making up over 80% of the international student body (Egege & Kutieleh 2005). From the teacher perspective it appears that little preparation is offered to teach international students. This is especially the case with offshore teaching programmes. Teaching international students requires that teachers develop an understanding of the cultural, political, legal and economic contexts the students have experienced (Gribble & Zigarus 2003). Students want to be part of an international University, but they also want locally-

based case studies and culturally relevant examples, being critical of courses where education only offers the perspective of the host nation⁶ (Dunn & Wallace 2004).

A key issue in teaching international students, whether locally or in offshore programmes, concerns the ways in which these students learn. Many such students will have experienced educational approaches which have largely emphasised rote learning (Egege & Kutieleh 2004). This often presents as passivity, Asian students in particular avoiding confrontation by maintaining a smiling face and total acceptance of the teaching material presented (Maxwell *et al.* 2000).

Early views of Asian students tended to portray them as surface learners compared to their Australian counterparts (Samarawickrema 2005). There was a failure to appreciate the concepts and constructs of learning that arise from the Confucian heritage (Ellis & Heffernan 2000). In essence, the Western tradition is one of students being critical whereas the Confucian tradition favours deep respect for teachers and the written word (Ryan 2004). The tendency was to stereotype them as passive in their approach to learning, viewing the teacher as expert (Smith 1999). A major aim of Chinese education has been to ensure that the individual and the state are in harmony, questioning being perceived as rude and education being conceptualised as training students to consider the text according to already established official criteria (Smith 1999). There are however, similarities evident between the Confucian and Western traditions of learning. The Confucian tradition is not without its emphasis on questioning and reflection. Before there can be learning students must query, or even negate, old learning (Chan & Chan 2005). Since the Renaissance, Western thought has emphasised understanding as central to knowledge, thus promoting questioning, evaluation of evidence and presenting judgements in reasoned argument (Smith 1999).

⁶ This insight from the literature resonates with the feedback from students in the BSW Singapore. They have consistently asked that case studies be relevant to the Singapore context in order to help them make sure that their studies are applicable to the local practice environment. To achieve this, there has been incorporation of input from Singapore-based tutors as well as direct research into material relevant to the Singapore context, as two strategies among others.

The view of Asian students as passive learners, was consistent with the initial impressions of the BSW Singapore (Brown *et al.* 2005). However, as was found with the BSW Singapore, this initial perception can be misleading (Brown *et al.* 2005). It has been demonstrated that Asian students are not surface learners only able to absorb and later recall information without appreciating the meaning. Rather they have been demonstrated to have a strong preference to construct meaning (Smith & Smith 1999; Samarawickrema 2005). As well, they demonstrate capacity to construct meanings that may be different to meanings attributed by Australian students (Smith & Smith 1999). As well, it appears that Asian students may learn best by abstract conceptualisation and reflective observation rather than by experience and active experimentation (Yeun & Noi 1994).

For Asian students, however, a particular problem remains that of being organised for study and *getting started* (Smith & Smith 1999; Samarawickrema 2005). They have been found to be poor time managers, leaving their work until the last minute and with no definite plan to approaching the work (Smith & Smith 1999; Samarawickrema 2005). While this trait may be connected to a need for instructor guidance and the provision of structure, it is also consistent with a concern about potential failure (Smith & Smith 1999). As well, these approaches to study may not reflect the ways in which the students learn, so much as they ways in which they have experienced being taught (Samarawickrema 2005).

It is unrealistic to expect that students will immediately adjust to their role as an international student (Samawickrema 2005), probably needing a period to adjust to different models of teaching and learning. The issue is that, in becoming an international student, the student will inevitably experience demands made upon them for the first time, with some resulting confusion (Ridley 2004). Explanations of the task, and/or written instructions, cannot be relied upon to resolve the difficulty. Teachers need to seek

⁷ Anecdotal feedback from the BSW Singapore suggests that fear of possible failure is a factor contributing to poor study habits. Students in the programme have consistently sought instruction/direction about the nature of the assessment tasks as well as a number commenting on uncertainty about commencing the assessment lest they cannot complete it correctly. As well they appear to, at least initially, struggle with concepts of active participation in the classroom setting as well as with formative assessment models compared to summative assessment models associated with end of semester examinations.

a reciprocal understanding of the student perspective, and also need to be assisted to develop an understanding that the knowledge is contestable (Ridley 2004).

The student perspective suggests that students believe teachers of an international curriculum need to be open minded, flexible, inclusive, understanding of other cultures and enthusiastic to inspire students to learn (Clifford & Joseph 2005). The students, however, report appreciation of spontaneous teacher feedback (Samarawickrema 2005). Students perceive internationalised curriculum as enabling them to develop as thinkers, allowing them to be open minded and flexible as well as aware of contexts outside of their own (Chapman & Pyvis 2005; Clifford 2005). A concern is, however, that students, who are part of the international movement of people around the world, are viewed less as opportunity for cross-cultural insights and more as sources of revenue (Asmar 2005).

As well there are signs of changing forms of engagement between students and the higher education institution. Increasingly, students expect that their studies will fit into the rest of their lives, rather than vice versa, students being reasonably sure about their expectations of the higher education study programme as well as of their commitment to the programme (McInnis 2001). A key question is about the nature of the *contract* that the University wishes to make with its students (Sharrock 2000). That is how the students are conceptualised as they present in a number of guises. They tend to be customers when seeking preliminary information, clients in need of expert advice when choosing courses or reviewing assignments, and citizens when exercising rights such as borrowing from the library (Sharrock 2000).

International students report a range of difficulties. These include lack of confidence in addressing teaching staff due to shyness, becoming more independent in their studies, working in groups and undertaking role plays, understanding the requirements of a range of assessments, organising their own study time and beliefs that teaching staff treat them differently (Maxwell *et al.* 2000). In terms of making the necessary adaptations to study as an international student, command of the language of tuition is a major factor influencing study satisfaction (Ying & Liese 1994; Tomich, McWhirter & Darcy 2003),

as well as the degree of similarity between host and home culture and personal factors such as openness and resilience (Ying & Liese 1994; Tomich, McWhirter & Darcy 2003).

The other major aspect of internationalisation concerns matters of governance. Governance is a notion broader than government. Governance involves the interaction between formal hosts and civil society (Caldwell 2005). The fact that education has been conceptualised as an internationally tradeable service raises questions of regulation (McBurnie & Zigarus 2001). A key question for governance is whether the relevant arrangements ensure *best practice* (Caldwell 2005). New forms of governance and new governance philosophies have emerged in recent years with the aim of maintaining the competitiveness of modern states. The issue is that, being an educational provider at global level demands standardisation of pedagogy and credit transfer arrangements (Sidhu 2004) in order to ensure high standards of governance and the provision of a high quality of education.

Theories of new governance propose that modern governments adapt to radical changes in their environments by turning to forms of governance that are more society centred and focus on co-ordination and self-governance (Mok 2005). In order to make individual nation states more competitive, schools and Universities across the globe have been under tremendous pressure from governments and the public to restructure and reinvent the education sector (Mok 2005). Within this context, Universities are experiencing pressure from government to demonstrate maximum outputs from the financial inputs even as, like student enrolments, financial inputs are diminishing (Mok & Welch 2003).

While transnational education offers benefits, it also raises vexing questions, even where a provider is recognised by its home country, about how to assure quality. Other questions can be raised about the appropriateness of foreign content and teaching methods (McBurnie 2000). There are serious questions to be asked in the light of rapid growth in offshore and transnational educational programmes. These questions concern certification, recognition, parity of awards, quality control and quality assurance (Dos Santos 2002). In a bid to address some of these pressing issues, the Global Alliance for

Transnational Education (GATE) was established in 1995 to address matters of the quality of education across national borders (McBurnie 2000). As well, most nations have developed, or are developing, regulatory legislation and codes of practice to ensure good quality education (McBurnie 2000).

International bodies are also striving to ensure quality (OECD 2004; UNESCO/OECD 2005; OECD 2006a). The rationale for the provision of guidelines reflects growth in international higher education from the 1980s and the fact that some countries were not geared to addressing the challenges of cross-border provision of higher education (UNESCO/OECD 2005). The rationale also reflects the quality of a country's higher education sector, the monitoring of that sector being a key to its social and economic well-being, as well as to determining the status of that higher education system internationally (UNESCO/OECD 2005; OECD 2006a).

As such, *Guidelines for Quality Provision in Cross-Border Higher Education*, ratified in 2005 under the OECD Secretariat, intends to set out how governments, higher education providers and institutions, student bodies, quality assurance and accreditation bodies and professional recognition⁸ of both the sending and receiving countries could share responsibilities to ensure quality (UNESCO/OECD 2005). The intent of these guidelines, while still respecting diversity in educational approaches, is to ensure that cross-border provision of education is managed in a fashion that limits low-quality provision and to ensure that stakeholders are accurately informed on the quality of higher education programmes (UNESCO/OECD 2005).

There are some who would argue that increased emphasis on governance represents an attack on intellectual freedom, attempts being made to restrict intellectual freedom in the pursuit of defence of the commercial interests of higher education (Allport 2000). The

⁸ Although beyond the scope of this research moves towards standards for cross-border higher education have implications for the roles of accrediting bodies. For example the AASW (as the accrediting body of tertiary social work education) arguably has a focus more on the development of social work education and social work practice in the national context; likewise the SASW has a focus on its own context which is different to the Australian context. As well, there has to be questions about the extent to which the accreditation standards of professional bodies duplicate higher education standards.

tensions here are about corporate versus academic values, the traditions of the University becoming less robust in view of the growing reliance on corporate principles to guide the University (Marginson 2000). From the 1990s, educational sector reforms have strengthened the corporate independence of the University but in doing so have increased managerial and other controls over academics (King 2004b), collegiate processes being subsumed by management and Universities becoming more like servants of the state in responding to the needs of the economy (Mok 2003).

Despite these trends, there is a question as to how sustainable reliance on international markets, as a source of funding, will prove. While in recent years the numbers of students studying in countries other than their own has risen significantly, there must be questions as to the capacity of originating nations/institutions to continue to accommodate such numbers of students (Bruch & Barty 1998; OECD 2006a).

As well, since the 1970s there has been a trend that increasingly views education as a component of economic rather than social policy (Yang 2003). This reflects the dominance of neo-liberal thought that accepts privatisation as both inevitable and desirable (Yang 2003). In turn the understanding of education as a social good paid for through taxation has been progressively replaced by the notion of education based on user pay principles (Yang 2003).

2.2.3 Globalisation and education

Globalisation is not a new phenomenon, however, the pace and scope of globalisation in its contemporary format has changed. As well, the collapse of the totalitarian state, regionalisation as groups of states form associations to facilitate trade, polarisation of inequalities and marginalisation due to various forms of under-development have influenced the contemporary world (Sadlak 1998). It is within this context that educational reform has emerged, economic considerations being a major driver of these reforms rather than academic considerations (van der Wende 2001). Within the neo-liberal paradigm, governments are searching for new ways to provide higher education,

under conditions of pressure to reduce public spending and policy determined by the market place.

Education has always possessed an international flavour and it is highly unlikely that the current drive towards internationalisation will abate. Internationalisation of education has emerged both as an expression of, and a response to, globalisation as well as to other factors (Rizvi 2002). There are clear challenges surrounding the management and functioning of educational institutions, internationalisation of curriculum and for staff and students. The challenges of offering education at an international level relate to matters of quality assurance and transparent governance. The primary challenge of internationalisation of curriculum is that all stakeholders, both domestically and internationally, make the paradigm shifts necessary to accommodate an international conceptual framework.

2.3 The contexts – Singapore and Australia

In the area of policy development, the state, the markets and the populace interact. Policy is a major way in which the state intervenes in response to the needs of its citizens and to shape their citizens. Since social work is embedded in the political systems and social thought of the societies in which it exists, social policies determined by government have important implications for the shape and form social work assumes in any given context (Payne 2005). There remain inherent tensions in policy formation, between the extent to which individuals should be self-reliant, and the extent to which the state should provide (Wilson, Thomson & McMahon 1996). Inconsistencies in state responses, to a significant degree, are due to the tensions between the will to protect the vulnerable and the reluctance to commit resources.

In the Western context, social policy arrangements have been coined the *welfare state*. The welfare state is concerned with addressing the inadequacies of the market to meet the needs of all members of society and involves the relationship between markets, government and people and the responses to need. The relationship between state and

family is by no means tangible (van Kreiken 1991). The policy role of the state is deeply ambivalent in character. In advanced capitalist society, the role of the state is distinguished by responsibility for the outcomes of economic and social process, defined not only by what the state can do but also what the majority wants it to do (Castles 1988). All governments make some arrangements to meet social as well as economic need and, as will be demonstrated they do so in a variety of ways and from a variety of policy paradigms.

As will be discussed both Australia and Singapore are formally described as democracies, probably in part reflecting their British colonial pasts. To commit to democracy is to have faith in people, to believe that people have rights to make decisions for themselves and that government should reflect these values in very fundamental ways (Grugel 2003; Tan, KYL 2005). In the Western concept of democracy, Parliament functions to symbolise the concept of majority rule and to make laws and is one of the three main arms of government under the separation of powers doctrine (Tan, KYL 2005).

However, the two countries have adopted different forms of democracy, in response to different historical contexts. While democracy is often associated with the achievement of egalitarian ideals and economic advantage, Singapore, in common with other Asian nations, has achieved high levels of economic benefit and social stability with a form of democracy that is different to that pursued in the Western world. It is important to be mindful that the development of democracy occurred in Europe, and in particular in England, rather than in the East (Tan, KYL 2005). In the English context, democracy has evolved in the centuries since the rule of the Normans (Churchill 1998; Davies 1997 & 1998). By contrast, Singapore has a much shorter history, democracy only beginning to form from 1959 with the end of colonial rule and since 1965 following the proclamation of the Republic of Singapore.

2.3.1 The Singapore context

Singapore has been described as an authoritarian regime or as an illiberal democracy (Tremewan 1994; Rodan 2004b; George 2005; Mutalib, 2005; George 2006; Ghesquiere 2007; Chua 2009b). In their most blatant forms, Asian countries, of which Singapore is but one country, reject individual human rights and related democratic processes as being associated with a Western cultural paradigm irrelevant to the local context. Nevertheless, the Asian cultural preference is for strong leadership, consensus and deference, the mandate of government being based on the ability to deliver economic growth and improved living standards (Barr 2002; Ngiam 2006; Yao 2007; Chua 2009b). Singapore's Parliament consists of only one chamber, a two house chamber being rejected initially in 1954 and again in 1966 (Tan, KYL 2005). In view of the realities of the virtually single-party system of government in Singapore, the limiting powers of the Constitution on government are weak (Tan, KYL 2005; George 2006).

The policy of Singapore has been unashamedly one of denying any suggestion of a welfare state, based on a position that, at the time of independence, government could not adopt re-distributive social policies as Singapore lacked any resources to distribute (Lee 1998; Lee, KY 2000). The conceptualisation of the welfare state, as well as the rejection of a welfare state, appears to have been premised on understanding a welfare state as government provision of material and financial handouts, but under-estimates the redistributive goals achieved through health, education and housing policies (Chua 2009b). There are few signs of the Singapore government shifting away from this position. Despite this, Singapore has promulgated a range of social policies that are both consistent with the ways other so-called *Asian Tigers* have conceptualised social policy and that have met many of the basic needs of the population particularly in the areas of housing, health care and education. In essence, social policy has been used to promote the legitimacy of government, to pacify labour and to enforce investment in the education and well-being of the workforce (Holliday 2000; Tang 2000; Aspalter 2006a & 2006b; Yao 2007).

2.3.1.1 The policy position

The conventional wisdom about social policy is that East Asia consists of a region of social policy laggards (Goodman & Peng 1996; Tang 2000; Rieger & Leibfried 2003; Ramesh 2004). Singapore is a part of this region but, as will be demonstrated, the nature of social policy in Singapore is far from simple. The question is whether there is policy lag in Singapore, or an alternative approach to meeting social need. The so-called *Asian Tigers*, share common features. These developmental states have extensively utilised government intervention, and have developed policies to promote the goals of industrialisation (Holliday 2000; Tang 2000; Aspalter 2006a; Chua 2009b). All were former colonies of either Japan or Britain. Despite these governments being antiwelfarist, all have made an exception in the area of education; all share a Confucian tradition which places emphasis on education and cultural enhancement; and all have emphasised education as an instrument of nation building (Aspalter 2006a; Mok 2006).

Around 500 BC, Confucius became famous in China for a non-religious teaching that can be described as the promulgation of a set of practical ethics for everyday life (Nguyen, Terlouw & Pilot 2005). Culturally, Asian societies such as Singapore embrace a Confucian tradition which emphasises discipline, filial piety, hard work and collectivism (Huntington 1996; Moon & Prasad 1998; Koh 2000; Lin & Rantalaiho 2003; Nguyen, Terlouw & Pilot 2005; Schmidt 2005; Ghesquiere 2007). A central point is that this tradition has evolved over centuries, with the people preferring a strong and benevolent approach to government (Huntington 1996; Tan, KYL 2005; Ngiam 2006). Confucianism is seen as providing an important moral basis for social order; it emphasises harmony over conflict and privileges educated voices (Kluver & Banerjee 2005; Nguyen, Terlouw & Pilot 2005).

At the societal level there is emphasis on the need for an orderly society, respect for authority and consensus (Koh 2000; Nguyen, Terlouw & Pilot 2005). Confucian values promote avoidance of overt conflict in social relations, loyalty to hierarchy and authority, and emphasis on order and harmony (Chua 1995; Chua 2009b). Family and collective

identity is rated as more important than individuality (Koh 2000; Nguyen, Terlouw & Pilot 2005), such values commonly being invoked to promote the notion of a caring and harmonious society in which family responsibilities are promoted in the context of responsibilities and obligations (Mok & Lau 2002).

Traditional Chinese values revolve around themes of hierarchical ordering of politics and roles, paternalistic/benevolent functioning of government to maintain social order and solve social problems, and an inactive citizenry in the political process (Kuan & Lau 2000; Zhang 2003; Ghesquiere 2007). As such, Asian social policy generally relies on families, individuals and communities to provide for their welfare needs (Tang 2000; Low & Aw 2004). The extent, however, to which this remains an appropriate framework, is starting to come under question, at least in Singapore (Asher 2002; Chia & Tsui 2003; Low & Aw 2004; Asher & Nandy 2006).

The very early history of Singapore is not well documented but suggests that there has been a long history of human occupation by indigenous Malays (Miksic & Gek 2004; Church 2006). It is believed that Singapore had operated as an important trading centre from as long ago as the seventh century (Milne & Mauzy 1990). From the fourteenth century Singapore was part of the vibrant economic activity that flourished around Malay *entrepots* of the time (Trocki 2006). Singapore was established as a British colony in 1819, at that time being a small fishing village with a population of around 150 people (Khan 2001; Church 2006). While the British dominated the colony, they remained small in number compared to other ethnic groups, and, to all intents and purposes, the island was culturally Chinese with a small but significant Indian community (Church 2006).

The *entrepot* trade imposed a culturally determined division of labour, dominated by the English, Indians making up much of the civil service. The Chinese were excluded from the civil service but maintained a high profile through employment in either trade or low paid labour as *coolies* (Chua 1995). The life of this colony was based on trade alliances, given the strategic location of Singapore in the crossroads of the East and West. Colonial Singapore was formed by a Chinese majority in a region where Malay speakers were the

regional indigenous majority (Chua 1995). It was only after full independence in 1965, when the task was to build the Republic of Singapore, that it became necessary to speak in terms of Singapore as a *nation* with a *people* (Chua 1995)⁹. That is, the advent of independence meant that a national identity had to be developed among the people of Singapore.

World War II was to play a decisive role in the claims of Singapore for release from its colonial state. The Japanese invaded Singapore in February 1942, ending more than a century of British rule (Ooi, GL 2005). Although many factors contributed to the shrinkage of the British Empire, a significant consequence of the Japanese occupation of Singapore was the knowledge that the British were not invincible (Lee 1998; Lee, KY 2000), many Singaporeans viewing the sight of the British *brought to their knees* with incredulity (Ooi, GL 2005). The years of Japanese occupation, along with knowledge of the atrocities perpetrated on local citizens, was to give rise to the birth of nationalism and a view that Singapore should not remain subject to any colonial rule (Ooi, GL 2005).

In Asia after World War II, economic development was led by Japan, with Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore subsequently emerging as the first group of countries to join Japan as the newly industrialising societies of Asia (Zhang 2003). In the aftermath of World War II Singapore was characterised by political plurality with independence in the air (Trocki 2006). The Peoples Action Party (PAP) in the 1950s consisted mainly of a group of British educated men taking a somewhat radical stance for immediate independence and with a commitment to a socialist system (Trocki 2006; Chan & Haq 2007). Lee Kuan Yew emerged as a successful defender of workers' and students' rights, a man with a commitment to socialism, multiracialism and egalitarianism (Trocki 2006).

Limited self-government was introduced in Singapore in 1955 (Church 2006). Singapore achieved full independence from Britain in 1959, the PAP gaining power and maintaining

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⁹ The achievement of independence meant that there needed to be a shift from conceptualising Singapore as a colony with an impermanent population, towards conceptualising and constructing it as an independent nation with a permanent citizenry. As well, the population needed to develop an understanding of themselves as Singaporean and therefore as citizens of the nation.

that power until the present time. From the time of independence from Britain it was clear that Singapore would be a state driven by pragmatism, with government being the principal driving force behind modernisation (Austin 2004). In this context, *pragmatism* means that government maintained the ability to adapt behaviour and policy in response to new information and changing circumstances (Chua 1995; Hamilton-Hart 2000; George 2005). Theoretical explanations of policy were not pursued, rather political judgements were made on the basis of outcomes achieved, and policies that did not yield results were abandoned (Austin 2004; Ghesquiere 2007).

The government that emerged in Singapore in 1959 took an increasingly authoritarian approach. Indeed, the only truly political phase of modern Singapore's history would have been in the period 1955 – 1965 when there was vigorous competitive political activity characterised by an active opposition (Chua 1995), the PAP adopting a repressive stance thereafter that stifled political and civic debate, disallowing the emergence of a robust opposition. This was to remain largely unchanged until around 1984 when the PAP lost more than its usual proportion of the popular vote (Chua 1994). Officially contemporary politics in Singapore are characterised by a democratically elected government still maintaining tight control over civil society and an electorate appreciative of the government's economic management but not comfortable with the level of intervention (Chua 1994; Margolin 2005).

At the time of the first stage of independence, lacking political stability and protection, (Chua & Kuo 1991; Austin 2004), Singapore elected to form an alliance with Malaysia from September 1963, this union having been endorsed by the passing of a Referendum shortly prior to the union (Ooi, GL 2005). During the 1950s, and underpinning the formation of the Malaysian alliance, there had been a view that an independent Singapore was not viable (Chua & Kuo 1991), the reality being that Singapore was a non-industrial *entrepot* facing problems of unemployment and under-employment (Chua 1995; Schmidt 2005; Ngiam 2006). This alliance broke down in 1965, the Republic of Singapore being proclaimed on 9th August 1965. It is the consequence of this latter proclamation that offers the most compelling insights into the nature of social policy development in

Singapore since independence. Singapore's expulsion from the Malay Federation, together with its tiny size, left Singaporean leaders with an acute sense of national vulnerability they believed could only be compensated for through a strong state (George 2006; Ghesquiere 2007).

The merger, despite being a cherished dream of Lee Kuan Yew, was to prove complex and fraught with stormy relationships from the beginning (Ooi, GL 2005; Chan & Haq 2007). The merger failed primarily due to Singapore's objections to the government goal of an ethnic based Malay-Malaysia (Lee, KY 2000; Tan 2004), in which the Chinese would be a minority. This policy goal led to an alliance characterised by mutual suspicion and political manoeuvring. Singapore's position was that there was no option but to withdraw from the merger, even though this meant the loss of hinterland (Lee, KY 2000). At the point of independence from Malaysia, Singapore was a small island nation with no natural hinterland and no natural resources, other than its populace. Despite such a beginning, Singapore has been hailed as an economic miracle (Khan 2001), characterised by rising standards of living, structural transformation of the economy into an industrialised economy, and a balance of payments surplus virtually every year since independence with the consequence of it having one of the highest levels of foreign reserves in the world (Khan 2001).

At this point in its history, the PAP conceptualised Singapore as facing external threats, in the form of potentially hostile neighbours in Malaysia and Indonesia, as well as internal threats due to ethnic and racial tensions and communism (Chua 1995; Chan & Haq 2007; Yao 2007). The ideology of the PAP unfolded as having one central ideology, that of national survival. The way to national survival, in turn, was conceptualised as being through economic development through capitalism, the socialist road being rejected despite the early PAP rhetoric embracing socialist thought. Economic development was viewed as needing stable government and stable government was viewed as needing economic development. These two intertwined thoughts formed the basis of a rationale for a tightly organised and tightly administered society in which government dominated and public debate about national priorities was minimised (Chua 1995).

A new nation had to be created and consolidated, this being achieved through a discourse of national interest (Chua & Kuo 1991). The key policy approaches adopted by Singapore, at the point of withdrawal from the Malaysian alliance, revolved around attracting foreign capital and bringing key enterprises under state control (Lee, L 2000; Ramesh 1995; Zhang 2003; Chan & Haq 2007; Yao 2007). In the first ten years of economic development, 1960 – 1970, labour intensive industries were a key strategy, linked to the practice of a free and open economy with an absence of tariff controls (Ngiam 2006; Ghesquiere 2007; Chan & Haq 2007; Yao 2007). Ideologically, the PAP adopted a strategy best described as pragmatism. While this might be decried on the basis of the stifling of public debate and lack of democratic process, as life began to improve for Singaporeans, people began to accept the approach of pragmatism, diminishing the need for oppressive controls (Chua 1995).

The broad direction pursued by government at that time was to build a rugged, close-knit society, in which the elite would be identified on the basis of merit rather than class, and good government was valued over democracy (Lee, KY 2000; Barr 2002; Austin 2004; Trocki 2006). The executive continues to dominate the legislative and judicial branches of government (George 2005), the Courts having been conceptualised as another arm of government and the civil service similarly conceptualised (Barr 2002; International Bar Association 2008). Since its founding as a republic in 1965, Singapore policy approaches have reflected little faith in democratic government shaped by Western liberal ideals (Chua 1995; Mutalib 2005; Church 2006). However, Singapore remains the only country in Southeast Asia to consistently hold free elections (Milne & Mauzy 1990).

A key rationale for the approach of government lies in the ethnic riots of the early 1960s, which led to a premium being placed on order and strong government (Tan, EKB 2004; George 2005; Yao 2007). As well, race played a significant part in the failure of the Malaysian alliance. Race in Singapore can be constructed as a structural and rigid sociopolitical phenomenon. Race-based classifications were introduced into Singapore by the British as early as 1871, the independent Singapore Government maintaining such classifications (Tan, EKB 2004). Although multiracialism is promoted as a core value,

the officially assigned ethnic identity serves a variety of official purposes in key areas such as education, public welfare and national service (Tan, EKB 2004), enhancing the capacity of government to exert its control.

Singapore experienced ethnic problems that deteriorated into violence, predating independence in 1965. Although there have been no serious incidents since 1965, ethnic relations remain a sensitive issue (Narayan 2004; Tan, EKB 2004). The most significant incidents occurred in July and September 1964. While accounts of the specific incidents that sparked riots are varied, they occurred against a wider political backdrop of turbulence at that time in the Malaysian Federation (Narayan 2004; Ooi, GL 2005). These riots involved deaths, serious injury and strong government response involved the imposition of curfews and arrests of secret society members. The riots brought to a head the nature of Malay relations in Singapore. The Government has continued to manage ethnic relations in Singapore via strong intervention. Although avowedly secular, the Singapore Government has allowed observance of religious and ethnic ceremonies, and has sought to develop a number of heritage sites that reflect Singaporean history and cultural diversity (Narayan 2004).

The other key issue underpinning an approach of strong government lies in how Singapore conceptualises itself. There was political turmoil at the time of independence in 1965, but since then there has been political stability to an extent that critics lament the depoliticisation of public life (Chua 1995; Gomez 2000; Yao 2007; Chua 2009b). Singapore is a small island, with a Chinese majority, surrounded by the Muslim dominated states of Malaysia and Indonesia in which the Chinese are a minority (Narayan 2004). The PAP saw itself as a bastion against communist incursion (Lee, KY 2000). At the time of independence Singapore was faced with the loss of hinterland, a historical context of British colonisation as well as Japanese occupation, small land mass, and a government with control of the bureaucracy (Ho 2003).

The promotion of *Asian values*, embedded in historical Confucian values, has played a key part in the development of policy in Singapore (Chua 1995). In essence, economic

development is viewed as linked to the adherence to indigenous culture and rejection of Western values. The notion of Asian values in Singapore has been advanced as an explanation for both the economic success achieved and as a justification of rejection of Western concern with human rights (Hill 2000). Specially, Confucian values emphasising discipline, filial piety, hard work and collectivism are viewed as superior to perceived Western values of sloth, self-indulgence and individualism (Huntington 1996). This promotion, or defence, of *Asian values* arguably has been manipulated for political purposes (Barr 2002).

Confucian values, however, became significantly aligned to the framework of the PAP. To a significant extent, the promotion of these values represent a pragmatic approach on the part of the PAP, Government clearly eschewing Western values as potentially leading to moral decay long before the links between East Asian economic development and Confucian thought were made (Chua 1995). Elitism is central to Confucian political philosophy holding that people are not born equal rather being born with different capabilities (Milne & Mauzy 1990). Confucian values emphasise harmony, obedience to rule by benevolent leaders, hierarchical relationships throughout society and family, emphasis on obligations and responsibilities rather than rights, and filial piety linked with a view that the state is a sort of extension of the family (Milne & Mauzy 1990). The four core values espoused by the PAP consist of communitarianism; the family as the basic building block of society; resolution of issues through consensus rather than contention; and racial and religious tolerance through harmony (Milne & Mauzy 1990). It becomes possible to understand the links between the tradition of Confucian teachings and the approach to government in Singapore, whereby Government policy emphasises serving the nation and maintaining of social order.

Such a strong approach to government could be thought of as totalitarian in approach, but it is better understood as a paternalistic, ordered and planned approach to society based on the belief that government knows best (Milne & Mauzy 1990). The political elite of Singapore regard themselves as guardians of the state and therefore of the interests of the citizens and the nation (Ho 2003; Margolin 2005). As such, policy development is designed not to gain political support but to offer the best solutions to social and political

problems, economic development being privileged over all other forms of policy (Chua 1995; Low 2001; Ho 2003; Mutalib 2005; Ghesquiere 2007; International Bar Association 2008). There is considerable evidence to suggest that market-orientated authoritarian modernisers do better economically than their democratic counterparts (Fukuyama 1992; Ghesquiere 2007).

Another way of conceptualising the style of the Singapore Government is to describe it as a controlled democracy (Quah 1994). The Singapore Parliament plays a restricted role in government, Cabinet being powerful and holding a view that Cabinet knows what is best for Singapore (Milne & Mauzy 1990; George 2005). Despite such authoritarian rule, there is a record of simultaneous political stability and sustained socio-economic development (George 2005; Yao 2007). The PAP has ruled since 1959 with limited opposition, the opposition never occupying more than four seats in Parliament since 1966 (George 2005).

The approach to government has relied heavily on coercion, but not on violence, the people giving consent to continued PAP governance based on the not unfounded belief that the PAP government will continue to deliver rising standards of living (George 2005). A key platform adopted by the PAP, and acquiesced to by the people¹⁰, has been the notion of nation building (George 2005). However, like all governments confined by few checks and balances, the Singaporean government holds sweeping powers to deal with all challenges.

This approach has been described as *calibrated coercion* (George 2005), characterised by political nous rather than ideology, whereby government holds tight reins over the instruments of coercion and retains an ability to adapt regulations to suit recent experience and changed circumstances. Despite an implied criticism in this analysis, the functional performance of government is rarely contested, policy is rigorously enforced,

¹⁰ From an anecdotal perspective the researcher can attest to the success of the notion of *nation building* as a concept that permeates the Singaporean psyche. This notion becomes evident in day-to-day conversations about welfare approaches that suggest citizens are focused on the national economy and what can, or cannot, be afforded. Discussions with students in the BSW Singapore also suggest a strong sense of responsibility towards maintaining Singapore's position in the world as evidenced by their stated need to work hard as a component of maintaining Singapore's economic prosperity.

government is efficient and corruption is rare (Hamilton-Hart 2000). Despite critiques, a number of significant political thinkers and leaders in Asia are not convinced that democracy is inherently superior to other forms of government (Kluver & Banerjee 2005). Singapore is probably the world's only non-communist nation in which extensive and pervasive state policies are pursued to organise people, and influence their values, as part of a state led drive for development (Zhang 2003).

The *Asian Tigers*, consisting of Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan, experienced considerable success in achieving their developmental aims and have enjoyed decades of rapid economic growth (Tang 2000). This success, however, came to be questioned in the wake of the 1997 Asian financial crisis, from which Singapore escaped relatively unscathed. The experience of such rational authoritarian models came to be cited as evidence of a viable and politically appropriate alternative to democratic government, it being perceived that a large part of the success was due to the absence of a comprehensive welfare state (Tang 2000).

The conventional view of the welfare state is that there are three primary clusters, as will be discussed later in this chapter. The discourse about welfare states, however, has remained focussed largely on the Western models, discourse about Asian approaches being noticeably omitted. There are however compelling arguments to consider that a fourth cluster ought to be considered as a legitimate form of welfare state, the Confucian welfare state. There are distinctive features attributable to East Asian welfare regime. These features encompass a reliance on charitable provision of welfare services and only a moderate right to any form of social security, employment based welfare and social security arrangements; and reliance on the family and the market to meet need (Aspalter 2006a). Appendix 3 offers an overview of ideal/typical welfare regimes.

There are distinctive features attributable to East Asian welfare regime. These features encompass a reliance on charitable provision of welfare services and only a moderate right to any form of social security, employment based welfare and social security arrangements; and reliance on the family and the market to meet need (Aspalter 2006a).a

position that is not entirely absent in the Australian context. The central concern of East Asian nations and their newly industrialising economies was to achieve sufficient economic growth to ensure rising living standards and national survival.

Although it must be emphasised that Asian nations are by no means homogeneous, there are common characteristics in their approaches to welfare. These include social policy being closely tied to economic policy, approaches to welfare being residual with minimal redistributive effect, and universalism and egalitarianism not appearing to be underpinning principles of social policy in Asia (Smyth 2000; Rieger & Leibfried 2003; Schmidt 2005; Aspalter 2006a; Vasoo & Lee 2006; Kwon 2009).

Before concluding that social policy is underdeveloped, and that there is the absence of a Western-style welfare state, it is important to remember that Asian social policies have developed in a particular cultural, social and institutional context, suggesting that the Western welfare state may appear equally as exotic to Asian nations as does the Asian approach to the Western eye (Rieger & Leibfried 2003). In Singapore, social policy presents a paradox. While remaining officially opposed to a welfare state 11, the Singapore government is the major provider of infrastructure and social services, owns 75% of the land and is generally a major, and active, economic and social actor (Smyth 2000).

Further, if the focus is to rest on the availability of social security transfers then the extent of policy is indeed limited. If commitment to education, health and housing are factored in then the record is far more impressive. Despite such differences, there are also

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¹¹ From a perspective of perusing the daily press during regular visits to Singapore it is evident that there is some level of debate about the relevance of a welfare state to Singapore. While the newspaper articles are too numerous to cite, one dated 31 January 2009 is worth mentioning. The context, globally, was one of financial crisis and the media in Singapore, as in Australia, has had sustained focus on Government responses to the global economic crisis which commenced in the latter quarter of 2008. The article in question was titled *Welfare can bolster capitalism (Straits Times* 31 January 2009 p. 2). The article highlighted Government of Singapore initiatives in the national budget, released one week previously, whereby Government moved to offer wage subsidies. The article also took the position that welfare initiatives do not always stymie the workings of the market and noted that under capitalism there is typically wealth creation but wealth re-distribution is not so well served by capitalism. In conclusion, a carefully crafted social security system could help to re-distribute wealth in such a way as to ensure capitalism remains sustainable. In no small way, this article appearing in a major daily newspaper has clearly contributed to the ongoing debate about the appropriateness, or otherwise, of a Western style welfare state to Singapore.

indications that the development of Asian social policy is following a similar trajectory of that experienced by Western states, over a longer period of time; that is, they reflect similar processes of development whereby there is first, the emergence of some forms of occupational protection, then some form of health insurance and old age social security generally preceding the provision of unemployment insurance (Schmidt 2005).

Confucian welfare states are built upon a foundation of strong family cohesion that rejects individualism and conceptualises the family as the key social institution (Tang 2000; Schmidt 2005). By promoting social provision as the responsibility of the individual, family and community, the view of government is that they have ensured protection from the Western disease of welfare dependency and social decay (Zhang 2003). This approach also offers insight into how political elites have been able to use the cultural heritage and behaviour of the people to serve political advantage (Tang 2000; Yao 2007).

While there is an absence of social security and minimal unemployment protection, the Singapore Government has programmes to meet the basic needs of its citizens in very fundamental ways. What is absent from the literature is discussion concerning the availability of income support in the form of public assistance which is provided at a very low level only for those able to demonstrate acute need. This, however, emerged as an option for some people during this research and is discussed in Chapter 5. The provision of education will be discussed later in this chapter, the focus meanwhile resting on meeting the basic needs of people around retirement, healthcare and housing. The Singapore government proclaims itself as not being opposed to social security, rather the opposition being directed towards programmes and policies that impose long term commitments on government (Ramesh 2000; Yao 2007). To counter rising demands for expansion of social security provisions, the approach of government has been to promote the role of the family and charity, conceptualising benefits as a privilege rather than a right (Ramesh 2000) and through the policy of Many Helping Hands (Ngiam 2004) which emphasises the role of individual, family and community in partnership with the state but not reliant on the state.

The cornerstone of social policy in Singapore is the Central Provident Fund (CPF), introduced into Singapore by the British in 1955 (Asher 1998; Kwon 1998; Ramesh 2000; Khan 2001; Low & Aw 2004; Vasoo & Lee 2006; Ghesquiere 2007; Kwon 2009). The colonial government recognised the need for retirement benefits in view of poor social conditions prevalent in the late 1940s and 1950s, electing to pursue a form of enforced savings for retirement (Low & Aw 2004). CPF, as the central form of social protection, is as much about regulation and social control as it is about protection, lacking redistributive functions and remaining under paternalistic government control (Zhang 2003). The view is that the state should not provide financial transfers, other than public assistance as already mentioned, as these are perceived to undermine work incentives, the role of the state instead being to ensure that economic conditions are characterised by low inflation and full employment (Khan 2001; Ghesquiere 2007).

The framework underpinning the CPF is one of full employment (Low, L 2004), a position not noticeably different from notions of the Australian workers welfare state conceptualised in the early parts of the twentieth century (Castles 1985; Bryson 1992). From the outset CPF was not designed for redistribution nor was it designed to offer welfare protection as was the case with Western welfare states (Low, L 2004). The CPF has other political objectives. It requires the provision of jobs and homes necessary for a harmonious society as well as full employment to ensure income and wealth creation to sustain a communitarian means of providing for social security and social welfare (Low, L 2004).

The main function of the CPF is to act as a compulsory savings scheme (Khan 2001; Schmidt 2005; Vasoo & Lee 2006; Ghesquiere 2007). The policy of government requires that people save for their retirement, individual accounts being contributed to by both employer and employee, but remaining an account of the employee. All employers are required to contribute, however, foreign employees, casual workers, part time workers and some other categories of contract workers are excluded (Asher 1995; Ramesh 2000). CPF accounts are portable, and withdrawals can be made for the purposes of home financing, education, and to make investments. One notion underpinning CPF is that it is

a strategy that will maintain income for the aged but without the necessity of public expenditure (Ramesh 2004).

Government in Singapore is heavily involved in the provision of healthcare, operating thirteen out of twenty-six hospitals, with public hospitals providing 81% of hospital beds (Ramesh 2004). From 1984, there were efforts to address the level of healthcare provision by government. MediSave was introduced as a component of CPF in 1984, its primary aim being to help families and individuals save for hospitalisation expenses during retirement (Khan 2001; Ramesh 2004; Asher & Nandy 2006). MediShield was introduced from 1990 as a belated recognition that a health insurance programme was an essential component of a modern healthcare system. Since the 1980s the emphasis in healthcare policy has been to minimise government expenditure, although government expenditure on healthcare remains substantial and is around 6 - 7% of total government expenditure (Khan 2001; Asher & Nandy 2006; Ghesquiere 2007).

The accumulated CPF funds have low negative real interest rates and are unlikely to be providing adequate amounts to its members in the future (Asher 1998; Khan 2001; Chia & Tsui 2003). As well, there is the issue of changing demographic composition of the population (Low, L 2004). With the total fertility rate remaining below replacement rate since 1975, there has also been sharp increases in the proportion of aged people as a percentage of the population from around 7% in 1998 to around a predicted 19% by 2030 (Asher 2006; Asher & Nandy 2006). An additional problem is that CPF is mandated to invest its balances in government stocks and securities, which arguably serve the state rather than its members (Low & Aw 2004).

Although Singapore weathered the Asian economic crisis of 1997 better than other countries, events did represent the plunging of the region into crisis after having enjoyed three decades of sustained growth and high employment (Asher & Pathmarajah 2002). This, along with the other trends already noted, has given rise to calls for review of whether social security needs to be further developed (Low & Aw 2004). As well, Singapore's current level of national health expenditure, particularly the low government

share, will become increasingly difficult to sustain as Singapore faces a rapidly ageing society (Asher & Nandy 2006).

The other key aspect of social policy has been the provision of public housing. In the 1950s, the PAP undertook a survey of Singapore finding that 73% of households were badly crowded and could be described as slum-like (Pugh 1987; Low & Aw 2004). On winning government in 1959, the PAP created the Housing Development Board (HDB) and the Economic Development Board (EDB), charged with expanding the public housing supply and attracting capital for industrialisation (Ramesh 2004). The HDB was afforded extensive powers in terms of land acquisition, town planning, building development and management of urban fixed investments (Pugh 1987).

The primary tasks of the HDB throughout the 1960s were to house the nation in modern dwellings with modern amenities (Chua 1997; Ooi 2004). With the centralisation of power, HDB was able to provide housing at substantially lower cost than the private market (Chua 1997). From 1964, a scheme was introduced to facilitate purchase of public housing, the scheme being the creation of a mortgage finance system through the CPF (Chua 1997), this later becoming the Home Ownership Scheme from 1968 (Low & Aw 2004). By 2005, 88% of the Singaporean population lived in government built housing, some 93% of occupants *owning* their own homes (Vasoo & Lee 2006; Ghesquiere 2007). However, ownership is not freehold, rather a system of ninety-nine year leases. The contention has been that a home-owning democracy, not only raises living standards, but also helps establish political credibility and loyalty (Low & Aw 2004), as well as ensuring that owners would have greater concern with the maintenance of their home standards than would be held by tenants (Low & Aw 2004).

Critics of Singapore tend to focus their critique on the notion of social control. There is an argument advanced that people are treated as units of production rather than human beings, and there has been the social engineering of a docile working class as well as political emasculation of the professional elite (Tremewan 1994). The notion of social control proposes that there is state control across all aspects of life. The state is the exclusive or major provider of infrastructure; the state is the largest employer setting

wages, regulating labour supply and controlling unions; the state is the major actor in the domestic capital market; and the state directs the institutions of state control through policy, Courts and internal security (Tremewan 1994). As well, Singapore has adapted the Parliamentary style of democracy to ensure there are a complex web of restrictive rules and regulations that inhibit challenges to the government as well as stifling civic debate over social and economic issues (Rodan 1993; Chua 2009b). Further, there are claims that Singapore ignores transparency in terms of how it is governed (Rodan 2004b; Margolin 2005).

That Singapore operates under a highly interventionist state regime cannot be questioned (Chua 1995; Gomez 2000; Low, L 2004; George 2005; Margolin 2005; Yao 2007; Chua 2009b). At the same time, Singapore is a nation that has enabled its citizens to live well without high levels of direct public assistance (Khan 2001; Vasoo & Lee 2006; Ghesquiere 2007; Yao 2007). Rather than maintaining an overtly critical stance of this position, it must be recalled that modern Singapore was born out of unique historical, material and conceptual circumstances (Chua 1995; Ghesquiere 2007). At independence from the British in 1959, there was doubt whether Singapore could survive driving the formation of an alliance with Malaysia; with the ending of that alliance in 1965 Singapore lost both its common market and its hinterland. Since that time, Singapore has achieved transformation of everyday life and rising living standards for its citizens.

The reality is that Singapore is one of the most successful countries in terms of nation-building upon achieving independence from colonial government (Tang 2000; Ghesquiere 2007). The Singapore government has developed schemes for its citizens in areas such as housing, healthcare and retirement. The recipe is that government delivered and continues to deliver (Khan 2001; Ho 2003; Ooi, GL 2005; Yao 2007). There are signs that the reliance on pragmatism has declined since the 1980s, a decade during which the electorate expressed some dissatisfaction with PAP. Demands for individual differences and preferences to be recognised began to grow, as well as demands for freedom of belief and to speak freely of that belief (Chua 1995). Beneath the surface of a seemingly unchanging political structure, there are activists advocating the separation of society and nation from the PAP government (Chua 2005). Some key areas of advocacy

have been women's issues publicly aired since the mid 1980s, concern for environmental conservation, and in the area of artistic practices (Chua 2005).

As well Singapore, which premised its social policy on the *male breadwinner/wife homemaker* model, is facing future challenges as women increasingly enter the workforce. Female participation in the workforce is likely to expand and this, combined with declining fertility rates, is likely to be a source of further pressures for changed policy responses (Schmidt 2005), as these trends will reduce the availability of family to care for the aged. Other pressures emanate from Singaporeans becoming more affluent and, as the demand for private goods is increasingly satisfied, the demands for public goods is likely to intensify, citizens demanding greater government expenditure on social security and welfare (Khan 2001; Low, L 2004; Low & Aw 2004; Chua 2005).

A final area of pressure is the blunting of Singapore's position in both Asian regional and global markets, with the emergence of China and India as sites of educated and cheap labour attracting foreign direct investments (Low, L 2004; Chua 2005; Ghesquiere 2007). This latter trend, since 2002, has meant that Singapore began to face a structural unemployment problem whereby although Singapore continued to attract foreign investment, not all members of the labour force possess sufficient skills to secure jobs generated by this investment (Chua 2005)¹². Ultimately, these trends may lead some Singaporeans to re-think the extent to which they should maintain faith in the PAP and in the one-party system and the ways in which the model of governance adopted in the twentieth century remains appropriate for the twenty-first century (Chua 2005; Balakrishnan 2006; Ho 2006c).

2.3.1.2 Education policy

The Singapore government realised from the early days of independence that, lacking natural resources, its people were the primary resource for the future. Under the colonial

¹²These observations gave rise to reflections on the question of over employment and structural issues that may be affected by increased global competition. The *Straits Times* newspaper of 7 September 2006 carried a series of articles reporting comments by Minister Mentor Lee. He outlined globalisation as an inevitable process and one that will have structural consequences. Two key articles from that newspaper appear as Appendix 4.

regime, education had largely been left to the ethnic groups themselves to finance and organise (Chua 1995). The Singapore government from independence of 1959 realised the urgent need to raise educational standards, viewing education as an investment in human capital (Chua 1995; Khan 2001; Ngiam 2006).

As early as 1956, government recognised the power of language and sought to develop policies that eliminated language as a bone of contention, using it to promote social cohesion and economic growth (Gopinathan, Kam & Saravanan 2004). Malay was designated as the national language but English was designated the *link language*, this not being the primary language of any ethnic group (Gopinathan, Kam & Saravanan 2004). The identification of English as the common language was related to the need for English in business, capitalism, science and technology (Koh 2004). At independence, the PAP government announced an educational policy that intended to foster equal treatment of the four main ethnic languages of Singapore (Tan 1997; Koh 2004), while also emphasising English as a common language. An overview of the development of education in Singapore is provided in Appendix 5.

From this point the education system was geared towards teaching literacy in English and the mother tongue¹³, technical skill, science and technology, the overriding priority of education being to promote economic growth (Ngiam 2006). In Singapore, as in other East Asian nations, a strong future orientation has been a cornerstone of social policy, expressing itself in sustained high levels of government spending on education (Khan 2001; Schmidt 2005; Ghesquiere 2007). In order to improve its education system and enhance its citizen's global competence, the Singapore government has consistently launched education reforms (Mok 2006).

Under the colonial regime, the government made only minimal provision for education, the authorities making no provision for education other than a few years of Malay language education for a small number of Malays (Tan 1997; Koh 2004; Kang 2005).

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¹³ Mother Tongue refers to the language assigned according to ethnicity. For Chinese this is Mandarin; for Malays this is Malay; and for Indians this is Tamil. These languages have been assigned in accordance with the Singapore Government language policy.

There was no clearly enunciated education policy until 1946, education largely being left in the hands of missionaries and wealthy merchants (Tan 1997). The colonial government, in 1946, announced a policy of free, universal education intended to foster civic loyalty and responsibility with a view to enhancing the capacity for self-government (Tan 1997; Mok 2006). Continued dissatisfaction with the education system led to a formal review of the system in 1956 (Koh 2004).

The rationale for government funding of education has been both economic and social. Building a sense of nationhood in a multi-cultural society could only be achieved through the development of a common identity and sense of belonging, these values being inculcated through a uniform educational system (Khan 2001). As well, the levels of unemployment in the 1960s meant that there was need to develop a sound economic plan that depended on the availability of a mass of literate and numerate workers (Khan 2001; Ashton *et al.* 2002). In keeping with the notion of all policy being subordinate to economic development, the Singapore Government determined that education should be strictly geared to human resource development to service the country's drive to industrialisation and that individual choice should only operate within that general framework (Chang 2000; Ghesquiere 2007).

From its earliest days, education policy in Singapore has been highly centralised and tightly controlled (Tan 1998). From the mid 1980s there was some relaxation of central controls and by 1987 some well-established schools announced their intention to go private, government approving privatisation of eight secondary schools from 1990 (Tan 1998). These autonomous schools attract 10% more annual funding, and are allowed higher degrees of flexibly, in order to introduce enrichment programmes (Tan 1998). Government, however, still maintains control over core aspects of the curriculum with regard to language policy, the teaching of moral education and the preference for examinations as the primary means of assessing student achievement (Tan 1998). In Singapore there is competition between schools, all being publicly ranked on an annual basis to assist parents in making choices about education, this competition having intensified since the mid 1990s (Tan, J 2005b). While some of these changes have taken

place in the name of marketisation, or the quest to allow market forces to determine availability of education, and there is some public fallout about emergent inequalities in the education system, government shows no signs of altering its stance (Tan 1998; Tan, J 2005b).

The overarching plan for the Singapore educational system was developed in 1956 and by 1959 the PAP made it clear that social cohesion and the development of national identity needed to be the cornerstones of educational policy, seeking to undermine the social divisions left by colonial rule (Kam & Gopinathan 1999; Kang 2004; Koh 2004; Ghesquiere 2007). Since then, Singapore's education policies have also been regularly reviewed to ensure that the central aim of the system is adhered to. This is to ensure that education equips young people with the skills to earn a living, to have sound moral values and to become responsible adults and loyal citizens (Kam & Gopinathan 1999).

The Singapore Government defines its future skills needs and translates these into targets for the education system to achieve (Ashton *et al.* 2002). The Singapore Government has determined that education should be geared towards the process of industrialisation and that individual choice about education should operate within that framework (Chang 2000). Broadly the educational system offers ten years of education, and although schooling is not compulsory most children attend from the age of six years (Kam & Gopinathan 1999). In Singapore the Ministry of Education has jurisdiction over primary and secondary schools as well oversighting the statutory board that regulates the Universities of Singapore (Caldwell 2005). The Ministry of Education has established a holistic accountability framework to ensure that there is accountability for public funds by Universities, as well as providing for institutional self-assessment (Caldwell 2005).

Education policy also acts as the administrative apparatus to discipline and regulate the Singaporean environment, moulding Singaporean identities (Koh 2004). Despite any aspirations present at the commencement of secondary school, upon completion students have been socialised to accept that only a certain type of post secondary qualification will be open to them (Kang 2004 & 2005). While official PAP rhetoric defines Singapore as a

meritocratic society, where socio-economic advancement can occur independently of background, there are deeply entrenched elite conceptions of how Singapore society ought to be structured (Tan, J 2003). The current structure of Singapore education is outlined in Appendix 6.

Singapore education has been through a series of reforms, the most significant being the introduction of streaming as a means by which demands for education would be managed (Ashton *et al.* 2002). The other reform of significance was the introduction of the *Thinking Schools Learning Nation* policy in 1997 (Koh 2004). Each of these reforms will be discussed in turn as they both have significant implications for Singapore education.

Firstly, a streaming policy was introduced in 1979, details of this being contained in Appendices 5 and 6. For most of the 1970s, the education system of Singapore had been able to produce the required type of workforce. However, as the economy matured, the requirements of workers changed. In the late 1970s, government began to refine the education system based on concerns about resource wastage, low literacy rates, ineffective bi-lingualism and variations in school performance (Mok 2006). At this time a central concern of education policy became the achievement of economic efficiency (Tan, C 2005b). Based on these factors, government sought viable ways to both make its citizens more competitive and to stimulate economic growth (Mok 2006). It was recommended that students be streamed on the basis of their academic ability, particularly in these areas of language and mathematics (Kam & Gopinathan 1999).

Streaming involves students at the end of their primary schooling undergoing the Primary School Leaving Examinations (PSLE), the outcomes of which stream students into secondary education. The three major streams are Special, Express and Normal (Mok 2006). For Special and Express students, Ordinary Level examinations are undertaken after fourth year, the difference between the two streams being that Special stream students study their mother tongue at a more advanced level (Mok 2006). Students in the normal stream, who have obtained the lowest scores in PSLE, comprise 13.8% of students and study fewer subjects and less complex curricula than students in the other

streams (Tan, J 2003). Mobility between this lower stream and others is very limited given that there are different curricula taught according to streamed status (Chang 2000; Tan, J 2003). Those who excel at PSLE level are offered a tougher and more rigorous programme through the fast stream at secondary level and are the students more likely to achieve a University place (Chang 2000). To add to the pressure, British Ordinary levels and British Advanced levels examinations have long been used in Singapore as secondary school examinations (Chang 2000).

The effects of streaming are that students in Institutes of Technical Education understand that they are helping themselves and their families by working hard, continually upgrading and helping to maintain a stable social order (Tan, J 2003 & 2005a). Students who attend Polytechnic education become convinced that the country's survival depends on them while those achieving a University education have a sense that they can shape their own futures (Tan, J 2005a). As such, streaming is a mechanism used to generate learning pressure and has constituted a form of social Darwinian selection (Chang 2000).

As well, there are clear indications that the educational system is impacted on by ethnicity. While historically there has been an educational gap between the Chinese, on the one hand, and the Indians and Malays on the other, this gap has narrowed (Kang 2004 & 2005). The reasons for the continued gap remain a puzzle and a concern. One popular explanation has been that there are negative cultural values in play and Indian and Malay parents do not supervise homework (Kang 2004 & 2005). There are also structural factors such as the deliberately minimalist approach to the Malays prior to 1980 and when government elected to be more interventionist its efforts favoured the middle class rather than the lower class (Kang 2004 & 2005). Nor can factors such as socio-economic status be ignored, parents of higher socio-economic status being found to be more involved in their children's education (Kang 2004 & 2005).

Secondly, there is the *Thinking Schools Learning Nation* policy, which reflects a paradigm shift from efficiency driven education towards ability driven education (Tan, C 2005b). To a significant extent this approach reflects a new phase of education policy. In

the first phase the aim was survival of the country and the production of trained workers, the second phase being concerned with efficiency (Tan, C 2005b). This third phase is concerned with equipping people to respond to the knowledge economy (Tan, C 2005b). This paradigm shift can also be interpreted as one element of Singapore's response to the new implications of global capitalism emerging from the 1990s (Sidhu 2005).

This *Thinking Schools Learning Nation* policy has paved the way for continued educational reform and adjustment. The primary intent of the policy is to inculcate students with independent and critical thinking skills as well as habits of continuous learning (Mok 2003a), globalisation having generated additional pressures for the state to maintain its competitiveness (Mok 2003a). Despite these goals, there remains the intention to ensure that students develop national values and social instincts that promote their commitment to the nation and to contribute their talents for the good of society (Tan, C 2005a & 2005b). Given that Singapore is too small to exert significant influence over global agendas, this represents a strategy to prepare its citizens for challenges of the future, suggesting that *Thinking Schools Learning Nation* may be a larger social engineering project to strengthen the socio-economic position (Mok 2003a; Sidhu 2005). It is not anticipated that the effects of this policy shift will be immediately apparent. It may take a generation or two to achieve the desired paradigm shifts in terms of both how students learn and how they are taught (Gopinathan 2006).

The tertiary sector in Singapore has developed over a number of years, Singapore maintaining a binary system in tertiary education in which there is a divide between Universities and Polytechnics (Mok 2006). The first tertiary education facilities were established in the period 1950 – 1979, with Nanyang University being founded in 1953 and what is now the National University of Singapore being established in 1962 (Ministry of Education 2003). The Polytechnics, of which there are five in Singapore, provide training for students in diploma courses (Mok 2006). Currently there are three ¹⁴ Universities in Singapore offering undergraduate and gradates programmes as well as

¹⁴ In 2008 the Government of Singapore announced plans to build a fourth University able to accept students from 2012. It is possible that there will be subsequent developments in the higher education system.

undertaking research (Mok 2006). Broadly, students completing O-levels are destined for the Polytechnics while students completing A-levels are eligible for direct entry into universities.

The decades from 1980 saw a growth in University enrolments in line with the national economic drive towards higher value-added activities, this growth reaching about 21% in 2001 (Ministry of Education 2003). Despite these trends in student numbers University education remains scarce in Singapore; only about half of the qualified applicants are admitted to the National University of Singapore (Chang 2000). As well, there are more Singaporean students remaining in Singapore but studying foreign higher education curricula than there are Singaporean students studying abroad (OECD 2006a).

In terms of future needs, a clear requirement for an expansion of the numbers of University students has been identified (Ministry of Education 2003). Universities are recognised as playing a role in economic and social development and by 2010 it is anticipated that an additional 3500 University places will have been created to ensure that the participation rate in University education reaches 25% (Ministry of Education 2003). One aspect of this desired increase in student numbers has been the direction of government to allow Singapore Universities greater autonomy. Government has elected to alter the status of Singaporean Universities, making them into independent entities and seeking to also make them more entrepreneurial (Mok 2006).

Long regarded as a source of international students, Singapore is now building itself to become an exporter of international education (Sidhu 2005). The policy approach, termed the *Global Schoolhouse Project*, has three prongs (Sidhu 2005). Firstly, those *brand name* world class Universities will establish a base in Singapore and raise intellectual and educational standards in Singapore. Secondly, international students will be recruited to Singapore. Thirdly, Singaporean Universities will be steered towards an American Universities mindset that is viewed as being entrepreneurial in nature (Sidhu 2005). As well, Singapore has begun to allow foreign Universities to establish campuses and/or to

offer study programmes, the intent being to cater not only for Singaporeans but also for foreign students (Mok 2006).

Despite changes in policy at some levels, a key policy goal of Singaporean education has remained the development of national identity and loyalty to Singapore. However, the tasks of maintaining the loyalty and commitment of Singaporeans will come under increasing strain as globalisation and its impact means that Singaporeans are exposed to social and political alternatives outside Singapore (Tan, J 2005a). As well, English proficiency allows Singaporeans to have greater access to global economic and educational opportunities but it also means that they are more able to experience Western cultural influences (Tan, C 2005b). The paradigm shift to ability driven education also means that there is a move towards a more liberal education programme with emphasis on individualisation, an approach accepted in Western countries but less favoured in Eastern countries. The intent of Singapore is to absorb the liberal approach to education but without its underlying ideology (Tan, C 2005a).

2.3.2 The Australian context

Thus far, the focus has been on the Singapore context. It is now time to examine the Australian context, for it is within the Australian context that the social work education programme under examination has been shaped and developed. Without appreciation of this context is becomes more difficult to fully examine the research question.

At times, Australia has been hailed as a *wages earners paradise* in terms of its social policy (Castles 1985; Bryson 1992 & 2001; Green 2002). In more contemporary times, Australia has embraced a neo-liberalism philosophy emphasising the dominance of markets and mutual obligation. With the exception of a few brief years in the 1970s, under the Whitlam regime, although there is some debate as to the extent to which this was a reforming regime (Jones 1980), the policy context of Australian social policy has been residualist in nature, offering a form of welfare state distinct from many of its European counterparts.

There is a view that democracy has come to focus primarily on the procedural aspects of democracy; competitive elections, multi-party systems and constitutional reform (Grugel 2003), at the cost of the concept of democracy as government where the ultimate power rests with the people. There is also contemporary debate about where democracy is heading in Australia (Sidoti 2003; Dyrenfurth 2005; Hamilton 2004), as well as about people's social and political rights in a context of rising neo-liberalism (Brett 2001). The hallmarks of democracy, however, remain. There is a political opposition, public debate about key policy issues, fully contested elections, checks on abuse of power by the executive, civil liberties, separation of Church and State, and rule of law including the separation of the Parliament and the legal system.

2.3.2.1 The policy position

Australia is one of the oldest settled countries in the world; its indigenous Aboriginal peoples have inhabited Australia for thousands of years. At the time of European settlement, in 1788, there were perhaps 300,000 Aboriginals in the whole of Australia (Hughes 2003). In essence, European settlement of Australia was conceived as a penal settlement with hopes to *swallow* the criminal class of Britain (Hughes 2003). Despite these origins, and distinct from the Singapore experience of colonisation, Europeans did migrate to Australia in substantial numbers during the nineteenth century bringing with them their traditions and European world views. Australia became a Federation in January 1901, but, unlike Singapore, this has not led to Australia becoming a republic. Before exploring the Australian policy context it is necessary to very briefly scope the emergence of the notions of democracy and the supremacy of Parliament on the basis that they have strongly influenced Australian worldviews. This aspect is an important consideration as notions of democracy and democratic governance have had equally lengthy and complex histories as has the Confucian legacy that has been discussed with respect to Singapore.

Australia has a long history leading to the establishment of democracy and the rule of Parliament. Australia borrowed heavily from the British tradition as will be discussed briefly. Perhaps the earliest indication of moves in this direction was the signing of the Magna Carta in 1215. The Magna Carta does not comment on democratic government or human rights, being essentially a practical remedy for the abuses of the feudal system and the first step towards curtailment of the arbitrary power of the Monarch (Churchill 1998; Davies 1999).

The fourteenth century saw the emergence of conflict, previously absent, between peasants and landowners, such movements representing a new awareness of social differences (Hay 1966). By the fourteenth century there was a Parliamentary system operating in the British Isles, and while Parliament was to evolve into a constitutional check on the Monarch in its initial stages it lacked pre-eminence (Hay 1966). The crucial period for growth of the Westminster system of Parliament came in the years 1688 – 1689 when, after a century of conflict, Parliament was victorious over the Monarch, the Monarch thereafter being subservient to Parliament (Davies 1999).

Although Britain made various provisions for the well-being of its citizens, these efforts were largely couched in terms of Poor Laws, the first Poor Laws being promulgated in response to the Black Plague in 1348 (Friedlander 1968). The Tudor Poor Laws were introduced in the period 1597 – 1601 to codify ways of dealing with the problems of unemployment, the poor and vagrants (Elton 1968). These Poor Laws held that the family was responsible for those in need and adopted an approach that held the parish, or the community, responsible for those in need that were not supported by their family (Friedlander 1968). Within this framework, strict requirements were in place that saw that eligibility for relief would only be established on the basis of minimal residency of three years in the parish, that relief would only be available where family resources were unable to meet need and that investigation of circumstances was emphasised as a means of establishing eligibility (Friedlander 1968). The position was that public relief ought to be an option of last resort and within this context there remained a largely individualist view of social need.

Although this view began to fade in the late nineteenth century, and lapsed into obscurity in the period 1940 – 1970 (George & Wilding 1985), such views were to re-emerge from then on in the form of neo-liberalism. A central issue is that European and British social

structures, unlike their Asian counterparts, are essentially individualist in nature. It is also contended that historical factors, and the approach to social problems, have evolved over centuries, not just in modern times. The tradition underpinning social policy is clearly different to that underpinning the pathway adopted by Singapore.

The Australia that emerged at Federation in 1901 was steeped in the British tradition, particularly that of democracy and citizenship with primary emphasis on individual rights. The broad policy position of Australia was to reject the introduction of Poor Laws followed by Britain. Arguably, the development of social policy in Australia began with the arrival of the First Fleet, social problems being evident from the establishment of settlement. However, it was not until after Federation in 1901 that there were significant advances in Australian social policy.

These advances were linked to the notion of the market as the primary source of well-being. Social Security benefits were considerably developed in the period 1900 – 1912 (Kewley 1973; Jones 1980). Concern about demographic trends identified the need to regulate relations between labour and capital (Jones 1980). A landmark judgement of the Australian Arbitration system in 1907¹⁵ established the minimum wage sufficient for a man to support his wife and family (Garton 1990). Although the impact of this judgement was somewhat mixed, it confirmed the market as dominant, and affirmed the notion of welfare as residual rather than universal (Macintyre 1999). This judgement did, however, allow for some consideration of human need in the determination of wages, however, social policy remained conceptualised as an adjunct to markets.

These early developments led to Australia being defined as a wage earners welfare state (Castles 1985), whereby benefits were gained through wages and employment and social security served to act as a safety net only for targeted groups (Castles 1985 & 1996). The Australian approach was to become characterised by a so-called Keynesian approach, which advocated regulation through government intervention rather than the primacy of

¹⁵ Harvester Judgement 1907 (Excise Tariff 1906 – Application for Declaration that Wages are Fair and Reasonable) *ex parte* H.V. McKay, Commonwealth Arbitration Reports, Volume 11, 1907 – 1908.

market forces, whereby the choice was to maintain a highly regulated and centralised wage fixing system aiming to ensure that wages guaranteed a reasonable standard of living (Harris & McDonald 2000). As such, management of wages meant that social benefits were directly linked to market participation (McDonald & Marston 2002).

The following three decades proved socially and economically depressed. All policies remained based on the notion of the role of mother in the home and as caregiver (Liddell 1993). Any push for reform, in the inter-war years, was unsuccessful. There was aversion to higher taxes and the trade union movement remained attached to minimum wages (Watts 1987; Liddell 1993; Macintyre 1999).

Under the Australian Labor Government of 1941 – 1949, advances were achieved in terms of social policy, this being the period of greatest expansion of state welfare (Green 2002). Some analysts argue that these years saw the foundation of the welfare state laid (Watts 1987). The intent of policy reflected a blend of Keynesian economics and state regulation. The goal was to ensure that the individual was afforded opportunity to secure his needs (Watts 1987). Welfare policy retained a conservative ideology, providing a safety net for social casualties rather than addressing social inequality (Jones 1980). The approach was needs based which relied on a minimum level of social protection available only to those who met pre-established criterion (Castles 1996).

In other countries during the inter-war years different approaches were occurring. If the nineteenth century was dominated by policies intended to maximise work and private savings, the twentieth century was to be defined by various systems of social insurance to replace the Poor Laws, by then, seen as being unable to respond to the massive social problems and economic insecurities confronting workers (Esping-Anderson 1983; Mishra 1998).

The emergence of the welfare state essentially had to do with the dire consequences of the ascendency of the economic in the market-orientated societies, which emerged in Europe in the nineteenth century (Mishra 1998). Ostensibly humanitarian in intent, the welfare state has always been a pragmatic response to the social upheaval caused by the massive unemployment of the early twentieth century (Hewitt 2002). A fundamental concern of the state was to ensure that there was not wastage of resources. Just as families worried about family members who may jeopardise family reputation, the state worried about individuals who did not contribute (Donzolet 1979). A fundamental attribute of the welfare state is that it has played a significant role in maintaining social and political order, state provision of public services having been based not on altruistic goals but on notions of such provision being necessary for allowing capitalism to grow and flourish as well as maintaining social control (Ife 2002).

The measures and qualities of welfare states, however, are not so much dependent on the level of expenditure committed towards welfare as on the ideological underpinning governing design and provision of the welfare state (Esping-Andersen 1990; Myles & Quadango 2002), and this ideology in turn flows through to shape expenditure allocation. As well, there is concern about how the recipients of the benefits of welfare are policed. There is little doubt that the relationship between the state and the family is entangled. It is, however, contested as to how this relationship should be conceptualised. Broadly, the socialist view holds that the state should provide. At times, the socialist state is accused as being the negator of the family (Donzolet 1979). The alternative liberal view is that the state should provide minimal intrusion, allowing society to organise itself around the private property of the family (Donzelot 1979). In the early twenty-first century, it would appear that the latter view prevails largely as it has since white settlement in Australia.

There are wide variations between welfare states in terms of the way they are organised and the nature of the benefits they deliver. Any welfare state is ideally founded on principles of social solidarity, equality and distributed justice and a high level of economic security (Esping-Andersen 1990). As well, welfare states have conceptualised a need for the simultaneous existence of both markets and social policy, with social policy broadly being concerned with the desire for all members of society to benefit from certain minimum standards and minimum opportunities (Alcock 2001). Socialist and free-market liberals, however, have different ideals as to how these aims should be achieved. Liberal

thought is primarily concerned with market forces and the need to minimise state intervention whereas socialist thought perceives solidarity in terms of a collectively shared responsibility (Esping-Andersen 1983). On this note, Singapore presents as having a paradoxical approach. On the one hand Singapore has espoused free market ideology and has promoted the dominance of markets; but it has also pursued a position of collective responsibility with high levels of state control to raise standards of living.

Despite the varying ways in which welfare states have been organised in the Western world, three primary configurations emerged. Firstly, there is a *residual* model where the state intervenes only where markets fail, an approach characteristic of Australia and the United States. The residual model is also a *liberal* model in which benefits are modest and entitlements means tested (Esping-Andersen 1990). Secondly, *corporatist* welfare states are those where the liberal obsession with market efficiency was not afforded preeminence and the granting of rights never seriously contested such as in France, Austria and Germany (Esping-Andersen 1990). Thirdly, the *social democratic* tradition, characteristic of Scandinavian countries, promotes welfare provision on the basis of universalism and decommodification and promotes welfare at the level of equality at the highest standards (Esping-Anderson 1990). Each approach reflects some level of tradeoff between individual rights and the meeting of individual need with the achievement of market growth and efficiency.

State intervention, in particular the welfare state, was developed in the first place to overcome the structural weaknesses of capitalism; however, the solution has turned into a problem (Mishra 1984). It was premised on the Keynesian ideal that governments could manage the economy and the Beveridge (Beveridge 1942) ideal of state responsibility towards citizens. A *laissez-faire* approach to social and economic questions, however, has always been the dominant paradigm in English speaking countries (Mishra 1984). As such it may well be that the emergence of the welfare state approach is an anomaly that is now under threat. While governments cannot totally divorce themselves from welfare provision, it is perhaps not surprising that the socialist tradition has been overtaken by neo-liberal thought.

Australia has retained a liberal, or residual, approach to welfare provision. In Australia, the years following World War II were characterised by unprecedented economic growth and full employment. Australia maintained a distinctive configuration of occupational and social welfare. The characteristics included a progressive taxation system; the regulation of employment, particularly the enforcement of a minimum wage; the encouragement of home ownership; protection through tariffs; and basic income security and other social welfare measures (Bryson 2001).

The welfare state remained as a safety net to catch those who fell through the labour market (Dickey 1987; Watts 1987; Garton 1990). In the face of economic security it was easy to ignore the indicators of social discord, however, by the 1960's poverty was unable to remain a hidden dimension of social life (Carter 1983; Watts 1987; Garton 1990). Briefly the Labor Government of 1972 – 1975 heralded a shift in fundamental philosophy (Elliott 1978; Castles 1988; Garton 1990; Liddell 1993). The central philosophical shift was away from the residual approach, towards universal provision of social services based on fundamental rights. The intent was to offer social welfare as an integrated social institution, ensuring provision of material needs and also provision of opportunity (Elliott 1978).

Although it failed to fully maintain a universalist approach to social policy, government could not revert to substantial reliance on the forces of the labour market to address social needs. In part, Australia, as elsewhere, was influenced by the rapid economic progress of newly industrialising nations, such as Singapore, where economic growth was achieved with apparently low levels of social spending, fuelling suggestions that Australia had become too dependent on welfare (Tremewan 1998; Smyth 2000). During the 1990's public provision of services moved towards private provision. The demands of cost effectiveness drove government responsibility (Macintyre 1999). Under a doctrine of economic rationalism, or the application of business practices to all aspects of public life, Australia's welfare state has changed. Public administration has been changed by managerialism and a new market-orientated jargon. At societal level, the gap between rich and poor has widened (Bryson 2001).

It is argued that globalisation, shaped by an ideology of neo-liberalism, has had adverse implications for the provision of welfare. From the 1980s, the concept of globalisation came to dominate debate surrounding Australia's place within the global order, fuelled by the view that the competitiveness of the Australian economy had declined due to its long history of protectionism and lack of market discipline (Nyland & Smyth 2004). The agenda adopted in response to these trends, firstly pursued by the Labor Party in 1983 and by subsequent governments, was to emphasise extension and deepening of markets, limiting democratic control over key elements of economic policy and regulation, and locking future governments into the neo-liberal agendas (Nyland & Smyth 2004).

Globalisation, arguably, deprives nation states of their political autonomy and entails a downward spiral of social standards (Mishra 1998). While social protection developed under conditions in which states were relatively protected from the global economy, the opening of national economies to international competition has tended to weaken these forms of protection (Mishra 2004). In Australia, social protection was largely secured by economic protectionism, particularly in the form of tariffs and regulation of the currency, as well as a system of arbitration. Both strategies were designed to secure full employment and a living wage, but they had become obsolete by the 1980s (Mishra 2004). Despite a move to a deregulated economy, Australia has maintained its systems of social welfare, albeit in newly restricted forms.

This context of reduced social policy, and globalisation of corporate agendas, means that many now question how human needs can be met with fairness and dignity (Baines 2006). In the years following World War II governments were largely able to manage markets, promote growth and keep social inequality within reasonable limits (Boyer & Drache 1996). However, state intervention in the contemporary context no longer means using public power to organise the private sector, rather it has come to mean the unleashing of market forces (Boyer & Drache 1996). It has been suggested that the Western welfare states have undergone, and are undergoing, transformation (Schmidt 2005). The changes are hardly incremental but transformative, the term *enabling state*

being coined to describe the ways in which the state is concerned to ensure citizens fit into the market (Schmidt 2005).

The state has been a focus of change for at least the past two decades. These changes have not only been about internal organisational change, but fundamental change in terms of the relationships between state and economy, state and society, and state and citizen (Clarke & Newman 1997). While the welfare state had been constructed on a set of assumptions about society, the ideology of neo-liberalism has re-constructed these assumptions around concerns for the costs of social welfare, the effects of social welfare and the problem of social welfare (Clarke & Newman 1997).

The old policies of Keynesian commitment to full employment have all but vanished (Drache 1996). People now have to work harder and longer but without the formerly available safety nets. The goal of welfare reform, for most governments, is now one of non-reliance on welfare (Drache 1996). For neo-liberals the welfare state is conceived as a threat to freedom on the basis that it is both ineffective and inefficient as well as economically, socially and politically draining (Green 2002). The neo-liberal agenda promises opportunity and success to all who are willing to work (Green 2002), this view advocating that economic participation increases self esteem as well as yielding income (Shaver 2001). This allows problems to be conceptualised as being located within welfare recipients, rather than as concerning fundamental changes in the structure of society and the economy, allowing governments to therefore demand more of welfare recipients (Henman 2001). Accordingly, welfare support moves away from being a social right and becomes a conditional support (Shaver 2001), the welfare recipient no longer being the best judge of their needs and capabilities (Shaver 2002).

Overall the welfare state has been refurbished rather than retrenched (Bryson 2001). A reality is that government no longer fears potential revolutionary movements from either labour movements or marginalised groups (Mendes 2002). The basic argument is that the forms of social protection developed in conditions in which nation states could remain relatively insulated from the global economy have now been weakened, if not

undermined, by the opening up of national economies to market forces and international competition (Mishra 1999 & 2004). Above almost all else, there appears to have been a re-evaluation of nineteenth century rugged individualism. Dependency of any kind is abhorred and dependency on the public purse is viewed as even worse (Dolgoff 2000).

2.3.2.2 Education policy

In Australia, there are in excess of forty publicly funded higher education providers of which thirty-eight are Universities (Nelson 2004; Caldwell 2005). The first Australian Universities were established in the nineteenth century, the rest after Federation in 1901. An overview of the development of Australian education appears as Appendix 7.

The Constitution of Australia makes it clear that the states are responsible for primary and secondary education, and that Universities are autonomous, self-accrediting institutions established by State or Territory legislation (Caldwell 2005). Prior to World War II, Universities were primarily state funded with minimal involvement of the Commonwealth (Nelson 2004). However, from 1974, the Commonwealth has provided almost all government funding (Anderson 1982; Caldwell 2005).

In 1939, Commonwealth involvement in education was viewed as minimal and relatively unimportant, Commonwealth expenditure on University education being a minor item (Harman & Smart 1982). Few saw Commonwealth involvement as desirable although some expressed concern as to the capacity of the states to cope with the demands of education (Harman & Smart 1982). Since the ending of World War II in 1945, the role of the Commonwealth has changed dramatically, the Commonwealth developing a major commitment to education in all areas. The post World War II years in Australia saw dramatic increases in the number of students enrolled in higher education in Australia. In 1955 there were only 30,792 higher education students, with most doctoral students being enrolled overseas, but by 1989 there were 441,074 student enrolments and continued rapid growth in student numbers (Marginson 2002a). In particular the Australian

government of 1972 – 1975 expanded and equalised access to higher education (Marginson 2004a).

This mass higher education growth occurred within a framework of Keynesian economic theory and national demand management, insulated from global economic forces by fixed exchange rates and prolonged economic boom (Marginson 2002a). The development of higher education in these years was conceptualised as a principal tool of nation building, central government viewing the development of higher education as investment in human capital (Marginson 2002a). Yet lack of funding of higher education in the past 20 years suggests that by 2010 demand for higher education will significantly exceed supply (Bradley *et al.* 2008; Cutler 2008).

These notions of nation building and investment in human capital began to face challenges from the 1980s. This crisis was shaped firstly by government moving away from the commitment to strengthening higher education as a tool of nation building; and, secondly by a crisis of academic identity as Universities became internally corporatised (Barry, Chandler & Clark 2001; Marginson 2002a). A consensus began to emerge that Australia should continue to expand tertiary participation but that it could no longer afford to offer free higher education (Marginson 2004a). This position reflects an apparently conflicting policy position whereby OECD governments promote access to higher education across widening segments of the population, while also appearing unwilling to fund higher education (Christou & Haliassos 2005). The resources underpinning higher education in Australia seem to have collapsed (Considine et al. 2001; Cutler 2008), although the promises of the Australian Government newly elected in late 2007 suggest that there may be some changes to this position. It has been inappropriate, as well as possibly being premature, to explore these changes as they have come after the period of data collection in this research.

The move was also away from the Keynesian framework of markets managed by Governments, towards one of neo-liberalism in which Universities needed to re-fashion themselves as self-supporting global corporations (Marginson 2002a; Berg 2005).

Associated with this shift is the view that policy makers no longer need to protect higher education from competition, instead requiring responses to market forces (Bjarnason 2004). This neo-liberal framework seeks to reduce subsidisation of higher education, demands accountability and places emphasis on the role of higher education in the national marketplace (Marginson & Rhoades 2002), the role of government moving from one of provider of services to that of builder and regulator of markets (Mok 2003). Clearly, governments are under pressure to reduce public expenditure (Carnoy & Rhoten 2002).

After experiencing more than two decades of growth, Universities for the past two decades have faced profound change. Critical changes have included notions of the political economy and the application of corporate practices to higher education, increasingly interventionist tendencies of government, deregulation of higher education and increased competition for the potential client base between Universities (King & Kenworthy 1999). Clearly as higher education expanded and its aggregate budget increased, so did the demands for efficiency and productivity, governments interfering in the pre-existing autonomy of Universities in order to secure value for money (Scott 1998). This has led to Universities confronting conflicting challenges whereby they are subject to both increased intervention and deregulation that requires them to move into marketplace competition for students and funding. These contradictory forces, arguably, diminish the capacity of the University to focus on its traditional function as a place of learning (Newman 1927; Marginson 2004b; De Bary 2007), and turn the University into a wealth creation institution (Bradley et al. 2008).

Australian responses to these threats were to engage with new technologies for learning, as it became increasingly difficult to maintain traditional patterns of learning and traditional models of teaching (King & Kenworthy 1999). As such, the publicly funded University has changed, losing its social and public purpose, becoming more like any other corporation, money being the key objective to advance prestige and competitiveness (Marginson 2002a; King 2004a; Schapper & Mayson 2004; Bradley *et al.* 2008). The other cost has been that, in the neo-liberal imagination, society, culture and

personality remain outcomes of the economy. Global educational strategy emerged as a trading game (Marginson 2004a), whereby market competition through tuition fees, industry funding and international marketing would produce a more efficient system of higher education.

From the late 1980s, the direction of Australian government policy has been to conceptualise education as an export industry (Marginson 2002b), education services rising to become Australia's third largest export industry ¹⁶ (Bradley *et al.* 2008). The steps in creating this export industry were setting tuition fees high enough to enable at least full fee recovery and later deregulating fees for foreign students; allowing Universities to retain their earnings; allowing Universities to enrol as many foreign students as they wished; encouraging a more entrepreneurial approach to management; coordinating recruitment in Southeast Asia; and developing a standardised degree structure (Marginson 2002b). A consequence of this has been that international education operates in a space where education is sold to international students in order to make Universities financially independent of government and internationally competitive (Sidhu 2004). At the same time, the failure of the Australian Government to fully fund research has led to Universities using other revenue sources, such as tuition fees from international students, to make up the shortfall (Cutler 2008).

The conceptual framework underpinning the development of international education has been one of revenue generation (OECD 2006a). However, the extent to which this is clearly and transparently translated into University mission statements is a matter of contention. The mission statements of Monash University, the University central to this

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¹⁶ It is important to point out that this export picture is not necessarily as rosy as it may seem. Over 80% of international students hail from Asia and around 50% are studying in the management and commerce disciplines with only 6% of international students undertaking postgraduate research (Bradley *et al.* 2008). Thus the *benefits* of international education are unevenly distributed. As well, over-dependence on international students as a source of income leaves providers vulnerable to market upheavals (Bradley *et al.* 2008), such as the global economic crisis of 2008. At the time of editing this thesis in the period July - September 2009 the daily newspaper in Melbourne, *The Age*, was reporting concerns confronting The University of Melbourne leading to proposed staffing cuts as a consequence of lost investment revenue through the global economic crisis. The same newspaper, among other newspapers, was also reporting reduced enrolments by Indian students in response to concerns about the diminished safety of this group of international students.

research, consistently highlight a number of ideals but do not identify or articulate revenue generation as one of those ideals (Monash University 2001, 2002, 2004a, 2004b, 2005 & 2006). As will become apparent later, the gaps between the University mission statements and the practical realities have been a significant challenge for operationalising the social work education programme under review in this research.

Since the 1980s, education has been a part of the increasing globalisation of trade in goods and services (McBurnie & Zigarus 2001), with potential to achieve transformative, rather than commercial, approaches to internationalisation of curricula (Rizvi 2002). International education comprises international students moving to another country as well as the provision of Distance Education or offshore education. Offshore, or transnational education, is a rapidly growing form of education delivery, involving students studying in their home country with a provider institution located in another country (Gribble & Zigarus 2003). While statistics present a positive picture of the development of international education, this has been achieved in a context of cost pressures, declining teacher/student ratios, the substitution of tenure with contract arrangements and rising managerialism (Welch 2002 & 2003).

Despite these concerns, in the Australian context there is endeavour to ensure that international education is provided in a fashion that pays attention to standards and quality. There are global standards identified (UNESCO/OECD 2005; OECD 2006a), to act as benchmarks for the provision of international education. The Australian approach has evolved into the Australian Universities Quality Agency (AUQA), an independent national agency responsible for auditing and reporting on quality assurance in self-accrediting Australian Universities (Gough & Gough 2005). The emphasis of AUQA assessments is on the notion of quality of courses based on the preparation of performance portfolios and self-analysis of the appropriateness of procedures for achieving specified purposes (Gough & Gough 2005).

As well, the Australian Vice-Chancellor's Committee maintains a role in ensuring the quality of transnational education (Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee 2005a &

2005e). While this Committee noted some concerns about Government proposals, the key issues it identified are the need to ensure that the self-accrediting nature of Australian Universities is maintained and academic autonomy is maintained. It notes that a range of quality audit mechanisms have long been in place in Universities (Australian Vice-Chancellor's Committee 2005a & 2005e). The then Australian Vice-Chancellor's Committee, now Universities Australia, promulgated a Code of Ethics for the Provision of Education to International Students (Australian Vice-Chancellor's Committee 2005c), the current code building on work originally undertaken in 1990. This Code is not restricted to international students studying in Australia only. The Code seeks to address all aspect of the educational experience, including recruitment, reception, education and the welfare of international students (Australian Vice-Chancellor's Committee 2005c).

Australian Universities are also grappling with the achievement of internationalisation as well as standards to govern these efforts. While there is different specific strategies developed across Universities in Australia, this research is based on the Monash University approach. Monash University has enunciated values and principles that underpin the striving for quality (Monash University 2001), with emphasis on Monash University as a self-reliant, broad-based global University and learning organisation (Monash University 2001).

The theme of internationalisation has continued to be consistent in the development of Monash University strategic plans. The intent is to improve support for internationalisation and marketing not only at University level but also at faculty and departmental level (Monash University 2004a & 2004b). This focus has been further developed to incorporate internationalisation occurring both domestically and abroad; an international presence that is research led; and academically autonomous campuses existing in an international federation (Monash University 2005). As such, the commitment of Monash University to internationalisation appears strong, the focus resting not on any single approach but a range of models designed to promote the international image of the University.

Offshore, or transnational, education is attractive to educational providers as it offers opportunities for market expansion and an increased international profile (McBurnie & Zigarus 2001). For students, this form of education offers the possibility of obtaining a foreign qualification without the costs of travelling abroad (McBurnie & Zigarus 2001). This model of educational delivery has been embraced to such an extent that distance education is growing and foreign students located outside of Australia are increasing faster than numbers of foreign students in Australia (Marginson 2002b). There are multiple examples of the ways in which Universities are embracing the drive for international students. This is often couched in terms, for example, of playing a role in professional development in neighbouring countries (Monash University 2004b).

This global market approach, however, commodifies students, faculty and intellectual property (Marginson & Rhoades 2002). The consumer focus is problematic, as government concern is not with customer preferences so much as with managing the relationship between the individual and their wider community (Sharrock 2000). The neo-liberal pattern is to reduce state subsidisation of higher education and shift costs to the market and to consumers (Marginson & Rhoades 2002). There has been faith put into the market enabling a connection of business models embracing competition, corporatism and consumerism, to the higher education sector (Marginson 2004a). In short, what is central to the neo-liberal agenda is the subversion of social good to the economic good (Mok & Welch 2003).

In response to these pressures, Australian Universities are increasingly seeking to attract full fee paying international students (Welch 2003), and the rhetoric of internationalisation of education is promoted. Despite this, higher education in Australia remains essentially monocultural in form and Anglo/American in content (Marginson 2002b). This is a major challenge for curriculum development to ensure that the curriculum is responsive and applicable to a range of different student origins and student contexts. Internationalisation of curricula involves a process of integrating international or inter-cultural dimensions into the teaching, research and service functions of higher education institutions, representing an important response to globalisation (Harman 2004;

Clifford & Joseph 2005). Internationalisation does not involve only transformations of economic and cultural perspectives but also involves transformations of people themselves (Joseph, Marginson & Yang 2005).

2.3.3 The contexts compared

Australia and Singapore have emerged from similar traditions in which both are former British colonies and both have inherited the Westminster system of justice (Brown *et al.* 2005). However, there are significant differences in their more enduring traditions that impact on social policy arrangements. In essence, Australia has a tradition belonging to the Western world shaped by Judeo/Christian thought, whereas Singapore has been shaped by the Confucian legacy of the Eastern world. The central issue is that neither tradition can be held to be inherently superior nor can they be easily compared given the long genesis of the respective cultural traditions. Both have evident strengths, and both present limitations in terms of capacity to respond to social need.

The key areas of divergence between the two countries would appear to stem from their historical and cultural traditions. From a Western perspective, liberal thought emerged as there was a move away from conceptualising the Monarchy and the Church as all-powerful authorities allowing notions of individual rights to emerge (Payne 2005). This, however, did not occur overnight, evolving over centuries. By contrast the Eastern perspective favours strong leaders who are mandated to lead so long as they deliver results (Huntingdon 1996; Ngiam 2006). Eastern societies eschew individual rights in favour of the collective identity (Chua 1995; Kluver & Banerjee 2005).

In the area of education, East Asian countries, including Singapore, have invested heavily in education (Gough 2001), viewing this as an investment in people. This represents a strong future orientation as one of the cornerstones of East Asian welfare regimes. At previous times the Australian approach has also been to invest heavily in education. However, in the past two decades there has been a marked change in this trend. In Australia there have been continued cost pressures seeking to drive Universities to

identify sources of funding other than government. There are signs that Singapore is moving towards a similar approach, notably through its decisions to allow Universities more autonomy but also to make them more entrepreneurial.

Western welfare regimes are presently undergoing transformations. There is evidence that they are moving in the direction of East Asian approaches, although there is also evidence that East Asian regimes may need to modify their approaches and incorporate some Western ideals (Mishra 1999; Ho 2003; Schmidt 2005). It would appear that, as nations develop as a consequence of industrialisation, their economies must move towards the establishment of some form of state response to welfare provision. In both the Eastern and Western contexts, however, the emphasis of contemporary policy rests on the preparation of people for success in the market place.

2.4 The Social Work Context

All societies, throughout history, have developed some provision to help individuals, communities and families experiencing difficulty. Likewise, contemporary social problems such as divorce, child abuse and ageing, to name a few, have occurred throughout history. Charity and help for the poor has been a characteristic of all societies, including ancient civilizations (Payne 2005). In the European context, Christianity played a significant role in the institutional responses to the poor. However, in other societies there were similar developments. For example, both China and Japan have long histories of state intervention by Lords and Emperors (Payne 2005; Ngiam 2006), while Buddhism and Confucianism, in a range of Asian societies, have historically influenced the responses to the less fortunate in society (Tang 2000; Tsang & Yan 2001; Lin & Rantalaiho 2003; Lee 2004). Social work, as we have come to know it, is a relatively recent phenomenon, emerging from the secularisation of the welfare role of organised religion in Western society during the nineteenth century and it is essentially a construct of Judaeo/Christian values (Payne 2005; Mohan 2008).

2.4.1 Contemporary challenges for social work

In order to understand the contemporary nature of social work, and the challenges social work is facing, it is necessary to turn briefly to its history. Social work is a product of modernity. The social sciences that began to emerge in the nineteenth century sought to explain people, society and the human condition (Howe 1994; McDonald 2006). Within this context, emerging ideas about the relationship of the individual and society began to form social work. The two major discourses influencing social work were concerned firstly, with the notion of wealth and poverty; and secondly, with the extent to which the state could penetrate the social sphere (Howe 1994).

The origins of social work are in voluntary action in Victorian society at a time when capitalism was flourishing (Powell 2001). The Victorian ancestors of modern social work protested at the treatment of destitute people. The pioneers sought a more inclusive society, which offered a place for all, seeking to help the poor by emancipating them from oppression through social reform (Powell 2001). The Victorian theorists made a close link between immorality and social breakdown (Forsythe & Jordan 2002). As such, social work began to emerge in the late 1800s, in some parts of Western Europe and some parts of North America as a means of responding to both the humanity and anxiety of social disorder (Payne 2005). The primary concerns of social work in its early days were to alleviate the desperate conditions of the poor, to achieve social reform through legislation, and to awaken the social conscience of the public, and to control and regulate human behaviour (Friedlander 1968).

In the United States the early days of social work were also characterised by the Settlement Movement where the drivers for action were both the movement of workers into urban areas in response to the trends of industrialisation and concerns for newly arrived immigrants (Friedlander 1968). The living conditions of both groups were appalling and highlighted a need to create, among other things, a sense of community (Friedlander 1968). The intent of intervention under the Settlement Movement was not to offer charity but to offer a location where working people could have their needs met. As

the Settlement Movement developed, it created not only direct casework responses but community responses such as day nurseries for children, clubs for boys and girls and eventually involved the residents in advocacy for social reforms (Friedlander 1968).

The nature of social work that emerged was largely premised on an individual approach to social problems, notwithstanding the efforts of the Settlement Movement, based on models of charity and remedial intervention. Despite this shortcoming, the origins of social work concerned themselves with the need for a relationship between those giving and those receiving help as well as a tradition of empathy that dictated those needing help needed understanding rather than punishment (Forsythe & Jordan 2002). What is clear, however, is that social work is recent, culturally specific, and a manifestation of the societal functioning at that historical time (Haug 2001; Mohan 2008).

Social work in Australia emerged with the introduction of training for almoners in the 1920s, and the only field of practice that showed real development in the 1930s was hospital social work (Lawrence 1976). The Australian Association of Social Workers was formed in 1946 with the purpose of uniting professional social workers across the country. Social work education is emphasised in Australia and the trend is towards the teaching of an empowerment approach to social work (Lawrence 1995).

Social work was introduced to Singapore by the appointment of an expatriate almoner to a Singapore hospital in 1948 (Wee 2002). A two year Diploma course in social work was established in the 1952-53 academic year. Early Singaporean initiatives to address social needs emerged in the mid nineteenth century with the establishment of the forerunners of Voluntary Welfare Organisations, but little progress was made in social service areas, other than health, until after World War II (Wee 2004b). Based on research into social problems, the Singapore Social Welfare Department was established in 1946 and, recognising the need for trained social workers, despatched three staff members to London University. What is significant is that although the foundations of social work were vested in research, there appears minimal social work driven and conceptualised social work research in the Singapore context, a theme that will be returned to in Chapter

5. The Malaysian Association of Social Workers was established in 1953 and the Singapore Association of Social Workers formally came into being in 1971. A summary of milestones in the development of social work in Singapore appears in Appendix 8.

There are widely divergent views about the nature of social work and no universally accepted idea of valid knowledge, skills or expertise for professional practice (Payne 2001; Asquith, Clark & Waterhouse 2005). There is, however, some agreement about the basic values of social work. Based on respect for the inherent worth of individuals, social workers should promote the rights to self-determination and challenge oppression in society although these values may be challenged in the Asian context where there is less emphasis on individual perspectives and more emphasis on family and community values.

There are those who would advocate that social justice and personal caring have historically been values central to the development of social work (Lynn 1999; Hodge 2007). Common sets of values include individualisation, purposeful expression of feelings, controlled emotional involvement, non-judgemental attitude, self-determination and confidentiality (Dominelli 2002b). Values underpin the ethical practice and present an aura of certainty yet they are presented in a way that is dislocated from specific local contexts (Dominelli 2002b), meaning that values purported to be universal are not necessarily linked to specific contexts and may not therefore be universal. The one unifying concept appears to be that of person-in-environment (International Federation of Social Workers 2004), which will be discussed later in this chapter with reference to international social work.

Social justice has potential to be a unifying value; however, it is also a contested value. Social justice is important to social work as social work is inherently political given that it is concerned with social change and the promotion of social justice (Gray *et al.* 2002; Hodge 2007; Solas 2008c). Social justice has concerned thinkers, including Plato, over the ages. The term was first used in 1840 and by the end of the nineteenth century social justice was being used by reformers to appeal to the ruling class to attend to the needs of uprooted peasants who had become urban workers (Zajda, Majhanovich & Rust 2006).

Most constructions of social justice are concerned with an egalitarian society based on the principles of equality and solidarity, which understands and values human rights and recognises the dignity of every human being (Zajda, Majhanovich & Rust 2006; Solas 2008c).

Interpretations of social justice draw upon a number of disciplines, but it is a concept which demands that governments intervene to alleviate the impact of the inequities of the market (Craig 2002). Social justice is best understood as a concept of *fairness* rather than equality, concerned with the ways the major social institutions of any society distribute fundamental rights and duties, and determine the division of advantages from social cooperation (Rawls 1971).

From the social work perspective, the commitment to social justice can also be understood as a source of collective social responsibility towards individuals and to provide care for the vulnerable in society. This reflects notions of citizenship as a status bestowed on those who are full members of society, the welfare state being the promoter and guardian of the welfare of the whole community (Marshall 1963). This gives rise to a notion of social policy as being built into the natural social system (Titmuss 1974), reflecting the intervention of governments to redress the inequalities of the market. Hence, in contrast to the workings of capitalism, and the cut and thrust of markets, welfare provision was seen as based on principles that differed from the capitalist perspective. This view created the necessary space for social work to promote social justice. However, the supporters of the neo-liberal perspective have demanded reform of the public sector, reducing the space for the promotion of social justice, effectively harnessing social work to the culture of capitalism (Harris 2005).

As professional social work practice enters into its second century, there appear to be two major challenges to social work. Firstly, the changing environments for social work practice. Secondly, the entry of postmodern discourse into the professional arena. Each of these will be considered in turn.

2.4.1.1 The changing practice environment

Some would argue that social work is a profession in crisis (Lymbery 2001). Many causes are seen as contributing to this view. We now live in a society defined by risk, polarisation, global markets, chronic shortages and fragmentation (Powell 2001). Manifestations of this view include high turnover, shortage of social workers, lack of professional recognition and status and the fact that the boundaries of social work have become blurred as professionals from other disciplines are employed in social work positions. It may also be due to changing economic, political and social conditions, which make upholding the core values of social work difficult under current conditions (Dominelli 2004; Asquith, Clark & Waterhouse 2005; Harris 2005; Jones 2005).

Globalisation has been held to reach into all aspects of public life, drawing social workers into managerially driven technologies that emphasise the policing role over the caring role (Dominelli 2004). The relationship between social work and globalisation is generally not straightforward and linear, the term *glocalisation* being more appropriate to afford recognition to the mediating role played by national governments (Harris 2005). Under the notion of *glocalisation* the state plays a mediating role against the pressures exerted by globalisation in the direction of depressing wages and weakening social welfare arrangements (Harris 2005).

It is appropriate to review the role in which social work finds itself. Much of the literature pertinent to this issue has originated in the Western world. However, there are indications that similar trends of *glocalisation* are being experienced at least in the Asian context (Chan & Chan 2004; Tsui & Cheung 2004; Yip 2004b). It is noted that these Asian commentaries originate primarily in Hong Kong, any literature from Singapore apparently silent on this matter. The researcher is, however, aware of similar trends apparent from dialogue with practitioners on the ground in Singapore. There are many reasons that the literature may be silent, including the way civic dialogue is constructed and managed in the Singaporean context.

While government dissatisfaction with social work might have resulted in *top down* changes, it may also be time for social work to express dissatisfaction with government approaches in keeping with its values concerning social justice and the promotion of human dignity and worth. The domination of social work by budgets, and the commodification of many aspects of social work, undermines the value and practice base of social work (Harris 2005; Ferguson & Lavalette 2006; McDonald & Chenoweth 2009). Arguably, this represents not only a change of policy paradigm but also a profound reordering of social relationships in order that they fit the ideology of neo-liberalism (Lorenz 2005). The central argument here is not that social work fails clients, rather that government policies fail clients. The most significant change is that of a change in paradigm away from the state conceptualising itself as having a responsibility towards claimants of welfare towards a conceptualisation as claimants having responsibility towards the state (Lorenz 2005; McDonald 2006; McDonald & Chenoweth 2009).

Social work has changed both organisationally and in terms of practice methods. Increasingly, mangerialism has come to dominate whereby the practices and paradigms of management theory have been, and are being applied, to non-managerial disciplines including social work (Clarke & Newman 1997; Mullender & Perrott 2002; Harris 2005; Bilson 2007; McDonald & Chenoweth 2009). Social work, as a profession, is mocked and attacked but has continued to grow, there being more positions across a wider spectrum (Jordan 2004). Social work is practised largely in an organisational context. From the 1990s, although there had been earlier evidence of this approach, the purchaser/provider split became the dominant means of organising the workforce (Mullender & Perrott 2002). This has meant that old style bureaucracies have been replaced with new managerialist ideologies that have fundamentally altered the role of social workers (Mullender & Perrott 2002; Bilson 2007; McDonald & Chenoweth 2009). In some contexts, such as Australia, managerialism intersected with the rise of the neoliberal agenda, placing emphasis on managerial and business skills, privileging management skills over professionalism and seeking to shape professional discourse (Clarke & Newman 1997; McDonald 2006). These trends have meant the adoption of business concepts, such as competition and competitive tendering, as the ways in which the welfare sector has become managed.

It has been argued that, due to market forces, needs-led assessments and relationship building have given way to budget-led assessments, increased managerial control over practitioners and bureaucratised procedures for responding to client complaints (Dominelli & Hoogvelt 1996; Jones 2005; McDonald & Chenoweth 2009). This new era of so-called managerialism coincided with significant development in the area of technology, so much so that there have been feelings of intrusion from the technology, extension of hours, responsibility and accountability and reduced levels of professional discretion (Brown 2003; Jones 2005; McDonald 2006). Globalisation has also drawn the profession into neo-liberal ideologies and practices through the privatisation of public provisions and the advent of new managerialism controlling the workforce (Dominelli 2005c; Harris 2005).

Economic rationalist, market based models of service delivery seek to achieve their objectives by appealing to individual self-interest (Crimeen & Wilson 1997; Jones 2005). One reflection of the dominance of economic rationalism has been the rise of managerialism, or the belief that improved management can resolve a wide range of economic and social problems (Tsui & Cheung 2004). Both economic rationalism and managerialism profoundly affect the nature of the social work relationship with clients. Under these forces there is an assumption, however contentious, that the client is a customer able to shape the nature of the service, improvements in efficiency can be gained by the appointment of an effective manager and, social work personnel are employees rather than professionals (Tsui & Cheung 2004; Jones 2005; Baines 2006).

Performance measurement is one of an array of managerial changes introduced to the public and private sectors on the 1980s and 1990s in the name of improved efficiency, effectiveness and accountability (Tilbury 2004). Performance indicators must be assessed not only with reference to how they fulfil their measurement role, but how they are used politically and organisationally (Tilbury 2004). Effective social work practice is about more than the number of cases managed. Social work intervention is based on complex

interactional processes that need to also consider how change is achieved. Programmes may be successful in meeting agency goals and key performance indicators but this approach does not guarantee that client needs are met. Indeed, emphasis on performance and the notion of competencies means that professional skills are no longer understood as a complex synergy of formal, informal, individual and collective knowledge that develops incrementally; rather skills are recast as competencies that individual workers should attain (Baines 2006).

Practitioners operate in contexts where the nature of their work is increasingly understood in de-professionalised terms, contextualised by an environment driven by market values rather than relationship values. Globalisation appears to have drawn social work into the neo-liberal ideology and practices (Dominelli 2005c). It appears that there is a growing dislocation between what social workers believe they are trained to do and what they are required to do (Asquith, Clark & Waterhouse 2005; Baines 2006; Ferguson & Lavalette 2006). Welfare policies have been undergoing significant reform in the past two decades, welfare provision being reformed in ways that directly affect social work. Neo-liberal economic principles have been incorporated into human service organisations with emphasis on principles of open competition, user pays and cost effectiveness of service delivery (Healy 2004; Harris 2005; Jones 2005).

The contemporary policy context is one of diminishing government funding for welfare, suggesting diminishing belief in the moral obligation of society to provide for the vulnerable (Bisman 2004). Global competition has been able to set the parameters for the privatisation of welfare provision, creating new conditions for the relationship between the state and social work (Dominelli & Hoogvelt 1996). These changed conditions have, in other terms, been described as a shift from depth to surface (Howe 1996; Ferguson & Lavalette 2006). This shift implies that there is increasing managerial control of social workers and social work, and diminished focus on the time needed to form the relationships necessary for direct client work. Needs led assessments and relationship building have given way to budget led, or constrained, assessments and increased managerial control over practitioners (Dominelli & Hoogvelt 1996). The practice

environment is one of decreased support for social work and for the fragmentation and routinization of social work practice (Dominelli & Hoogvelt 1996).

Social work has always had, as its primary concern, the poor, oppressed and marginalised members of society. But while governments, in the main, treat their citizens well, they have become more punitive towards the marginalised members of society, social workers acting less as social workers and more like prison officers (Jordan 2004). Frontline social workers increasingly identify problems, not so much with clients, as with the agency and requirements to adhere to agency procedure. The advent of the *tick box* approach to social work emerged in a bid to limit the radicalism of social workers, but has become a concern to regulate the everyday professional life of social workers (Jones 2001; Bilson 2007).

The response of social work does not appear to have been to significantly challenge contemporary policy directions (Ferguson & Lavalette 2006). Social work has been shaped by these directions in ways akin to the impact of colonial cultures and ideology on indigenous cultures and values. However, as indigenised forms of social work reflect a reaction against Western models of social work (Ferguson 2005), then so too does social work need to find ways to react against the influence of neo-liberal ideology.

2.4.1.2 Postmodern discourse

Social work is a product of modernity (Howe 1994; Powell 2001). In the pre-modern world, people saw the world as a product of God, everyone and everything occupied a pre-ordained place in the world and humans were not in control of their own destinies (Howe 1994). However, from around the seventeenth century there emerged the modern world in which man¹⁷ came to understand himself as essentially free and that all phenomena could be subject to inquiry and examination from which would emerge the truth (Howe 1994). Modernity represents a revolutionary process, different from to the shift from primitive to civilised societies, and involves processes of industrialisation,

¹⁷ The gender bias used here is consistent with the concepts of the pre-modern and modern worlds where there was an absence of emphasis on people or humanity. It is recognised that a gender neutral approach is appropriate in the contemporary context.

urbanisation, increasing literacy, education, wealth, social mobilisation and increasingly diversity (Huntingdon 1996).

Postmodern theories are premised on the claim that contemporary conditions of transformation are so profound that new conditions must be named and new cultural forms developed (Healy 2000). Postmodernism has been described as evolving out of the failure of the central authority vested in Western Europe to resolve social problems by science, reason and human endeavour (Atherton & Bolland 2002). Postmodernists argue that social workers can no longer claim to have solutions for social ills (Khan & Dominelli 2000). By contrast, postmodernist critics allege that postmodernity drains the meaning out of social life, appearing to celebrate the fragmentation of society and presenting flatness in its vision (Powell 2001).

Postmodernist dialogue in social work is often posited within a framework of globalisation. This reflects the changing context for social work, a concern being that the traditional concerns for social justice and human rights are often relegated out of the agenda on the basis that economic globalisation has marginalised social concerns (Ife 2001), social work lacking the status and resources to respond to the struggles for social justice (Hokenstad & Midgley 1997). Globalisation, with its strong neo-liberal base, has eroded concepts of social citizenship and weakened the earlier commitment to a social minimum as a right (Lyons 2006).

Analysis of globalisation has largely been limited to the impact on the welfare state, the impact on social work yet to be pursued in any systematic way (Khan & Dominelli 2000). Global economic forces have exerted pressures on national economies, introducing greater market flexibility but leading to austerity in budgets and curtailment of state expenditure on welfare (Khan & Dominelli 2000). Tensions between a competitive market approach and social need also pose challenges for social work; particularly as one consequence of this tension increasingly risks are borne by the individuals rather than society (Khan & Dominelli 2000).

Postmodernism holds that no single world view is privileged over another, rejecting *grand ideas*, in preference for a radical equality of ideas with absolute freedom (Mok & Welch 2003). As a consequence, freed of the universal truths of modernism, individuals are free to pursue their own goals (Noble 2004). The postmodern perspective values diversity and legitimises difference (Pease 2002), meaning being constructed through conversation and dialogue (Pease & Fook 1999). The postmodern paradigm encourages social workers move towards worldviews other than those of their own experience.

One of the difficulties of the postmodern perspective, however, is that it gives rise to individualism (Mullard 2004). Whereas modernist communities of shared commitment provided a value base for solidarity, in the age of postmodernity people live with multiple identities in multiple communities (Mullard 2004). Disavowal of responsibility emerges, people retreating into private lives that disallows resistance and protest (Mullard 2004).

Within this context of postmodern discourse, values of non-judgementalism, equality and independence are being increasingly challenged by Eastern philosophies of interdependence between families, Eastern and African notions of family authority and fundamentalist assumptions about moral values in several different spiritual systems (Payne 2001). Mere comparison and categorisation of knowledge bases between locales does not allow analysis of the ways in which different sources and styles of knowledge can interact with each other (Payne 2001).

The tendency of social work has been towards ethnocentricity, viewing indigenous forms of social work as a variation on Anglo/American models and definitions. A postmodern perspective enables questioning of whether there is a definitive value base for social work and whether it is more appropriate to focus on comparative analysis to identify what is applicable according to culture and context (Payne 2001). Another way of viewing the value base of social work could be to say that other cultural and historical traditions have interacted with western social work to create a rich tapestry of social interventions using a range of interconnected value and knowledge sources (Payne 2005).

At the end of the twentieth century social work was a diverse and contested activity (Lyons 1999), there being no evidence that this has changed. However, regardless of its location, social work remains vested in humanitarian ideals, concerned about the amelioration of social problems, support and empowerment, advocacy and negotiation (Lyons 1999). The postmodern approach offers opportunities to move beyond the Western model of casework and the privileged paradigm, viewing indigenous approaches as equally valid and worthy of promotion. The need is for us to think in terms not of difference, but of interdependence and interconnectedness (Payne 2005; Lyons 2006). This position has implications for how social work in other countries in viewed and in particular for how social work in Singapore is viewed. The profession in the Singapore context has a particular history and operates in a particular context. The challenge for an Australian social work education programme is to find ways to connect with social work as it is delivered on the ground in Singapore and to make adaptations to the educational programme that reflect the characteristics of Singaporean social work while still maintaining Australian educational and professional standards.

2.4.2 International social work

Continuing with the theme of reviewing the past in order to understand the contemporary context, it can be argued that social work has always been international in character (Midgley 2001; Brown *et al.* 2005; McDonald 2006). From the early beginning of social work, developments in one country or area influenced developments in others, the first international activities being organised in the nineteenth century when representatives of public and private charities began to organise conferences to share their experiences and exchange information on successful methods of practice (Friedlander 1968).

It would appear that throughout the world, social work, or its equivalent, is necessary during times of structural societal change (Crawley 2003). It has been suggested (Mayadas & Elliott 1997; Ferguson 2005) that international social work has developed according to some distinct phases as outlined in Appendix 9. The definition and nature of international social work, however, remains contested. Contemporary debates are primarily concerned with globalisation versus localisation, Westernisation versus

indigenisation, multiculturalism versus universalism and universal versus local standards (Gray & Fook 2004).

International organisation within social work gained impetus during the 1920s, propelled by the exchange of innovations, particularly between cities concerned with the question of how to respond to the problems of urbanisation. The International Conference on Social Work, held in Paris in 1928, along with other conferences around that period, gave rise to the creation of three international organisations, namely, the International Federation of Social Workers, the International Council on Social Welfare and the International Association of Schools of Social Work (Healy 2001; Payne 2005). These organisations now convene regular international conferences and provide regular publications and journals. With a history of international collaboration spanning seven decades it might be assumed that there is common agreement and understanding of the nature of social work from the international perspective. As will be demonstrated, the contrary is more the case.

Despite this history, international social work has been described as the youngest branch of social work (Friedlander 1968). Early conceptualisations of international social work were divided into categories of government agencies with international character, private international organisations such as the International Congress of Social Work, national government agencies extending their work to other countries and national private agencies extending their work to other countries (Friedlander 1968). The defining characteristics of these early definitions of international social work concerned outreach and extension of activities into other countries, by implication to less developed countries. From this perspective, it becomes possible to understand the charge that social work has been concerned with the perpetuation of colonisation and imperialisation and the dominance of Western hegemony over indigenous forms of social work.

2.4.2.1 Challenges for international social work

The development of social work in non-Western countries has been linked to the stage of economic development the particular country is experiencing (Cox 1995). It is argued

that the establishment and development of social work is not possible without some sense of movement beyond the traditional lifestyle (Cox 1995). Thus it becomes possible to understand the trend of countries seeking to import the available form of social work, but then later becoming dissatisfied with its *goodness of fit* with the local context, giving rise to the key debates around localisation and globalisation. This view resonates with the overall developmental pathways or phases in international social work exchange as outlined in Appendix 9.

Not surprisingly, defining international social work remains a matter for contemporary debate. Firstly, there is confusion between international, global and cross-national social work; and secondly, international social work is complex and has many component parts. (Healy 2001). Social work is facing a dilemma. Cross-cultural dialogue is developing new models of social work while, at the same time, seeking to hold some semblance of common identity (Gray 2005). Within social work, there are deep divisions about many important issues other than the nature of international social work. There are divisions about the commitment of the profession to internationalising, the extent to which social work values can be universal and what forms social work practice should take (Gray & Fook 2004; Yip 2004a). This latter tension is around the extent to which social work should remain remedial and the extent to which it should become developmental (Midgley 2001).

International social work can mean social work that has a focus on international issues. It can mean activities that take place at international or global level, or it can mean activities involving international exchange (Healy 2001; Gray & Fook 2004). There is also a suggestion that international social work is not a distinct field of practice but a variety of international exchanges (Midgley 2001). Yet other definitions hold that international social work is intervention with immigrants, refugees and ethnic minorities (Nagy & Falk 2000), suggesting cross-cultural social work as a form of international social work. The common theme of each perspective is the implication of some form of exchange across national borders.

As well, there are debates concerning the proper focus for social work. In the developing world some have called for social work to be redefined as social development (Gray & Fook 2004), reflecting the tensions around whether social work should be preventative or remedial. The approach entailing social development transcends both the residual and institutional approaches as, according to Midgley (1995), neither of these approaches is concerned with the way resources are distributed. A social development approach does not provide welfare goods or counselling, instead seeking to integrate social and economic policy to act as a process of planned social change designed to promote the well-being of the population as a whole which may then involve some redistribution of resources (Midgley 1995). The contention is, only when social development is combined with economic policy will living standards rise (Midgley 1997). It is advocated that the highest standards of living are located in those countries that experienced economic modernisation at the same time as the introduction of extensive social policies (Midgley 1997), but where economic growth has not been linked to social policy there has been a failure to increase standards of living (Midgley 1997). Implicit in this conceptual framework is the notion that remedial casework interventions have little to offer in the event that there is not harmonisation of the economic and the social spheres.

It is also argued that definitions of international social work seek to emphasise Western worldviews, in which social work is conceptualised primarily as an Anglo/American discipline of which indigenous forms are mere derivatives. Underpinning this contention is a notion that developing countries are unable to find their own solutions, giving rise to a form of professional imperialism (Gray 2005). It is argued that Western imperialism continues, failing to acknowledge or compensate for the imbalance of power relationships, promoting a view of social work that is presented as the dominant model, universally acceptable and superior to all other forms (Yip 2004a; Gray 2005; Haug 2005; Yip 2005a).

The indigenisation of social work refers to a process of relating the social work and social work education function to the cultural, political and social realities of a particular country (Cheung & Liu 2004; Gray & Fook 2004; Gray 2005). Indigenisation is based on discontent with the dominant paradigm. Indigenisation involves the crystallisation of

local traditions and thought and using local thought to challenge and refine methods and models from the Western school (Ferguson 2005; Yip 2005a).

Calls for indigenisation reflect feelings of discontent with the imported model of social work practice, to an extent that the recipient country identifies incongruities with the Western model (Ferguson 2005). The need for indigenisation reflects a position that social work, as defined by Western standards, is only available to a minority of the world's population (Tsang & Yan 2001). The reality for developing counties is that governments and community organisations have been struggling to find responses to social problems in the absence of a fully developed social work profession (Tsang & Yan 2001). In such contexts, indigenisation is not only a professional concern, but also an assertion of local autonomy. Social work therefore needs to operate at local, national and global level, each being important sites to effect change (Ife 2001). It is no longer only at the national level that social workers need to advocate for changed social policies.

Social work, whether nationally or internationally, is practiced in an increasingly complex world. There are many forms of social work. The nature of international social work is that it crosses national borders, shaped by commonalities and differences in theory and practise across diverse contexts (Gray & Fook 2004).

What appears to be the unifying concept is the commitment to person-in-environment (Hare 2004; International Federation of Social Workers 2004). This means that the primary focus of social work is intervention at the point of interface between individuals and their context. Principles of social justice remain fundamental to social work (Solas 2008a). Since its inception social work has been concerned with the intrinsic value of every human being and the promotion of equitable social structures (Hare 2004). While there are a range of forms of social work, each seems to appreciate and respect difference, commits to social justice and the well-being of all in society and has a willingness to persist in the face of frustration (Yip 2005a).

2.4.2.2 Differing paradigms

Acculturation to one's own culture leads to worldviews that are acceptable to the local context. To accept and incorporate other worldviews into one's frame of reference is difficult. But if we accept that there are other *truths*, we must seek to incorporate other worldviews. A central challenge is in seeking to identify those aspects of social work that are universal and those which can be accepted as indigenous. There may be defining characteristics of social work that hold true in most contexts and there may be defining features of social work that only hold true in a specific context. Failure to grapple with these two questions runs the risk that social work will continue to be understood from a predominantly Anglo/American worldview. The challenge for international social work is achieving standards and definition that simultaneously possess specificity sufficient for meaning, and broadness sufficient to be relevant in a range of contexts. There is a need to remain wary of over-standardisation (Gray 2005), and to view the international perspective as concerned with collaboration, comparative exchange and dialogue.

Australian social workers have been primarily shaped by the traditions of the West, as well as a cultural tradition that emphasises individuality and the promotion of human rights. Although a multi-cultural society, in Australia English remains the dominant language, the rule of law prevails and freedom of speech is taken as a fundamental right, though some would challenge whether voices of protest have become discouraged, if not punished, under a mood of increased conservatism and economic-liberalism.

At this juncture it is important to emphasise that non-Western societies are not all the same, just as not all Western countries are the same. There are differences between non-Western countries as well as within non-Western countries. However, there are certain themes that characterise these societies and distinguish them from Western societies. Two major alternate worldviews are those of Confucian heritage and those of Islamic heritage.

In Asian contexts, the Confucian tradition has a major influence on social policy and social work (Lee 2004). The Confucian model regards every person as being in need of self improvement (Lee 2004). Social services in Confucian societies traditionally were

shared among the family, community based charities, trade associations, native filial piety groups, local officials and the Imperial Court (Tsang & Yan 2001). Confucian societies are primarily collectivist in nature. Societal values emphasise the importance of hard work, respect for learning, honesty, self-reliance, self-discipline and fulfilment of obligations (Koh 2000). Family and collective identity are more important than individuality (Koh 2000).

Islamic doctrine emphasises the family as the basic social unit, the definition of family including both the nuclear and extended family, marriage symbolising not only the union of two people, but of two families (Hodge 2005). Similar to Confucian society, Islamic society is collectivist in nature, emphasising the collective over the individual (Al-Krenawi & Graham 2000). Community is a fundamental Islamic value, rooted in the belief that all people are equal before God (Hodge 2005). This leads to an emphasis on benevolence, care for others, cooperation between individuals, empathy, equality and justice the importance of social support and positive human relatedness (Hodge 2005).

Social stability in Islamic society, for example, is understood as the achievement of social peace (Al-Krenawi & Graham 2000). The Confucian equivalent appears to be to emphasise harmony in social relationships and to avoid open conflict, preferring to focus on strategies of mediation and mediators to resolve conflicts. Neither of the major non-Western cultures has primary concern with individual well-being, preferring to emphasise the well-being of the wider society.

To understand these characteristics requires a significant shift in paradigm for Western trained and based social workers. Notions of social justice, human rights and the role of the individual take on important differences. There are implications for how practice is understood and how practitioners might intervene. This shift also enables the adoption of a more reflective approach to one's own practice and dominant paradigms.

For example, notions of client self-determination are influenced by the tendency of Asian clients to wish to learn from the clinician (Lee 2004). This presentation is often regarded as a lack of self-confidence on the part of the client whereas it may represent the client

conceptualising the therapeutic relationship as part of a learning curve to remedy their deficits (Lee 2004). Further, in Asian contexts, actions are valued over words and hence clients do not verbalise their feelings (Lee 2004). In the Islamic context, family arrangements are less flexible and more hierarchical, with a communication style that tends to be implicit and indirect rather than explicit and direct (Al-Krenawi & Graham 2000). Gender in the Islamic context has a different construction to that pursued by the West, women's movements outside the home being limited (Al-Krenawi & Graham 2000).

2.4.2.3 Is there a core base to social work?

One key to the debate around the nature of international social work is the question about the extent to which there is a core knowledge base underpinning social work. While most social workers would argue that knowledge is central to social workers most social workers would experience difficulties in seeking to articulate that knowledge base (Payne 2001). Linked to the debate regarding knowledge base is the question of how knowledge is constructed (Payne 2001), meaning that how social and psychological aspects of life are understood are in fact socially constructed in time and place.

Promotion of a knowledge base, as a universal phenomenon, ignores important questions about who constructs the knowledge base and how they do this. Thus social work values concerning non-judgementalism, equality and avoidance of dependency, are increasingly being challenged by social workers from cultural traditions that emphasise family autonomy and interdependence of relationships (Payne 2001). The traditions of individualism would seem to underpin the pre-existing assumptions concerning the value base of social work whereas traditions of collectivism lead to different conclusions about the appropriate core values. As such, it may be that comparisons between countries lead to dichotomies in views that do little to advance an understanding of international social work. A more appropriate approach may well be to understand the process of transferring knowledge from one cultural context to another. This entails understanding the ways in which knowledge about family life and society is locally constructed and the ways in

which that knowledge is interpreted, or re-interpreted, when transferred to another context (Payne 2001).

This view of international social work would entail understanding the emergence of social work across the globe as involving a multi-directional flow in which ideas can be received and implemented; received, modified and implemented; or newly generated within a country as their own product (Ferguson 2005). This model proposes that there is continuous vertical and horizontal dialogue and exchange. Under the multidirectional model there is no developed/developing or donor/recipient framework (Ferguson 2005). This would enable an understanding of social work as involving other cultural and historical traditions that have interacted with Western social work to create a tapestry of social interventions using a range of interconnected value and knowledge sources (Payne 2005).

This means that social work practitioners cannot make assumptions about the responses of clients in the face of particular social work values such as self-determination or oppression. It is the worldview and lived experience of the client that determines the nature of oppression, choice and decision making. This does not mean that no culturally-based position can ever be wrong but it does mean that there is a need to carefully discriminate about the nature of unacceptable cultural practices.

However alien to the Western worldview it may be, the way gender is constructed in a given context does not necessarily constitute oppression, although it may. Rather, it is the way the lived experience of the construction of gender is interpreted, by those living the experience that determines the extent to which a problem may exist. This has important implications for work with cross-cultural clients but also for the way that international social work is constructed.

Local indigenising forces will resist imperialism and the assumption, however implicit, that different countries and contexts are unable to find their own solutions (Ferguson 2005; Gray 2005). The major challenge in understanding alternative paradigms would seem one of reverse mission (Abram, Slosar & Walls 2005). Under reverse mission,

instead of seeking to convert, the focus moves to learning from indigenous leaders and visionaries (Abram, Slosar & Walls 2005). This approach enhances learning from local traditions through experiential interactions. It is also the strategy by which we might all achieve shifts in our dominant conceptual paradigms.

2.4.3 The field practicum

Social work has consistently embraced a position that both classroom and field learning are essential elements of professional education (Rai 2004). Indeed, every social work education program around the globe includes a field practicum (Rai 2004). Direct field experience has its roots in early social work training whereby there was an apprenticeship model enabling paid workers and volunteers to undergo training prior to the establishment of the first social work courses in 1898 (George 1982). In the subsequent period prior to 1940, there was the establishment of formal social work courses all of which recognised the need for field training (George 1982). The period 1940 – 1960 saw emphasis resting upon efforts to improve the quality of field practicum and since 1960 there has been experimentation with a range of models for the provision of field practicum (George 1982).

Field practicum, in contemporary social work education, is much more than an apprenticeship. The specific purpose of field practicum is to link classroom learning with practice activities in order that the student graduates as a social worker able to engage in both knowledge and value guided practice (Jenkins & Sheafor 1982; Bogo & Globerman 1999; Fisher & Somerton 2000; Bar-on 2001; Fortune, McCarthy & Abramson 2001; Bogo *et al.* 2002 & 2004; Furness & Gilligan 2004; Lager & Robbins 2004; Rai 2004; Wayne, Bogo & Raskin 2006; Schiff & Katz 2007; Wong & Pearson 2007). The field practicum is the point at which the student begins to experience the real world of social work practice for which they are preparing (Bogo & Globerman 1999; Rai 2004; Fortune, Lee & Cavazos 2005; Wong & Pearson 2007). Both the student and the field supervisor need to be enthusiastic about the field practicum in order to maximise outcomes (Fortune, Lee & Cavazos 2005).

As well, students require field practicum experience in order to learn to effectively utilise social work values and ethics, in a process of acculturation from layperson to professional (Haynes 1999). As part of this process students undertaking field practicum need assistance to become critical and reflective practitioners, reflecting on the past in order to challenge resource and power issues confronting a diverse but disadvantaged population (Haynes 1999). As such, field practicum can be conceptualised not only as having a theoretical component but also a political component.

2.4.3.1 Contemporary challenges for field practicum

Despite commitment to the importance of the field practicum, there are a range of concerns evident about the position of field education in social work, there being a pervasive concern that field education is an undervalued component of the academic curriculum (Knight 2001a & 2001b; Rai 2004; Ligon & Ward 2005; Edmond *et al.* 2006). Broadly, the academizing of social work programmes has reduced the importance of teaching the field practicum in favour of research (Ligon & Ward 2005). The suggestion is that the adoption of values of the academic institutions has compromised identification with the values and skills of the profession of social work (Ligon & Ward 2005).

Further, in a rapidly changing context, a number of concerns are apparent about the ability of the University and the field to offer quality field practica in sufficient quantity that will enable the student to meet their learning goals. Although field education has always been a feature of social work education, social work education has been consistently unable, or unwilling, to submit field education processes to disciplined evaluation. There is a diminishing source of field placements as governments seek to control costs and cut spending (Jarman-Rohde *et al.* 1997; Reisch & Jarman-Rohde 2000).

There is little doubt that the trends of globalisation, welfare reform and a changed political climate, which affect public-private sector relationships, lead to a scenario where the future clients of social work will present with an increasingly desperate economic

plight (Reisch & Jarman-Rohde 2000). In essence, a multitude of social problems have contributed to the marked changes in the client population leading to changes in social work practice in recent decades (Lager & Robbins 2004).

The changed organisational context also has an impact. Clients with severe psycho-social problems are required to be seen, assessed and responded to within short time frames (Lager & Robbins 2004) in order to meet management driven performance indicators for throughput of cases. For social work practitioners this means re-thinking the way in which they approach the intervention task and taking greater risks in responding to clients (Lager & Robbins 2004). This raises questions about whether the field practicum may be contributing to the re-professionalization, or possibly the de-professionalization, of social work (Alperin 1998).

These trends, along with the move of other professional courses to include a practicum component in the curriculum, mean that field placements are harder to identify and secure. As well, clients tend to present with more complex problems, particularly in tertiary or involuntary welfare programmes, meaning that many agencies are reluctant to offer placement to students, particularly for first practicum, because they may not be able to ensure the safety of the student and the quality of the learning experience.

While the field practicum has largely relied on the provision of placements by agencies on a voluntary basis, this may not be a realistic option for ever (Bogo & Globerman 1999; Wayne, Bogo & Raskin 2006). There are various broad contextual factors which contribute to this possibility. For example, students consume scarce agency resources, such as using agency phones and desks, agency vehicles, and a range of other agency resources (Barton, Bell & Bowles 2005). Despite these obvious costs, the student contribution to the agency has been identified as outweighing the costs (Barton, Bell & Bowles 2005).

As well, field supervisors generally do not receive workload reduction in recognition of their assumption of student supervisory duties (Bogo & Globerman 1999). Despite this workload factor, supervisors do find student supervision a positive experience helping

them to develop supervisory skills as well as being afforded an opportunity to update their knowledge of contemporary developments (Barton, Bell & Bowles 2005).

While the University scholarly expectations have increased, the commitment to liaison has diminished, in many instances field liaison being assigned to casual staff with little decision-making power with respect to curriculum (Wayne, Bogo & Raskin 2006). At the same time, students increasingly balance work and studies, being required to forego income to undertake at least one placement. The Australian Association of Social Workers standards for field practicum stipulate that only one practicum may be undertaken in the student's place of employment (Australian Association of Social Workers 2000), although subsequent standards allow for a second practicum in the workplace if there are exceptional circumstances (Australian Association of Social Workers 2008).

From the student perspective, field practicum is generally viewed as a positive part of the learning experience, the practicum being the point at which students can exercise their motivations to *do good*. The field practicum directly exposes the student to professional tasks and students value meaningful and challenging activities (Fortune, McCarthy & Abramson 2001). Of all aspects of social work education, it is the field practicum that students and employers credit as the most important component in the preparation of the professional practitioner (Fortune, McCarthy & Abramson 2001; Bogo *et al.* 2002; Fortune, Lee & Cavazos 2005; Edmond *et al.* 2006).

This does not mean, however, that students do not experience anxiety about the field practicum. The source of anxiety for students undertaking field practicum concerns the feelings of competence, with worry about performance and evaluation and emotional discomfort concerning feelings of tension and nervousness (Lee, TY 2002; Maidment 2003; Gelman 2004). The reality of the field practicum is that it requires the student to

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¹⁸ Liaison in this context refers to the function performed by University staff to connect with the fieldwork practica. Specifically, liaison represents the relationship between the University, the fieldwork placement agency and the student undertaking the fieldwork practicum. AASW standards are that there is a minimum of one face-to-face contact during each fieldwork practicum and with each student. In reality there are usually multiple contacts in multiple forms. This standard is applied and adhered to in the BSW Singapore.

adjust to new environments, to maintain their academic standing and also to ultimately gain employment (Dziegielewski, Turner & Roesti-Marti 2004).

Although responding to the students anxieties is a major challenge for the field supervisor, this is an area that is not well researched nor well understood either by the student or the field supervisor (Gelman 2004). The primary role of the supervisor is to facilitate the student's integration of theory and practice, while providing direction to ensure that the student identifies with social work values and principles (Lewis 1998). The issue here is that the student may have an understanding of some social work interventions but may lack the knowledge, and confidence to implement these in reality (Lee, TY 2002).

The supervisory style found by students to be most helpful are those that offer tasks able to contribute directly to student learning (Knight 2001a), as well as the supervisor offering a supportive approach and encouraging critical reflection (Knight 2001a). Supervision is not only the responsibility of the field supervisor. Supervision will only be effective when the student is proactive and understands that supervision is a relationship that does not happen by chance (Irwin 2006). The supervisor should not be viewed as the sole source of knowledge and expertise, students needing to accept responsibility for contributing to the learning process (Ganzer & Ornstein 1999; Cleak & Wilson 2004).

As such, it is important that both students and their field supervisors understand that supervision has a number of functions and that the educative function must be highlighted (Davys & Beddoe 2000). It must be understood that the supervisory role is complex, the supervisor needing to simultaneously act as advocate and assessor for the student (Beddoe 2000). The supervisory relationship occurs within a context of multiple responsibilities to clients, agency and supervisee. This supervisory relationship enables the supervisor to model appropriate professional behaviour, explore therapeutic impasses, delineate ethical boundaries and develop the grounding upon which the student develops professional identity (Harkness & Hensley 1991; Ganzer & Ornstein 1999).

2.4.3.2 Challenges for the offshore field practicum

The offering of the BSW Singapore has raised some particular challenges for the delivery of the field practicum. Field learning is a key requirement of professional associations in providing accreditation of social work education programmes (Australian Association of Social Workers 2000). Professional associations prescribe the broad areas of study that need to be addressed in the education programme. However, with regard to academic subjects, the AASW requirements do not specify the number of hours of study required nor the specific teaching arrangements, these being considered the realm of the University. By contrast, the AASW is specific about the field practicum subject, requiring two practica each of a minimum 490 hours duration (totalling 980 hours of practicum across the degree), that the practicum must occur in two distinct and different areas of practice and that the practicum must be supervised by a qualified social worker eligible for membership of the AASW (Australian Association of Social Workers 2000), this social worker being located either within the agency or providing outside supervision.

The requirements outlined are specific to the Australian context. Within the context of the BSW Singapore programme specific issues arose in terms of the field practicum. The SASW²⁰ has different requirements governing field practicum, practicum being of shorter duration and supervisors having different formal social work qualifications. Specifically, students are required to have total of 400 hours practicum experience and supervisors must possess a social work qualification recognised in the Singapore context only. That is, the SASW requires supervisors to possess a three-year degree in social work or a post-graduate diploma in social work; to have at least two years of full time direct practice experience; preferably to have undergone training as a supervisor; and to be a registered member of the SASW. This initially had important implications for the BSW Singapore

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¹⁹ In 2008, the AASW introduced new guidelines that modified this requirement to be that the supervisor must be eligible for membership and recognised as a social worker in the context in which they offered the placement/supervision. From the perspective of the offshore context this was an important variation and allowed experienced social work practitioners (in possession of a three year degree from National University of Singapore) to offer placement. Under the previous guidelines they had been excluded. That said, during the period under review, 2004 – 2006, the guidelines were as stated, although the AASW did allow that students in the programme could undertake both field practicum outside of Australia.

 $^{^{20}}$ These requirements have been explained to the researcher by colleagues from the SASW. While there have been later reviews of the SASW requirements, it was considered important to record the requirements in place during the 2004 - 2006 review period.

as some social workers in Singapore did not possess a four year social work qualification required by the AASW.

In addition, in April 2004 the SASW, with the support of the Singapore Government, through the SASW, introduced registration of social workers. Registration was introduced as a voluntary process, the stated aims being to increase professionalism and to offer reassurance to employers that the registered social worker had met stringent requirements in terms of qualification, experience and continuing professional education. The criteria for registration were identified as an approved qualification, a minimum of 1,000 hours supervised practice (through field practicum or prior experience), or completion of at least three months of supervised practice after completion of a three year degree. Registration was intended to be reviewed and renewed every two years, practitioners being required to demonstrate that they had met a standard of at least eighty hours per annum of continuing professional education in order to maintain registration. From 2006, it was intended to introduce a Social Work Registration Board to manage all matters pertaining to the registration of social workers. This Board was ultimately not introduced until 2009 and its operations are still being defined and developed.

These differing requirements of the professional associations have posed complex dilemmas and challenges. The primary risk is that the requirements of one professional association could be privileged over the other, potentially diminishing the quality of the context whereby there were, at least superficially, lower requirements for qualification. Nevertheless, full accreditation of the BSW in Singapore was achieved in late 2006 following the review of the AASW Accreditation Panel (Accreditation Panel 2006) and fully endorsed by the AASW in 2007.

The trends of the past three decades have been to value diversity, for students to work alongside clients who are different from themselves (Maidment & Cooper 2002). Culture is described as the sum total of ways of living, developed by a group of human beings to meet biological, psychological and religious needs (Lee & Greene 1999). Culture refers to the values, norms, beliefs, folk ways, attitudes and behaviour styles that are linked to

form an integrated way of group functioning (Lee & Greene 1999). As culture influences all aspects of the persons life there can be no such thing as culture free social work.

Requirements that schools of social work provide academic subjects to foster cross-cultural competence have been long established, students being expected to demonstrate such competence prior to undertaking the field practicum (Armour, Bain & Rubio 2004). To some extent this requirement reflects the lack of qualified, bi-lingual practitioners (Boyd, Nackerud & Kilpatrick 1999). In terms of the field practicum, a central role of the supervisor is to model cultural friendliness to students (Englebrecht 2006).

These requirements are mainly premised on a notion of cultural diversity as it occurs within a single context. The delivery of the BSW Singapore has additional challenges. The dominant cultural underpinnings of the study programme reflect the Australian multi-cultural context coming from a dominant Anglo/Saxon perspective, responding to migrants into Australia. The Singapore context, by contrast, reflects a different multi-cultural context whereby there are four main ethnic groups making up the Singapore nation and where *foreigners* are mainly tenured labour ex-patriots who are working in Singapore for a specific time period. Thus the challenges of cross-cultural competency are different in the two contexts and have different implications for the field practicum.

2.4.3.3 Debates for field practicum

These broad trends raise an important question as to whether social work students are being appropriately educated for a changed and changing context. There are also challenges for the way that field practicum is organised and the proper arrangements for a field practicum programme. Despite acknowledgement that the field practicum is central to the development of professional practice, little systematic and scholarly attention has been given to this aspect of social work analysis (Noble 2001).

Field practicum is the point at which significant issues about the student's abilities and competency for professional practice become evident, leading to a view that the field practicum is the gatekeeper of the profession (Razack 2000). Field practicum is central to the preparation of competent graduates and the site of assessment of the student's

competence for practice (Ryan, McCormack & Cleak 2006). There is evidence that, particularly in view of the shortage of qualified social workers in many contexts, there are emerging debates about the appropriate *good enough* practice (Furness & Gilligan 2004).

Thus there is a question of what is actually measured in field practicum? Student performance in the field practicum is critical as this setting represents the real world of practice for which the student is preparing (Fortune, Lee & Cavazos 2005). There is a lack of standardised and objective outcome measures to assess the learning and performance of social work students in their field practicum (Bogo *et al.* 2002). There is also evidence that not only students experience anxiety about field practicum evaluation, this anxiety is also experienced by field supervisors (Cleak & Wilson 2004). Field supervisors find themselves grappling with situations where students appear to have met the key competencies, yet there remain lingering doubts as to the student's fitness for practice (Furness & Gilligan 2004).

While blatant deficits in performance may be obvious, it is less clear how students who do not reach an acceptable level of competence can be, and are, identified. Factors contributing to a lack of competence in field practicum include instances where students are not able to grasp the nature of the learning required, where cultural values contribute to students rigidly adhering to a set of norms to define and evaluate behaviour, emotional issues which block the learning experience, and/or the student lacks the intellectual capacity to learn (Cleak & Wilson 2004). As well, there may be a discrepancy between the demands of the field practicum learning tasks and the student capacity to learn in that context. The issue here is that the student is expected to perform as a professional practitioner before possessing the professional knowledge necessary for competent practice or where they may have the knowledge but have yet to develop the capacity to apply this in any coherent fashion (Towle 1968).

Some efforts to address the question of assessment have emerged in the form of the development of *competencies* in field practicum. While competency based evaluation has the capacity to specify educational goals through the identification of concrete and measurable behaviours, the risk is that competencies also reduce the complex

professional task to discreet, not necessarily connected, tasks (Bogo et al. 2004). Other ways to develop more focussed assessment have included suggestions that students are encouraged to develop critical and reflective practice skills (Burgam & Bridge 1997; Fisher & Somerton 2000; Dempsey, Halton & Murphy 2001), or that they be encouraged to develop portfolios as a means of enhancing their critical thinking skills²¹ (Coleman, Rogers & King 2002).

Finally, field practicum cannot escape the broader debates occurring in the context of international social work, particularly in instances where a social work education programme is being offered in an offshore context. The trend has been towards exporting Western social work to other countries, rather than to internationalise the course content (Gray & Fook 2004). Even so, the BSW Singapore was developed on the basis of a specific request from Singapore stakeholders for the delivery of an Australian-accredited degree.

This is, of course, a major challenge for the BSW Singapore, particularly in the context of the field practicum. Singapore has a tradition of social work only a little less lengthy than that of Australia, having offered a formal social work qualification since the early 1950s (Wee 2004b).

Challenges for social work

Social work is clearly facing contemporary challenges on the domestic front with the rise of the neo-liberal paradigm. As well, social work at the international level remains a highly contested notion, there being divisions around a number of important issues. The broader debates around international social work and the tensions between the universal and the indigenous, and how these tensions are resolved, will have implications for social work practice in all contexts. Indigenisation is a concept that challenges the dominance of Western discourse, seeking to relate social work to a local culture and history as well as to local political, social and economic debate (Gray & Fook 2004).

²¹ All students in the Monash BSW (all programmes) are required to submit a 1500 word critical reflective presentation based on a critical learning incident they experienced during the field practicum. This piece of work comprises part of their assessment in field practicum along with a case study and an evaluation report completed jointly between student and field supervisor.

Despite these tensions, there remain shared commonalities around social work, the main feature being the commitment to the improvement of human lives at the point of the intersection between people and their environment (Hare 2004; International Federation of Social Workers 2004). Whether this aim is best achieved via prevention or remedial action is a key question to be addressed.

Although the field practicum has long been identified as a key aspect of social work education, it is an area also facing significant challenges. Identification of field practicum for students is becoming increasingly difficult for a number of reasons already outlined. The need is to search for other models of offering this integral aspect of social work education and for systematic research to inform the development of appropriate models of field education.

2.5 Review and summary of the insights from the literature and the BSW Singapore experience

This literature review has played a key role in informing the research and, indeed, in scoping the breadth of knowledge that is relevant to embarking on a programme of international social work education. But the literature review was not the sole source of information and insight. As subsequent chapters will demonstrate, the responses of research respondents and the day-to-day experience of the programme as well as substantial time spent in Singapore all offered numerous anecdotal and observation experiences and evidence as sources of data.

The literature review constituted the research phase to a similar extent that the data collection and analysis constituted the research phase. In essence, what is being suggested is a view that all activities concerned with the research were of importance in informing the research questions, the interview questions, the analysis and ultimately the findings. This position goes to the heart of the role of the researcher as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

A decision has been made to offer this summary as part of the literature review but with the knowledge that many of the findings did not become fully apparent until all aspects of the research had been completed. The following figure is offered as a brief summary of key areas of examination and comparison between Singapore and Australian. The summary offers an overview, however simple, of the contradictions, tensions and dilemmas that the provider country needs to identify, respond to and ultimately to reconcile in the process of delivery social work education in an offshore context.

Figure 1: Comparing the contexts

Issue	Australia	Singapore
Globalisation	Globalisation has been constructed primarily in economic terms and responses to globalisation have included deregulation of markets and the embrace of the neo-liberal paradigm. From the 1980s the concept of globalisation has dominated debate based on a view that Australia's competitiveness had declined as a consequence of its reliance on protectionism and an alleged lack of discipline by the markets.	Globalisation has been constructed as a challenge to be confronted and has also been constructed primarily in economic terms. Significant challenges have emerged for workforce management and meeting social needs as much of the manufacturing sector has moved to other contexts notably southern China and India. This has had particular implications for older workers and workers with lower educational standards leading to the development of a number of workforce retraining schemes.
Higher education	The primary motivator of developing international education (curricula and teaching) has been the goal of wealth creation.	The focus rests on workforce planning, streaming of students throughout their educational life and the maintenance of concepts of elitism in the educational system
Conceptualisation of the welfare state	The welfare state is relatively minimal within a framework of residual provision that emphasises safety net provision. There is substantial government activity in health and education and there remains substantial provision of tax payer funded pensions and benefits in the form of direct cash transfers. There are shifts towards <i>user pay</i> arrangements which emphasise individual rather than collective responsibility for welfare.	There is a minimal welfare state within a conceptual framework that Singapore cannot afford and does not have a welfare state. The construction of the welfare state in the Singapore context appears primarily concerned with the provision of tax payer funded pensions and benefits. There remains substantial assistance for families and individuals based on charitable models. There is significant government investment in health, housing and education.
Conceptualisation of social work	Social work is understood and practiced in broad terms. Social work is concerned with direct service to families and	The focus rests on direct service through counselling to individuals and groups within a context of counselling and

	individuals, management,	therapeutic services. There is
	policy development, advocacy/lobbying for change and participation in research.	some involvement in community development but this remains largely through politically connected CDCs.
Identification of social issues	There is some resistance by government to the identification of social issues and the necessary responses. However, there is an active range of commentators and groups raising issues for public debate. Social issues are defined largely within a residual framework and programmes tend to respond to government policy.	Public debate is generally not encouraged except where government has identified the next for the debate and the debate occurs within a framework of Out-of-Bound markers whereby the markers are defined by government and are subject to arbitrary change. Social issues are defined largely within a residual framework and programmes tend to respond to government policy although to a greater extent than in Australia.
The pursuit of advocacy	There is an ambivalent attitude to advocacy and in some instances advocacy will earn sanctions from organisations and governments. There is, however, some tolerance for advocacy on the basis of freedom of speech and freedom in society.	Although there are some (cautious) advocacy groups and individuals tolerated in Singapore, generally advocacy does not appear to be considered a legitimate social work activity and it is not encouraged.
Approaches to research	There is a general view in Australia and Australian Universities that internationalisation is a means through which to extend research and to generate knowledge. Indeed, research as knowledge generation is a primary goal of higher education in all disciplines including social work.	The primary aim of social work education appears to be the provision of a workforce for the social services sector. Research appears to have not been given high priority and knowledge generation through research is not a current priority in social work education.

Conclusion

This chapter highlighted both the micro and the macro contexts that underpin this research. The chapter sought to demonstrate some of the complexities of seeking to compare two different contexts, where there are both similarities and differences in each

context. The chapter has explored the extent to which key contemporary trends are new trends or whether they are a continuation of historical trends, albeit in new guises. This chapter has also considered some of the contemporary debates in social work and has highlighted the contested nature of international social work. Finally, this chapter has sought to review available knowledge regarding the academic subject of field practicum.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter offers an overview of the research methodology. The chapter re-states the research question and outlines the methodology selected, offering the rationale for the selected approach. It also highlights the ethical considerations taken into account as well as discussing the way in which research participants were identified. This chapter will offer a concluding statement to summarise the methodology.

3.1 Introduction and research question

The literature review establishes a number of variables to be taken into account. Firstly, the literature suggests that globalisation and internationalisation are contested concepts, and a standard definition of globalisation is still to be developed and agreed. Globalisation is not a homogenous concept or process (Dale 1999). Secondly, there is need to understand the policy contexts of the nation states involved in the development of international education. Thirdly, the nature of international social work has been, and remains, a contested concept. Fourthly, the research focuses on the BSW Singapore programme. These variables make up the context surrounding the research questions and are the important factors that have direct influence on the research questions.

Decisions about methodology are influenced by the identification of the research questions and the purpose of the research. It is important in any research to outline the epistemological and theoretical base of the research (Arminio & Hultgren 2002; Jones, S. 2002). The methodology represents the action plan that guide the research through its various stages and outlines how choices were made about varying methodological options. Researchers must be conscious about the decisions they make and must be clear as to their role in the context of the study (Jones, S 2002).

The researcher's direct experience informed this research; that is the *lived experience* of the delivery of the BSW Singapore programme. The fact that this is the first time an

Australian University has been involved in such a programme led to the research being exploratory rather than explanatory. The researcher, from the inception of the research held three fundamental views derived from the literature review. These views were important in shaping the research strategy.

Firstly, social work and social work education ought to contain sufficient similarities as to be applicable in multiple contexts as well as transferable, at least to a degree, across multiple contexts. Secondly, that in the delivery of transnational social work education, both the host nation and the originating nation have to achieve significant shifts in their world views. Thus the researcher was self-conceptualised not as an expert, but as an explorer seeking to develop new meanings relevant to social work and social work education in different contexts. Thirdly, reflective and critical approaches should guide the research process. This approach was strongly influenced by practice which is typically ambiguous, complex and messy, whereby problems are not pre-defined but are articulated through practice (Taylor 2006). This means that meaning is constructed through dialogue and within a particular set of purposes or meaning (Taylor 2006).

At this point the research question introduced in Chapter 1 is now re-stated, reflecting both the foregoing discussion as well as acting to introduce the research methodology. The research question drew on the views that shaped the research strategy, as previously outlined, and also sought to broadly identify the views of the research respondents regarding issues arising from the delivery of an Australian social work education programme in Singapore. The primary research question, as already outlined is re-stated:

How should an Australian University introduce a social work education programme into a different cultural context? What are the historical, contemporary and policy issues and trends in the host and recipient countries (in this case Australia and Singapore) which influence and shape the delivery of a particular programme in an off-shore context?

Within this overarching framework the associated research questions were:

- 1. What do the major human service providers/stakeholders in Singapore consider to be:
 - a. The significant social issues confronting them;
 - b. What they need from qualified social work professionals in terms of skills and knowledge for practice; and
 - c. What are the critical issues for an international social work education programme?
- 2. What are the experiences of our former social work students in terms of our ability to deliver what they need to enter professional practice?
- 3. What are the experiences of our former social work students in terms of:
 - a. Their ability to apply their theoretical skills and knowledge to field practica; and
 - b. To apply their theoretical skills and knowledge to professional practice after graduation.
- 4. What are the experiences of our field supervisors in terms of:
 - a. The ability of our former students to apply their skills and knowledge to field practica; and
 - b. The ability of our former students to apply their skills and knowledge to professional practice after graduation.

3.2 Informing the research: the challenges of reflexivity

According to Punch (2005), reflexivity refers to the fact that *social researchers are part* of the social world that they study (p. 165). This view is particularly important where the researcher is in possession of insider knowledge. This was certainly the case for this researcher involved in the day-to-day co-ordination of the programme under review and it further raises dilemmas for the researcher in producing the findings (Padgett 1998b). The challenges concern both how to maintain objectivity and the degree of objectivity that ought to be maintained (Rubin & Babbie 2005). To abandon objectivity in support of acceptance of the realities of the respondents risks losing the capacity to gain understanding through a lens available to the researcher but not available to the respondents (Rubin & Babbie 2005). Equally, the adotion of a removed and aloof position risks failing to accept, and to appropriately consider, different perspectives.

The researcher lacked familiarity with the Singaporean context at the onset of involvement in the BSW Singapore and the commencement of this research. However, since that time, the researcher has made a number of trips to Singapore that have afforded the opportunity to observe Singapore life at a number of levels and in a number of ways. These ranged from speaking to elderly people playing cards at local hawker centres through to dialogue with students, tutors, representatives of the SASW and practitioners from the Singaporean social services sector. Such dialogue sometimes occurred outside of formal responsibilities such as teaching or holding scheduled meetings. At such times, the dialogue participants were passing comments and actively seeking to offer information about their local context. To at least some extent, this approach was consistent with the broad definition of social research which outlines social research as concerned with systematic observation and collection of data in order to identify patterns (Alston & Bowles 2003). In the context of this research the process of observation and collection of anecdotal evidence and insights, however informally conducted, was to prove invaluable in terms of becoming initially informed and in the data analysis phase. This issue of observation and its potential bias will be further addressed elsewhere in this chapter.

It is through the process of observation and dialogue that the researcher was enabled to begin to make connections between the literature search and how this may link to reality. To facilitate the process, the researcher began to maintain a diary of *street observations*, noting observations that offered insights into the research. Taking field notes is critical, these notes being used for later analysis (Padgett 1998b), and ultimately they were used to shape research directions and to analyse findings. Theoretically, this represented a form of observational research. Observation research is distinct from speculation and philosophising, being a technique of gathering data not available through interviews or questionnaires (Padgett 1998b; Bryman 2004; Marlow 2005). It is the researcher's view that such valuable insights could not have been extracted from the formal research process alone nor could they be gleaned from Singapore based social work research.

Strictly speaking, observation research demands systematic, thorough and non-judgemental approaches that can utilise unobtrusive observation in a public place (Padgett 1998b). To a significant extent the researcher utilised observation in public settings to refine views about the research. Although difficult to incorporate into the formal design of the proposed research this means of researching occurred over time and aided the development of the research design and thinking about the research questions. Upon reflection, it would appear difficult, if not impossible, to avoid making such informal observations in any research process in the social sciences.

This approach also offered an additional means of triangulation, or validating findings from qualitative research (Marlow 2005), an approach that utilises a variety of methods of research (Punch 2005). Triangulation specifically refers to the process of using more than one source to achieve the most comprehensive picture possible (Padgett 1998b; Marlow 2005).

It has been noted that this approach to research has been criticised on the basis that in the process the researcher is *in disguise* (Alston & Bowles 2003). However, this challenge had to be balanced against the reality that the process was unplanned and while it did not have the consent of the participants it did meet all other general ethical criteria including

doing no harm, having just purpose, and making a positive contribution to knowledge (Alston & Bowles 2003).

This observational method also raises important methodological questions about the role that the researcher plays in the research process. There is an assumption often underpinning research methodological frameworks that the researcher is a disengaged, objective entity seeking data about objective reality (Babbie 1992 & 2001; Williams, Unrau & Grinnell 2001; Marlow 2005; Morris 2006). This tends to lead to a position that research, especially under quantitative approaches, is somehow done *to* people rather than *with* people (Morris 2006). But, under a critical theory paradigm, there is a position that researchers can never be free of their own values and bias (Morris 2006).

Under a constructivist paradigm the researcher collaborates with people to gather subjective data about human experience (Arminio & Hultgren 2002; Morris 2006). A primary goal of the constructivist paradigm is to gather data specific to time and context, with the knowledge that the findings may not be generalisable to other contexts and times (Morris 2006). The constructivist paradigm leads the researcher to use their own conceptions of reliability as a source of data.

In the context of this research, therefore, the researcher became largely immersed in the research context as visits to Singapore provided rich sources of insight and data, helping to construct understanding of the phenomena under review to a deeper level than might otherwise have been possible. These visits, conversations and observations allowed a form of triangulation (Marlow 2005) to occur as they connected to the theoretical material initially from the literature review and later from the data collected.

3.3 Selecting the methodology

There is growing recognition that social research is not a neutral mechanism but an activity not only revealing the facts, but also constructing them (Powell 2002). The question of choice of methodology is a controversial one, as different methods will

uncover different forms of evidence and lead to different analyses and outcomes (Frost 2002). Social research is influenced by a number of factors. Quantitative research is generally described as being concerned with the testing of theories whereas qualitative research is concerned with the generation of theories (Alston & Bowles 2003; Bryman 2004). The research strategy is also influenced by values, the personal beliefs or feelings of the researcher as well as practical considerations. What is important is that the selected research strategy is the strategy best suited to providing insight into the research questions. It is also important to recognise that qualitative and quantitative research strategies are separate, but not so separate as to justify striking a wedge between the two broad approaches (Bryman 2004).

In social work research there are particular dilemmas. Social work faces contested parameters, as outlined in the literature review, and is characterised by intuitive processes between social worker and client. For social work research there are dilemmas around whether it is ethically acceptable to treat the practice environment (in this research the practice environment was in fact the environment of social work education delivered in the offshore context) as an environment for research and whether reflective practitioners can undertake rigorous research (Gibbs 2001).

In the area of methodology, the primary choice is seen to be between either quantitative or qualitative methods or both (Wainwright 1997; Padgett 1998b). Others, however, argue that the distinction between these methods is little more than the fact quantitative researchers utilise measurement while qualitative researchers do not (Bryman 2004). There is also an argument that the distinction between the two methodological approaches is over simplified, leading to the two methods being viewed as oppositional and competitive (Arminio & Hultgren 2002), when this does not have to be so. This position adopts a stance that understanding rests on three categories of knowledge that more accurately reflect the complex epistemological assumptions about the world (Arminio & Hultgren 2002; Morris 2006). Firstly empirical and analytical research predicts, explains and controls. Secondly interpretive, constructivist and natural research

seeks to understand. Thirdly, critical research seeks to enlighten and emancipate (Arminio & Hultgren 2002; Morris 2006).

While there are few general principles that favour either approach (Bulmer 1988), there are those who argue that social work will compromise its credibility as a social science if it does not undertake quantitative research (Marlow 2005) and the development of mixed methodology is important in addressing the complexity of interests within the policy and practice arena (Powell 2002). All research methods have the potential to exploit research participants (Powell 2002). Irrespective of the selected methodology, the research design must meet the requirements of exploration, description and explanation (Moss 2001; Babbie 1992 & 2001; Bryman 2004). The primary intent of this research is to adopt an interpretive approach that seeks to understand as well as critical reflections that seek to enlighten in terms of the research questions.

Research must yield outcomes of theoretical significance, policy significance and practice significance, each being essential for the validation of the research (Moss 2001; Reid 2001). Despite differences between quantitative and qualitative methods, both require the adoption of careful and diligent approaches in an endeavour to discover and interpret knowledge, meaning that research must proceed according to systematic and orderly planning (Williams, Unrau & Grinnell 2001). Notwithstanding scepticism about the competitive nature of quantitative approaches and qualitative approaches (Arminio & Hultgren 2002), it is appropriate to present an overview of each approach.

3.3.1 Quantitative methodology

Quantitative research has a well established history, traditionally being associated with disciplines such as medicine and education (Williams, Unrau & Grinnell 2001; Alston & Bowles 2003). Originally termed a positivist approach, quantitative studies tend to be deductive and characterised by numerical data collection (Padgett 1998b; Alston & Bowles 2003; Marlow 2005; Morris 2006); resting on a central principle that science depends on the collection of observations that test theory (Marlow 2005). Quantitative

research can be construed as a research strategy that emphasises quantity in the collection and analysis of the data (Bryman 2004). Quantitative approaches are explained by objectivism and have a theoretical base in positivism, meaning that objective truth can be determined if the researcher goes about the methodology in the right way (Arminio & Hultgren 2002).

The defining characteristics of quantitative methodology are that the method is considered objective rather than subjective; knowledge is generated via logic; it is a value free approach; and outcomes can be generalised across time, people, places and context (Williams, Unrau & Grinnell 2001; Alston & Bowles 2003; Marlow 2005). Quantitative research entails a deductive approach to the relationship between theory and research; it has incorporated the practices and norms of positivism, and embodies a view of social reality as an external, objective reality (Bryman 2004). Outcomes from quantitative approaches tend to be measureable and precise, and definitive rather than subjective (Babbie 1992 & 2001).

Critics of quantitative method question its objectivity. Firstly, for example, feminist thought challenges from a perspective that men and women view the world differently and this therefore undermines objectivity (Marlow 2005). Feminists hold that the objective model of science is more compatible with male ways of thinking. Thus, the researcher and research participant develop a relationship that is a reflection of a gendered constructed reality between them that lacks objectivity.

Secondly, quantitative methodology is restricted in its ability to identify and discuss the human experience, because it assumes that there is an objective truth to be located. It lacks capacity to capture the subjective views of real world phenomena. This critique is based on a position that quantitative research has, as a central principle, a view that the principles of scientific method can, and should, be applied to all phenomena that are the focus of an investigation (Bryman 2004). This would imply ignoring differences between the social and the world of nature. This also means overlooking the ways in which

people may interpret their worlds, ignoring their capacity for self-reflection, thus being a blunt instrument through which to study social phenomena (Yin 1989 & 2003).

Thirdly, it has been suggested that emphasis on verification of existing theories has kept researchers from investigating new areas (Punch 2005), and from undertaking exploratory studies that are inherently qualitative and inductive in nature. In this regard there is also a view that quantitative methods lend themselves to precision and accuracy. However, the connections between the measures developed by social scientists and the phenomena they are supposed to be measuring are assumed rather than real (Bryman 2004).

3.3.2 Qualitative methodology

On the face of it, social work research is well suited to qualitative research methods. The case-based focus of social work has a primary commitment to address the needs and empowerment of those who are oppressed. From a research perspective, this is particularly reflected through a qualitative understanding of people's problems (Denzin 2002). Social work practitioners intervene in every day life problems for clients but also address the relationship between personal problems and the social and political institutions that create them (Denzin 2002).

Qualitative, or interpretive, research tends to be viewed as an accessible and adaptable option reliant on already well developed professional skills of observation, interviewing and file research (Padgett 1998b; Marlow 2005). The intent of qualitative research is to seek understanding based on a limited number of subjects, the aim being to obtain indepth perspectives.

Qualitative research operates from a premise that reality is based on people's experience rather than some external reality; therefore reality must be created through interaction (Arminio & Hultgren 2002; Bryman 2004; Marlow 2005). Qualitative research builds knowledge through induction; that is, it uses observation of phenomena to develop generalisations to explain or describe relationships (Marlow 2005). Qualitative research

emphasises an inductive approach, it rejects the concepts of positivism in preference for emphasis on the ways individuals interpret their social world and has a view of social reality as a constantly shifting property created by individuals (Bryman 2004).

Despite such superficial attraction, qualitative research is deceptive in its appeal and ease of application. Qualitative methods are not as easy to understand or utilise as they appear. Qualitative methods are broad and diverse methods of research, lacking precise definition, tending to mean different things to different people, and having multiple entry paths (Chenail 1992; Padgett 1998b; Williams, Unrau & Grinnell 2001). Qualitative research tends to be viewed with both ambivalence and trepidation by some researchers (Wainwright 1997).

Given the absence of common definitions, qualitative methods are in fact a family of methods (Padgett 1998b; Shaw & Ruckdeschel 2002; Punch 2005), generally characterised by an attempt to obtain an in-depth understanding of the perspectives presented by the participants and their subjective beliefs (Wainwright 1997; Marlow 2005). The essence of qualitative methods is inherently inductive, seeking to discover theory rather than to explain or prove theory (Padgett 1998b).

Qualitative research is pluralistic with respect to paradigms and it is this aspect that has highlighted the political nature of social research. That is, it is recognised that social research is a human construction framed and presented within a set of discourses (Punch 2005). There are two perspectives from which the political nature of social research has gained attention. Firstly, the perspective of feminism that highlights the ways in which all research has been viewed from masculine perspectives, thus omitting or distorting feminine perspectives (Punch 2005). Secondly, the post modern perspective, although contested and difficult to define, has debunked the notion of grand theory and privileges no single authority (Punch 2005).

Critiques of qualitative methods focus on four main areas. Firstly, there is the issue of validity. There is no agreed definition of the term (Wynter 2000). It can however, be said

that there is a valid account if it accurately represents those features of the subject it intended to describe, explain or theorise (Wynter 2000). Validity is enhanced by the use of multiple sources of evidence in qualitative studies (Tellis 1997). By enabling research and practice to intertwine, it is possible that qualitative methods may identify variables overlooked by more narrow scientific methods (Shaw & Ruckdeschel 2002).

Secondly, there are concerns about limits in the capacity to generalise from qualitative research (Padgett 1998b; Wynter 2000). However, in qualitative research it is the quality of the insight that is important rather than the number of people who share that insight (Wainwright 1997). As well, the goal is to gather valid data about phenomena in their context (Morris 2006), using assessments about trustworthiness and transferability as key criteria denoting capacity to apply the findings to other contexts (Morris 2006). There is also capacity in qualitative research to link findings to theory, thus increasing the capacity to generalise the findings (Gilgun & Abrams 2002).

Thirdly, there is concern over the rigour of qualitative methods, leading to further queries about whether the findings are authentic and the interpretations credible (Padgett 1998b). Rigour is enhanced by strategies of prolonged engagement, using two or more sources to achieve a fixed point of reference, adopting a negative case analysis, or a *devil's advocate* position, and ensuring that there is an audit trail to enable confirmation of findings by others (Padgett 1998b). Even though strategies are suggested to enhance rigour, there is a suggestion that rigour is perhaps not a criterion that should apply to measuring the quality of qualitative research. The transfer of the notion of rigour from quantitative concepts suggests a notion of stiffness and rigidity as the criterion for measuring quality (Arminio & Hultgren 2002). *Goodness* may therefore be a more appropriate framework where *goodness* is constructed more as a way to view than to define, on the basis that it is understanding through research that has the capacity to inform and enhance practice (Arminio & Hultgren 2002).

Fourthly, there is concern about the transparency of qualitative methods; what the researcher actually did and how the conclusions were derived (Bryman 2004). At the

same time the process of data analysis is often unclear, it not being obvious how the data was analysed (Bryman 2004).

Within a context of qualitative methods the case study approach yields significant outcomes. The strategy of the case study was considered appropriate for this research on the basis that there is little understanding of delivering social work education programmes in offshore contexts and the fact that despite the rhetoric of seeking to internationalise education, Australian education remains essentially Australian in its approach (Marginson 2002b). Accordingly, the case study approached afforded an opportunity to consider, in depth, the complexities and intricacies of moving to a differing context for education, as well as allowing the research to be exploratory, a method appropriate where there is little knowledge of the phenomenon under review (Marlow 2005).

Although the case study has been stereotyped as a poor relative of research methods, case study approaches are generally appropriate when there are *how or why* questions being posed (Yin 1989 & 2003). The essence of the case study is that it intends to illuminate a decision or set of decisions, investigating phenomena in real life situations (Yin 1989 & 2003). The case study enables holistic and in-depth investigation (Tellis 1997; Gilgun 2001). While quantitative methods divorce phenomena from their context in order to focus on finite variables, the case study investigates contemporary phenomena in its real life context from a number of sources of evidence and where the boundaries between the phenomena and its context may not be clearly evident (Yin 1989 & 2003). Case studies are able to elicit detail from the viewpoints of participants but also by using multiple sources of data (Tellis 1997).

While appealing as a holistic approach to research, case studies are not without their limitations. The primary limitation relates to generalisability (Yin 1989; Gilgun 2001; Yin 2003). The findings represent the unique findings of that case study only, although generalisability may be claimed if two or more cases support the same theory but do not support an equally plausible alternative (Yin 1989 & 2003). Case studies also commonly

contain a number of variables that are not controllable (Gilgun 2001), although equally it may be argued that the range of variables is of value since the case study does not ignore contextual considerations.

Case studies may also be difficult to conceptualise, operationalise, execute and evaluate (Gilgun 2001). The demands of data collection are significant as data collection methods are not routinised and analysis of case study evidence is one of the most difficult aspects of the case study (Yin 1989). There are also dangers that case studies may be developed in a desire to substantiate a pre-conceived position (Yin 1989 & 2003), but then so can a range of other methodological approaches.

Although case study approaches rely on multiple sources of evidence, interviews tend to be an integral component. The advantages of interviews are that they promote spontaneity and naturalness, flexibility and control of the environment (Gochros 1988). The researcher plays a facilitative role, with expertise to share, in joint knowledge construction with the interviewee (Powell 2002). The researcher has a key role in engaging participants in dialogue, seeking shared understanding. Negotiation skills are required to identify divergent interests and to facilitate involvement of parties (Powell 2002).

3.3.3 The research strategy

Quantitative and qualitative research approaches bring strengths to research as well as having limitations. The critical issue is matching the research method to the phenomena under study. For this research the qualitative method appeared inherently more able to address the research questions. In particular, the qualitative approach would enable the voices of research participants to inform the formation of meaning (Arminio & Hultgren 2002), and this meaning ultimately would be able to inform curriculum development and enhanced delivery of social work education.

However, the research did utilise some quantitative data, obtained from secondary sources in the public domain, as well as electing to use a mixture of focus group approaches and individual interviews. Additionally, the approach was to obtain data from different groups of people who all occupied a different position and had potential to offer a different perspective. Thus there was more than one approach utilised.

In this research it was theoretically desirable to access the research participants through the National Council of Social Service (Singapore) as the umbrella organisation for the non-government social service sector²². However, this was not possible as the organisation expressed concern that granting access via this means might open the door to multiple research requests. This is a concern that is often cited by organisations not wishing to be deluged with requests to conduct research; in part on the basis that time dedicated to research can be costly to the operations of the organisation (Buchanan, Boddy & McCalman 1988).

As an alternative, dialogue was commenced with the SASW, the professional body representing social workers in Singapore but not a body to which all social workers belong. The process of negotiation was not quick, needing time and detailed explanation of the study purpose (Buchanan, Boddy & McCalman 1988). In the context of these negotiations it was necessary to deal both with the SASW's reservations about the time involved and the need for confidentiality, as well as their desire for a report on findings. The SASW did give its support to the research (See Appendix 10). As will be discussed in Chapter 5, the question of access assumed significant dimensions and has important implications for research in the social services in Singapore and in social work education programmes and the pursuit of qualitative research in social work.

²² In Singapore this sector is term the Voluntary Welfare Organisation (VWO) sector and generally the term non-government is not widely used.

3.3.4 Sampling

All research involves sampling because it is not possible to study everything and everyone. In qualitative research sampling is guided by a focus on flexibility and depth rather than mathematical probability (Padgett 1998b). Qualitative research typically involves smaller numbers than quantitative research, seeking to capture depth rather than normative perspectives. The specific research questions also direct researchers towards the nature of the sample required.

In qualitative research sampling usually involves *people sampling* (Bryman 2004; Punch 2005). A key concept in sampling, especially with regard to quantitative methodology, is the extent to which it is representative, or the extent to which it has the characteristics of the population from which it was selected. The probability method of sampling allows all people in the population to have a known chance of being selected whereas purposive, or non-probability, sampling enables the researcher to handpick the sample according to the nature of the research problem (Jones, S. 2002; Alston & Bowles 2003; Bryman 2004; Marlow 2005). As samples selected in qualitative research usually reflect a primary objective of in-depth understanding of the phenomena under consideration, sampling strategies are usually purposive in their selection of research subjects (Jones, S 2002).

Given that the purpose of this research centred on the BSW Singapore programme the most relevant way to select the sample was according to criteria. The criterion approach leads to selection of research participants according to some eligibility criteria (Marlow 2005). The broad criteria identified were that of being a stakeholder and located in Singapore. The term stakeholder is a generic one but in this research it referred to those involved in the development of welfare policy or the delivery of welfare services through a senior organisational position, a former student of the programme, and a tutor or supervisor of student practicum in the programme. Arguably, many based in Australia also have a stake in the programme outcomes. There are those in the Australian context, such as the University as one example, who would hold commensurate interest in the

programme but the inclusion of an Australian perspective was beyond the scope of this research.

In order to manage the interview process in the most efficient and effective way possible, it was decided that focus groups for field supervisors and students would be used to obtain the data. More than forty field supervisors had been involved in the programme by the end of 2006 as well as more than forty students. In addition some twelve tutors had been involved in teaching the programme. Undertaking individual interviews would have proved an onerous task beyond the means of a single interviewer facing a limited stay in one country (where the research respondents were located) but living and working in another country. However, individual interviews were considered appropriate for the other key stakeholders who were selected from a range of positions and organisations, but had not had direct involvement in the BSW Singapore, and probably would not be amenable to attending a focus group. This latter group of stakeholders was viewed as having the capacity to contribute in-depth knowledge and insights about policy development as opposed to direct practice.

The final sample consisted of seven key stakeholders, three leading practitioners and three students. The reasons for the sample size are touched on later in this Chapter and are explored in greater depth in Chapter 5. What is important is to recall that in qualitative and exploratory research, it is the depth of information, rather than the number of people that hold a view that is important and the research respondents were considered to have the capacity to offer in-depth insights into the research question. The research respondents were interviewed at length regarding their perspectives and allowed opportunity to reflect at length regarding their views. Finally, the research did not rely solely on the commentary of the interview respondents, also incorporating quantitative data from secondary sources and anecdotal information from direct observation by the researcher as outlined earlier in this chapter.

3.3.4.1. Developing the sample

There is no ideal sample size in qualitative methodology. Rather the size of the sample needs to be linked to the purpose of the research, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done in the available time (Jones, S 2002), and who can be accessed. The broad criteria used to select the sample involved identification of the people most able to inform the research in-depth although no-one can offer exhaustive responses. It is noted that there was, arguably, a need to also include service users who were the clients receiving social work interventions from the students and graduates of the programme. Such an inclusion would have yielded valuable insights but was beyond the scope of this research.

The research identified three categories of research respondents. These were firstly, the key stakeholders; secondly, the leading practitioners involved in the programme being the field supervisors who had provided a student placement in the period 2004 - 2006 and tutors involved in the programme over that same period; and thirdly, the students who were enrolled in the programme during the period 2004 - 2006 and who had completed their study programme by the time of this research.

Specifically, the key stakeholders needed to be in senior positions in organisations concerned with meeting social needs in Singapore. Each of the identified key stakeholders were leaders in the social servies sector and had the capacity to act as a key informant for the research. It proved difficult to recruit from the Government sector and finally there were a total of seven stakeholders, one from the quasi Government sector, three from peak bodies and three from other welfare bodies²³. A total of three leading practitioners were interviewed with all electing to have an individual interview rather than to participate in a focus group. One student also expressed a preference for an individual interview while the remaining students attended a single focus group.

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²³ Arguably, this offers only a broad, even vague, description of the stakeholders. The researcher has sought to balance the need for specificity with the need for confidentiality and anonymity. The concern is that the social service sector in Singapore is relatively small and most players know each other. To offer a more detailed description of the stakeholders interviewed would compromise their anonymity.

In order to identify the key stakeholders, the researcher considered those in positions most able to respond to questions about the nature of social issues, planning intervention and the required characteristics of social workers. The selction of the key stakeholders was guided by reference to the Singapore Government Directory readily available through Singapore bookshops and well as websites of key organisations. As will be outlined later in this Chapter, this approach did not yield satisfactory outcomes and additional strategies were developed.

To represent the practice field, it was considered that field supervisors and tutors (some of whom also provided field supervision) would be best situated to inform the research questions on the basis that they possessed both direct practice experience and familiarity with the BSW Singapore curriculum. Finally all students from the period 2004 – 2006, and who had completed their studies, were offered an invitation to participate.

The first more specific criteria were that research respondents needed to have knowledge of social issues/problems in Singapore and potential to offer insights about these with reference to the social work role. Secondly, the research respondents needed to have some understanding of the BSW Singapore programme. Thirdly the research respondents needed to have some understanding of the fieldwork programme.

3.3.4 Data analysis

Qualitative research yields raw data in the form of taped interviews, field notes and documents. This data need to be organised into codes or categories, according to the meanings extracted from the raw data (Padgett 1998b). A primary purpose of analysis of qualitative data is to build knowledge rather than to test hypotheses (Morris 2006).

Qualitative data are not straightforward to analyse. There are two general approaches to qualitative data analysis. Firstly, that of analytic induction, and secondly, grounded theory (Bryman 2004). Because these general approaches are often described as *iterative* there is a repetitive interplay between the collection of data and the analysis of data

(Bryman 2004; Morris 2006), meaning that general approaches represent methods of both data collection and data analysis. Under this framework, data is analysed immediately after collection, the analysis informing the next round of data collection if there is a further round of data collection (Morris 2006).

In seeking to understand the regularities of the social world, an inductive approach is central as concepts are developed inductively from the data and raised to a level of abstraction that allows their meaning to be traced (Punch 2005). Analytic induction refers to the commencement of the research with a rough definition of the research question, and then proceeds to a hypothetical explanation of the problem and then collection of data. In the event that inconsistency with the hypothesis is experienced, then the hypothesis is re-defined or re-formulated in a bid to exclude deviant or negative case examples (Bryman 2004). The ultimate aim of analytic induction is to enable researchers to study evidence that supports, or does not support, the ideas they are developing (Punch 2005).

Grounded theory has emerged as the most common means of analysing qualitative data (Bryman 2004), and has been described as theory defined from the data (Bryman 2004; Morris 2006). It is, however, debatable whether grounded theory is indeed a theory as distinct from a method, approach or strategy which leads to theory formulation (Punch 2005). This research had some conceptual similarities to approaches of grounded theory as it sought to develop understanding out of the data, but it did not involve the sequential development and analysis of the data.

This research is exploratory given little was known about the phenomena under consideration. Further, the researcher had few views about what were, or were not, the potential variables and hypotheses arising from the data. This has meant that the method of data analysis is based on grounded theory. The study was vested in a series of research questions but lacked hypotheses about potential explanations to be tested.

The research questions and desired outcomes of the research, as outlined in Chapter 1 and earlier in the current Chapter, presented themselves as the primary themes around which the data could be analysed. As well, the narrative voice of the research participants enabled in-depth discussion around each of the key themes, allowing the subjective voice and understanding of the research participants to be expressed.

3.3.5 Coding

Qualitative researchers have a significant responsibility to enable the voices of research subjects to be expressed. There is a need to ensure that the narration of the insights from the research demonstrate integrity, honesty and rigorous analytic procedures (Jones, S. 2002). The findings of qualitative research are typically presented in the form of themes and sub-themes. The researcher needs to spend considerable time in seeking to understand the text and to present analytic and honest interpretation (Arminio & Hultgren 2002).

It is necessary to develop a coding method after the data has been collected (Babbie 1992). Data that is non-numerical in form needs to be organised into a series of codes. The coding approach adopted in this research was based on the particular category of the research respondent. That is, that the research respondent was assigned a code to identify whether they were a key stakeholder, leading practitioner or student and then assigned a number to differentiate which research respondent made the comment. The decision to base the codes on these variables rested in the fact that responses to open ended questions could respond in different answers (de Vaus 1991). However, the intent was to consider whether there were different responses according to role/status. Coding also reflected the summary of themes from the literature review as to a significant extent it was the literature review, and the research question, that informed the interview guides.

With regard to the coding of research respondents, three categories were used. Firstly, a category of senior organisational representatives to represent the views of key stakeholders. These respondents were coded as KS 1, KS 2 and so on. Secondly, a

category of leading practitioner to denote either field placement supervisor or tutor. These were sequentially coded as LP 1 and LP 2 and so on. Thirdly, a category of student was used where students were respondents, these being coded according to S1, S2 in a fashion commensurate with the with other research informants. Focus groups were categorised in a way to differentiate them from individual interviews and according to status. Accordingly, SFG1 referred to student focus group number one.

The themes from both the individual interviews and focus groups were then coded, in the first instance, according to the stated research questions. Within the broad responses to the interview questions several themes became evident. The emergent themes were grouped according to broad themes that emerged from the research and broken down into specific component parts.

3.4 Ethical considerations

Ethics and ethical principles apply to all spheres of human activity; ethics serve to identify good, desirable or acceptable conduct (National Health & Medical Research Council 1999 & 2007). Ethical guidelines for research are more than *do's and don'ts*; instead ethical considerations permeate all aspects of the research process (National Health & Medical Research Council 2007). Ethical principles have two primary functions; firstly, the protection of the welfare and rights of participants in research, and, secondly, to facilitate research of benefit to the researcher's community or humankind (National Health & Medical Research Council 1999).

3.4.1 The importance of ethics

There are significant issues to be confronted in regards to ethics, particularly as qualitative studies mean that participants are studied in their environment rather than a laboratory, giving rise to some additional moral ambiguities (Padgett 1998b). Ethics are not merely matters of etiquette, but are the professional beliefs that act as guides to the implementation of those beliefs (Gilchrist & Schinke 2001). A central aspect of this is the

need to afford respect to research participants, recognising the autonomy of the individuals to determine their own lives and to treat them in accordance with justice principles (National Health & Medical Research Council 2007).

The research was formally approved and supported by the SASW, their letter of support appearing as Appendix 10. This letter was submitted as part of the formal Univeristy ethics application. The Standing Committee on Research Involving Humans, Monash University, gave approval for the research. This consent appears as Appendix 11. It is significant that ethical issues and dilemmas surround research from its inception through to its completion²⁴. Ethical considerations are not limited to the formal processes of ethics approval. As the literature review in Chapter 2 demonstrated, the research context of Singapore raises important considerations regarding the critique of policies and approaches in that context. Further, the literature review highlights the different frameworks of Asian contexts, to those of Western countries, in terms of promotion of social justice, confrontation and critique. Throughout the process of research the need was to be sensitive to these contextual differences and to be respectful while also being critical and reflective.

3.4.2 Particular ethical challenges

A particular ethical consideration in this research was that the researcher was playing a dual role as programme co-ordinator (and teacher in some subjects) and as analyst and researcher of the programme. Superficially, this could be claimed as a dual relationship with conflicting interests.

The researcher's primary teaching responsibilities, in the BSW Singapore, relate to preentry programmes²⁵. During the BSW programme itself the researcher undertakes

This insight was contributed by Professor Gill McIvor, University of Stirling, Scotland, in her presentation to the Monash University (Social Work) Postgraduate Research Seminar, 5 June 2006.
 Most of the applicants to the BSW Singapore possess either a three year Polytechnic Diploma or a degree

²⁵ Most of the applicants to the BSW Singapore possess either a three year Polytechnic Diploma or a degree that may not meet the prerequisites for entry into the BSW degree. In order to address this, and through discussion involving Monash University, National University of Singapore, the Australian Association of Social Workers, the Singapore Association of Social Workers and the Social Service Training Institute of

teaching responsibilities according to workshop scheduling needs but does not have overarching unit co-ordination responsibilities for those units²⁶. The researcher has coordinating responsibilities for the fieldwork subject and co-ordinates the skills programme and also responsibility for resolving individual student issues and a wide range of administrative tasks. The concern could be that the researcher could be persuaded to report only positive outcomes from the critical evaluation in order to ensure that the programme was reviewed positively and its continuation would be assured.

The National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans (National Health & Medical Research Council 1999 & 2007) makes specific reference to research involving persons in dependent or unequal relationships. This statement does not make specific reference to teacher/researcher relationships although it does refer to teachers and students and to pre-existing relationships with potential participants (National Health & Medical Research Council 2007).

Being in a dependent or unequal relationship does not preclude participation but it does necessitate particular attention being paid to the issue (National Health & Medical Research Council 2007). Partly for this reason, a decision was reached to consider only former students although current field supervisors and tutors remained as potential research participants. It is argued that the researcher does not have a conflict of interest here on the basis that there is no direct employment contract with either, given that they are employed by SSTI, and there is little, if any, capacity to adversely affect the ongoing involvement of these parties in the BSW Singapore. As well, the researcher is an accredited social worker bound by a professional Code of Ethics (Australian Association

Singapore, pathways to the degree were identified and agreed in mid 2004. A pathway of up to four units (two units relating to studies of the individual and two units relating to study of society) was developed, these being offered at the level of second year University studies as well as being subject to all Monash University internal quality control mechanisms as a part of their development. These units became known as the Bridging Units. According to the qualifications of the prospective student, they will study between one and four such units and need to successfully complete these as a condition of their entry into the degree programme. Details of these arrangements appear in Appendix 1 and are also outlined in Chapter 1.

²⁶ The teaching model in the programme is one of supported Distance Education. Department of Social Work staff travel to Singapore twice a year in February and July to offer classes in each subject. Students are provided with Unit Guides in each subject and they receive face-to-face teaching from Singapore-based tutors throughout the semester. The same arrangement exists for the Bridging Subjects taught across the period September - December each year.

of Social Workers 1999). The professional Code of Ethics specifically comments on research. This requires the report of research and evaluation to be objective and accurate (Australian Association of Social Workers 1999; Strom-Gottfried & D'Aprix 2006).

What is less clear is the application of professional codes of ethics to educational settings; the researcher's other role as a social work educator. There is ambiguity as to whether professional Codes of Ethics are applicable to social work education (Strom-Gottfried & D'Aprix 2006). The researcher was, however, bound by the ethical approvals gained in the course of this research and remained mindful of the ethics applicable to the Singaporean context (Singapore Association of Social Workers 2004).

As a practitioner the researcher is well versed in the nature of dual relationships, ethical dilemmas and tensions, and strategies for resolving these without contravening professional ethics. Social workers are commonly faced with a range of difficult and diverse moral and ethical dilemmas. The most significant dilemmas relate to discriminatory practice, professional judgment and colleague conflict (Asquith & Cheers 2001). Accountability has always been important to professionals; the type of accountability stressed by professional bodies is that owed to clients or service users. In addition, social workers have always had a duty of public accountability to the wider community (Banks 2002). This is a compelling message to ensure that ethical issues are not regarded lightly whether dealing with direct client service or research.

Social workers are advised to avoid dual relationships where there is risk of harm or exploitation, but when dual relationships are unavoidable social workers must take steps to protect clients and take responsibility for setting clear, appropriate and culturally sensitive boundaries. This provision applies not only to practitioners but also to supervisors, administrators and educators (Congress & McAuliffe 2006). Dual relationships are an inherent part of social work practice, and social workers commonly have to navigate these with care and with close attention to ethics. The most common dual relationship is played out through the care/control paradigm whereby a practitioner may be responsible for the safety and well being of the child (control function) at the

same time as being responsible for assisting the family to address the issues of concern and resume care of the child (care function).

In view of the complexities and subtleties of this research, it was the researcher's view that outcomes would be compromised by using a person, or persons, other than the researcher as the primary interviewer with students, as it was not possible to identify a potential interviewer that had sufficient insight into both the Australian and Singaporean social work contexts, knowledge of the higher education context in Australia and knowledge of the BSW Singapore. It was considered that the rigours of the research design, the overarching ethical approvals, informed consent and the professional Code of Ethics would offer sufficient safeguards against the research becoming ethically flawed.

3.4.3 Informed consent

Informed consent requires the research participant to have a full understanding of what is going to happen, why it is going to happen and any consequences of participation for the research participant (Padgett 1998b; Gilchrist & Schinke 2001; National Health & Medical Research Council 2007). To provide informed consent, the research participant must be competent to offer their consent and to be able to provide this voluntarily.

All research participants were offered a written invitation to participate. The invitation included a plain statement outline of the intent of the research (See Appendix 12), and an outline of the interview/focus group content (See Appendix 13). Informed consent in writing was obtained from all research participants (See Appendices 14 & 15) and this included audio taping of the interview. In seeking this consent, research participants were informed as to what would occur in the interview and the reasons for this as well as any potential consequences (Padgett 1998b; Gilchrist & Schinke 2001).

3.4.4 Bias

In qualitative research, the researcher is a central instrument and how they present themselves influences the data collected, as well as potentially forming subjective views about the data collected as detailed in earlier discussion about the constructivist research paradigm. This is particularly the case with regards to the observation strategy utilised in this research. Even though the assumption is that the research participants are the experts, it is important that the researcher presents themselves as knowledgeable about the topic, this knowledge being an element of engagement (Padgett 1998b), but equally the researcher cannot present as the expert on the experiences of others (Arminio & Hultgren 2002).

The researcher's gender, race and social class are statuses that present potential advantages and disadvantages (Padgett 1998b). This proved an interesting challenge for the researcher as Caucasian and female in a Chinese male dominated context. As well, there was concern that the research would be conceptualised as evidence of Western imperialism (Gray 2005) and that the researcher's lack of alignment with Asian values which underpin all aspects of Singaporean society (Koh 2000; Tang 2000) would potentially undermine engagement with Singaporean respondents.

Every effort was made to ensure that the questions asked were not presented as leading questions but rather that they could allow research participants to consider the research questions. Further, the development of the interview schedule paid careful attention to avoiding overt conflicts or controversies, allowing respondents to offer their responses in a less direct fashion than may be the norm in Australia. While this was the intent of the interview schedule, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 5, research respondents were more open than anticipated and some of their commentary did address controversial issues.

The other source of potential bias was considered as potentially coming from the research participants. All research participants operate in a specific culture, context and time

(Gibbs 1997). As noted in the literature review, the Singaporean approach promotes harmony and conformity with policy directions, free speech being less acceptable, and perhaps less valued that in the Western context. As with all research there is also the risk that research participants may be concerned with providing the information they think the interviewer wants (Gair 2002). To address these potential sources of bias there was reliance on the information to research participants (See Appendix 12) and the use of open questions to the greatest extent possible. At all points it was emphasised that there were no particular responses sought, rather the views and perceptions of the research participants were valued and valuable.

3.5 Interviewing

There are a number of options for gathering research data. These include questionnaires, observation, logs and journals, scales and secondary data (Marlow 2005). Each of these approaches presents a number of strengths and limitations, and need to be assessed according to the research focus and the extent to which they will have capacity to inform the research questions. Given that qualitative research has a primary concern with the subjective experiences of the respondents, interviews were considered the most appropriate means of data collection for this research. The interview and focus group guides are contained in Appendix 13.

3.5.1 Individual interviews

Interviews are probably the most widely employed method in qualitative research, the flexibility of the interview making it an attractive approach (Bryman 2004). This attraction resonated with this study. It was considered that only a direct interview approach would allow exploration of themes as they arose, the checking of information and the exploration of differing points of view.

The preparation of an interview schedule is crucial to the outcomes of the research. The use of interviews enables interview subjects to offer insights not otherwise available

(Wainwright 1997). Interviews enable the asking of questions that are matters of opinion as well as researching matters of fact (Yin 1989 & 2003), meaning that the interviewee becomes a participant rather than only a respondent.

The primary question for researchers is the degree of structure in the interview schedule. Highly structured and pre-conceived interview schedules imply that the researcher has already predicted in detail what is relevant to both interview subject and research topic, thus constructing the terms of reference according to their own perspective (Wainwright 1997). As well, structured interviews tend to limit the extent to which the interview participant is able to draw on their own experiences (Gochros 1988). In an unstructured interview there is a definition of the general problem accompanied by freedom to explore a wide range of topics (Gochros 1988; Marlow 2005), with semi-structured interview approaches falling between these two ends of the spectrum.

There is no one right way to construct an interview. The key elements are identifying what information is required that is not currently available; who is able to provide information on such matters; how questions can be formulated to elicit the information required and how questions can be drafted to ensure that interview participants do not only say what they believe the interviewer wants to know (Gochros 1988). Questions are formulated prior to the interview and it is important to make it possible for interview subjects to reflect on these questions in depth.

Feminist research re-defines the interview in significant ways, based on the view that traditional interviewing is couched within a masculine paradigm (Marlow 2005). There is no uniform perspective in feminism about topics such as researcher-participant relationships; rather there is openness to different possible meanings of these factors in different research scenarios (Marlow 2005). The quest of the feminist perspective is to minimise status differences between researcher and participant in order that they become collaborators in the development of the *story* thus allowing richer data to emerge.

Shortfalls in interviewing include the fact that interview participants may make something up when they do not know the answer, may make mistakes without recognising these, may fabricate to cover socially undesirable traits, or may simply not remember (Gochros 1988). There are also risks that researcher bias may lead to the development of questions that only allow confirmation of the hypotheses developed (Wainwright 1997). The other major drawbacks of interviewing involve the time and cost of such techniques. Accordingly, the number of subjects interviewed tends to be relatively small.

Every effort was made to ensure that the questions asked were not presented as leading questions but rather that they could allow respondents to consider the research questions. In addition, the research was governed by the determinations of the Ethics Committees of Monash University as previously outlined. In this research the interview guides, and interview themes, were developed on the basis of the research questions and insights gleaned from the literature review. Practice experience guided the notion of the nature of the information to be sought and the potential source of that information.

3.5.2 Focus groups

Although most interview strategies involve one-to-one interviews, focus groups allow the researcher to draw on a form of synergy between group members (Gibbs 1997; Padgett 1998b). It is the interaction that occurs within the focus group that is its crucial feature (Gibbs 1997). This interaction allows the groups members to highlight their view of the world but also to ask questions of each other, thus enriching the data obtained.

The origin of the focus group was in the use of groups in marketing and political research, but now the terms focus interview and group interview are used interchangeably (Punch 2005). The advantages of focus group approaches include savings in time and resources as well as the production of data from individuals stimulated by the group process (Gibbs 1997; Padgett 1998b). Focus groups enable data that may not become available from the one-to-one interview to come to the surface. In a focus group the role

of the researcher is less that of direct interviewer and more that of a moderator or facilitator (Alston & Bowles 2003). Although there will be topics and questions made available to the group, there will also be the generation of additional questions on the basis of themes from the group discussion.

Focus group interviews, like other interviews, can be structured, semi-structured or unstructured. Other issues pertinent to focus groups include access of suitable venues, understanding the language and culture of the respondents, gaining trust and establishing rapport (Punch 2005).

Focus groups however, are not without their limitations. They are better suited for eliciting opinions rather than personal stories, it at times being difficult to distinguish the individual view from the group view (Gibbs 1997). The operation of a focus group also takes significant time and skill. Focus groups can be frustrating in the event that group members are not co-operative (Padgett 1998b). The researcher needs to undertake careful planning in order to achieve some control over the data elicited (Gibbs 1997). It ought to also be noted that focus group participants may not be expressing their own definitive views; rather they are speaking in a specific culture, context and time (Gibbs 1997). This suggests that the contextual position of the focus group members may suggest some bias in the information they present. This was a particular consideration in the Singapore context where there is strong emphasis on adherence to government policy and limits on alternative views.

3.6 Process

The researcher obtained data from the public domain to outline trends in the growth of international education in Australia. Some of the material was drawn from academic journals and other literary sources. However, in the main, the data was accessed through the websites of the Australian Federal Department of Education Science and Training, Australian Education International, OECD and the Singaporean Department of Education This data enabled understanding of contemporary trends, however, it did not shed light on

the actual experience of international education. Nor did it shed light on issues particular to social work or the development of a programme such as the Monash BSW delivered in Singapore.

The researcher met with the Ethics Committee of the SASW in April 2008 in follow up to a written request to the organisation. The SASW agreed to distribute an invitation to all members, inviting their participation on the research. With a sizeable membership, this strategy was considered likely to yield research participants from among qualified practitioners in Singapore. While the SASW was supportive of the proposed research, the response from the field was disappointing. Consideration of some possible reasons for the low response rate will be discussed in Chapter 5, noting that there are implications for the conduct of research into social issues in Singapore.

In a similar vein, the response rate from students/graduates was low. It may have been that the recently graduated students had not become members of the SASW and were, therefore, not aware of the research and the opportunity to participate. However, the researcher's experience of the informal ways in which information is disseminated in Singapore, through word-of-mouth and personal contacts, led to the view that this was unlikely and that the graduates would be aware of the research. The more likely reason for the low response rate was similar to that of the low practitioners' responses and will be taken up in Chapter 5.

The researcher, consistent with the parameters of the formal ethics proposal, identified ten key Singapore Government Ministries or instrumentalities considered able to inform the research. Key contact people were identified through the details in the Singapore Government Directory 2008 and contacted via email and invited to participate, being provided with the formal invitation and outline of the research.

Of the ten approaches made one Ministry declined on the basis that participation in research was not considered appropriate activity. One Ministry responded by advising that it would be more appropriate for the researcher to contact a particular Research Institute on the basis that body would be better able to inform the research and an interview was subsequently organised. One Ministry indicated that the researcher had contacted the wrong person and that a colleague would be in a better position to inform the research. Although the original request was forwarded on, there was no response to any subsequent approaches to arrange an interview. In all other instances (seven), there was no response at all to either the initial approach or follow-up attempts. Accordingly, the researcher reviewed mission statements and contact details of some peak bodies through the internet and social service directories. In total, seven organisations agreed to participate in the research.

Arguably, this limited response rate could be put down to the selection of an inappropriate recruitment strategy and/or the fact that the researcher is non-Singaporean based. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, a range of anecdotal feedback has suggested that neither of these issues is the likely reason for the low response rate. As well, some detail from the literature review, speculatively applied, adds weight to this view.

The data collection was conducted in two discreet time periods. Data was collected in October 2008 and then the remaining data was collected in February 2009. As will be highlighted in Chapter 5, this period coincided with a global economic crisis and possibly yielded some research findings that may not have otherwise come to light. The researcher obviously had no control over world economic events and the way that they formed a backdrop to the data collection.

3.7 Strengths and limitations

The significance of the research along with its limitations was outlined in Chapter 1, thus these will be only briefly re-stated here. In essence, the significance of this study relates to the fact that it is an in-depth review of the first Australian social work education programme to be offered in an offshore context and, as such, it has important implications for the shape of social work in a globalised world. It is, therefore, research

about new frontiers and also helps to identify the way in which educational programmes may have to be re-focussed for delivery in international contexts. The research also offers insight into a range of matters pertinent to internationalisation of curricula.

The research design was developed on the basis of a number of pragmatic and realistic/achievable variables. It only considered the views of Singapore stakeholders and also was only able to gain access to a relatively limited pool of research participants. As well, a range of variables such as age, gender and race were beyond the scope of the research to consider. Some of the possible responses to these limitations are encapsulated in the final chapter where implications for future research are discussed.

Conclusion

The central intent of this research was to review the development of the BSW Singapore programme offered by Monash University, with particular reference to fieldwork. It has highlighted the ways in which the literature review has informed the research questions as well as the selected methodology. This chapter has offered an overview of the methodology and the rationale for its adoption, and has also outlined the process of data analysis. The chapter outlined the process of selecting interview participants and discusses compliance with ethical requirements.

CHAPTER 4: QUANTITATIVE DATA – STATISTICAL OVERVIEW

This research is centred on the BSW Singapore. It is important therefore that there is some understanding of key trends in international education as well as significant educational developments and issues in Singapore and Australia as these factors provide a broad context for the research. The intent of this chapter is to offer a brief overview of these trends. The emphasis rests on statistics for the period up to 2006 on the basis that this is the period that is central to the research. As well, this chapter seeks to introduce the broader context in which the qualitative research is situated.

4.1 Introduction

A well-educated and well-trained population is important for the social and economic well-being of any country (UNESCO 2006). In OECD countries, an average of 29% of 25 – 34 year olds have attained a post secondary school qualification compared with only 22% of 45 – 54 year olds (OECD 2006b). Globally, in 2004, some 132 million students were enrolled in tertiary education. Some 39% of these students were in East Asia and the Pacific 39%; a further 33% were in North America and Western Europe (UNESCO 2006).

These educational statistics reflect efforts to expand educational achievements in the past four decades (OECD 2006b). However, during the period 1995 – 2002, in countries where such data was available, there was a decline in expenditure per student in higher education (OECD 2006b). Despite this trend, OECD countries as a whole spend 6.1% of their collective gross domestic product on education, with more than 25% of this being spent on higher education (OECD 2006b). There are, however, variations in the proportions of this spending coming from private and public sources. As outlined in Chapter 2, the trend in Australia is towards diminishing public funding and demands for higher education to generate other sources of income. One strategy for achieving this is

through the development of programmes for international students and making education an Australian export industry²⁷.

The United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia account for 54% of all foreign students in OECD countries and Asia heads the list of countries sending students abroad for higher education (OECD 2004). OECD countries receive approximately 85% of the world's foreign students, the number of foreign students doubling over the past twenty years to reach 1.6 million students (OECD 2004).

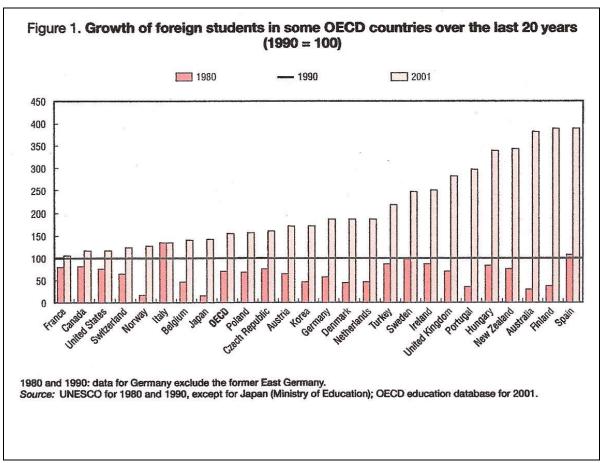
The growth in international education has been driven by various factors such as the desire to promote mutual understanding, the migration of skilled workers in a globalised economy, the desire of institutions to generate additional revenue, and/or the need to develop a more educated workforce (OECD 2004 & 2006a). The development of cross-border programmes that enable students to study a foreign higher education programme without leaving their home country has generally been driven by the educational institutions of the provider country, and their quest to derive income. It is facilitated by institutional frameworks which grant substantial autonomy to higher education

4.2 International education trends

Among OECD members, Europe receives the most foreign students. However, many of these comprise students moving between European countries, around half of the foreign students in Europe being European (OECD 2004). The United States, although receiving fewer students in absolute numbers than European countries, accounts for 30% of enrolements of foreign students but ranks first in terms of openness to other regions (OECD 2004).

²⁷ A country imports education where it has students or academics abroad or it plays host to foreign institutions and programmes; a country exports education services when it receives international students and academics or its national programmes and institutional programmes are available under commercial arrangements (OECD 2006a).

FIGURE 2: Foreign students in OECD countries 1980 - 2001



SOURCE: OECD 2004 p 1.

As can be gleaned from Figure 1, growth in the number of foreign students since 1990 has been significant in most OECD countries, but especially for Australia. The data in Figure 1 reflects the number of foreign students entering study programmes and actually moving to a foreign country to pursue studies. This data does not reflect students undertaking higher education either by Distance Education or through courses offered by foreign countries in their own nations. While there may be declining numbers of international students in some countries, one estimate of future need, for international education, suggests that by 2025 the demand will exceed seven million students and that 70% of these students will be from Asia (Sidhu 2005).

Not only has the number of students travelling to other countries to study increased, but there has also been an increase in the number of programmes offered by Australian Universities at offshore locations. An offshore programme is different to a Distance Education programme. An offshore programme is a formal agreement between an Australian University and an overseas institution or organisation and includes delivery of a programme from an Australian University at premises outside of Australia. From 1996 until 2003 there was a steady increase in the number of offshore programmes although these had dropped to 2001 levels by 2007 (Universities Australia 2007b). From an initial offering of 307 programmes in 1996, by 2003 some 1569 offshore programmes were available but this declined to 1002 in 2007 (Universities Australia 2007b). Clearly while the focus on international education and international students remains strong, there are signs that the market may not be as robust as previously thought. There are some signs that the demand for offshore programmes has waned, figures for 2005 enrolments being 0.2% lower than the 2004 enrolments (Marginson & Eijkman 2007), this trend reflecting the decline in the number of programmes offered in an offshore mode.

TABLE 1: Offshore programmes

Country	Number of Students	Number of programmes
Malaysia	14,000	181
Singapore	12,000	245
China	17,500	100
Hong Kong	8,000	181
United Arab Emirates	3,000	10

SOURCE: Universities Australia 2007b

According to Table 1, more than 70 percent of offshore programmes offered by Australian Universities are in Singapore, Malaysia, China and Hong Kong (Universities Australia 2007b). Australian Universities had a total of 5,168 formal agreements with

overseas higher educational institutions in 2007 compared to around 750 such agreements in 1991 (Universities Australia 2007a). But while the majority of these agreements were with North-West Europe and the Americas (Universities Australia 2007a) the majority of programmes and students are located in Asian countries as already highlighted.

Other countries within the top 10 countries for offshore programmes delivered from Australia include Vietnam, Japan, South Africa, Sri Lanka and Mauritius with Fiji, Indonesia and Taiwan also demonstrating demand for the availability of programmes offered by Australian Universities (Universities Australia 2007b). The countries, outside of the top five are at varying stages of development and it is not possible to predict future demand from them.

4.3 The Singapore context

This section seeks to present relatively detailed data about the Singaporean educational system on the basis that this detail is not particularly well understood outside of Singapore. However, an understanding of the educational system within a country taregtted for the delivery of an international education programme would seem significant in terms of understanding some of the constraints, challenges and dilemmas in moving towards offering not only intenraiotnal education in genral but offshore programmes specificially.

The education system of Singapore is centralised, despite some relatively recent moves towards greater autonomy, and, although schooling is not compulsory, most children attend school from age six years (Kam & Gopinathan 1999). In Singapore, the aim of education is to equip graduates with the skills to earn a living, to have sound moral values and to become responsible adults and loyal citizens. Additional aims are to develop social cohesion and engender confidence in Singapore's future (Kam & Gopinathan 1999; Koh 2004). As such, the education system can be conceptualised as part of the apparatus of government, instrumental in disciplining, regulating and moulding the identity of citizens (Koh 2004).

Government in Singapore has demonstrated a long-standing and consistent commitment to education. There is evidence that education in Singapore has improved markedly over the years (Singapore Department of Statistics 2006a). Literacy has increased from 72% of the population in 1972 to 93.7% in 1995 and more students are entering post-secondary education (Kang 2005). As well, there are plans to further increase the rate of participation in tertiary education (Ministry of Education 2003), with more than 40% of the resident population holding post secondary and University qualifications in 2005 (Singapore Department of Statistics 2006a).

Government interest in education and the demands of the economy for a well trained and highly skilled workforce, as well as the rising aspirations of the populace, have contributed to Singaporeans seeking higher educational qualifications (Yeo 2001). During the 1990s, the proportion of Singaporeans with secondary or higher educational qualifications rose from 37% in 1990 to 55% in 2000 (Yeo 2001). As well, during the decade to 2000, there was a rise in the availability of external degrees, a degree offered by a non-Singaporean institution but with the student studying in Singapore either through a partnership or by distance education. At the same time there was increased student participation rate in these external degrees (Yeo 2001). In that same period, there was also significant growth in the number of students seeking postgraduate qualifications (Yeo 2001). By 2000, it was apparent that distance learning programmes through external degrees were an increasing attraction to Singaporeans seeking a degree programme. It is significant that data on external degrees, pertaining to the period from 2000, are not apparently available either through Singapore Department of Statistics or Singapore Department of Education. This would appear to reflect a lack of historical and reliable statistical records held either by government departments or researchers (Rivers 2004). It is therefore difficult to predict the future directions of external degree programmes.

4.3.1 Ethnicity and education

As has been demonstrated in Chapter 2, policy in Singapore has been premised on notions of meritocracy, transparency and harmony between the main ethnic groups. As

well, considerable attention has been paid to the development of the educational system, a major intent being to treat the three major ethnic groups equally.

Broadly, Singaporeans can be conceptualised as a nation of high educational achievers. As will be demonstrated, there has been a steady upward trend in the achievement of educational standards in Singapore. There is also evidence that only a small proportion of Singaporean students do not complete secondary level education. However, greater scrutiny of educational outcomes suggests that not all students are high achieving and the Chinese achieve the highest educational standards with the Malays achieving the worst (Kang 2005). As well, a disproportionately large proportion of Malay and Indian students are streamed into slower paced streams after primary school compared with their Chinese counterparts (Tan, J 2005a). Despite an educational system based on meritocracy and presumed transparency, there are differences in the outcomes achieved on the basis of ethnicity.

This has been particularly significant with regard to the educational outcomes achieved by the Malays. From the time of separation from the Malay alliance in 1965, Singapore policy makers have remained concerned about the loyalty of the Malays to Singapore (Barr 1999). At the time of this separation, the streaming of Malay students into Malay-language schools led to the students being taught by under-qualified teachers and through sub-standard text books (Rahim 1998; Barr 1999). Malay students faced a language barrier in all higher education institutions (Rahim 1998; Barr 1999). A more comprehensive explanation of the marginal position of the Malays, in terms of educational achievement and the underlying structural problems contributing to these outcomes, is contained in Appendix 16.

TABLE 2: Percentage of PLSE²⁸ pupils eligible for secondary school 1993 – 2002

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Malay	82.9	84.3	87.6	90.1	90.7	89.6	91.3	88.6	92.0	90.5
Chinese	95.3	95.6	96.6	97.4	97.3	97.0	97.8	97.9	98.4	98.2
Indian	86.3	87.5	88.4	90.9	92.8	91.8	93.5	91.6	93.7	93.3
Other	92.9	94.6	94.8	94.5	95.8	97.0	97.2	96.0	96.8	96.7
Overall	92.2	92.9	94.2	95.5	95.7	95.0	96.2	95.8	96.7	96.3

SOURCE: Kang 2005

The data in Table 2 suggests that, although there have been significant improvements in the educational outcomes for both the Indians and Malays, with the improvements being particularly significant for Malays, these groups both continue to lag behind the Chinese (Tan, J 2005a). Clearly, the Malays have made significant gains in the past decade, but they apparently remain behind achievements of the Chinese.

These trends suggest the possibility of discrimination, despite efforts to eliminate this from the school system through a national system of education. One impact of streaming has been to develop a context of highly competitive, high-stakes educational system (Tan, J 2005a). One other impact has been the emergence of prejudice by students and teachers in faster paced streams towards those in slower paced streams (Tan, J 2005a).

²⁸ PSLE are the Primary School Leaving Examination undertaken at the completion of primary school education. These examinations determine the stream the student will enter in secondary school (Kang 2005).

TABLE 3: Percentage of primary 1 cohort admitted to post-secondary institutions (Pre-University, Polytechnics and ITE²⁹) 1993 - 2002

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Malay	40.5	42.5	45.1	49.8	54.5	62.6	66.3	68.2	71.1	71.0
Chinese	69.0	71.1	73.3	76.8	78.2	81.0	82.5	63.8	84.8	85.0
Indian	46.8	46.2	50.1	54.0	58.7	61.3	64.2	66.6	67.6	67.9
Overall	63.9	65.4	67.7	71.3	72.9	76.3	78.2	79.4	80.7	80.8

SOURCE: Kang 2005

Table 3 demonstrates that the trends for those students moving into post-secondary education are consistent with the trends demonstrated for those moving into secondary education according to ethnicity. Again the Chinese dominate the educational achievements; however, the Malays have achieved the most significant gains in this area. Malay participation increased from only 40% of the cohort moving into post-secondary education in 1993, to some 71% of the cohort moving into post-secondary education in 2002. As is demonstrated, the gains achieved by the Indians are less than those of the Malays, the Indians being the group doing least well on this indicator.

Such variations according to ethnicity constitute a puzzle, one sometimes explained by Singaporeans as a perception that Malays and Indians under-achieve due to their negative cultural values and attitudes towards education (Kang 2004 & 2005). This cultural deficit explanation appears to lack credibility, especially when considering the broader socio-economic circumstances of the respective ethnic groups. That is they are not so well-situated economically as to gain easy access to higher education. The Malays continue to be conceptualised as lazy in the same way they were conceptualised by the colonial

²⁹ Institute of Technical Education. There are ten campuses within the Singapore ITE network, and these are dedicated to vocational and technical training (Kang 2005). ITE was established in 1992 and the primary aim is to ensure that graduates have technical knowledge and skills relevant to industry and the national authority for the setting of skills standards and certification in Singapore (Singapore Ministry of Education website accessed 18 September 2006).

regime (Barr 1999). The socio-economic status of the family plays a crucial role in the formation of educational aspirations and educational performance, parents with higher socio-economic status playing a more active role in the educational process and fostering positive attitudes towards school (Kang 2004).

TABLE 4: Economic characteristics by racial/ethnic group, 2000-2005 comparison

Key indicators of the Singapore resident population

	Total		Ch	inese	M	alays	In	dian	Ot	ther
	2000	2005	2000	2005	2000	2005	2000	2005	2000	2005
Labour force participation rate %:										
Total	63.2	63.0	64.0	63.6	58.2	58.0	63.6	63.8	60.9	67.1
Males	76.6	74.4	76.4	73.8	76.0	73.6	79.2	79.3	78.7	82.7
Females	50.2	52.0	52.0	53.9	40.8	43.3	46.9	47.1	45.7	53.1
Workforce by occupation %:										
Professional, technical & managerial	43.5	44.8	46.2	47.3	23.4	21.2	43.3	46.8	63.5	69.2
Clerical, sales & service	26.7	28.6	25.2	27.4	36.2	38.9	29.2	28.7	24.7	20.9
Production workers, cleaners & labourers	26.1	23.1	24.8	21.8	38.2	36.9	23.4	20.5	9.6	8.0

Others	3.6	3.4	3.8	3.4	2.3	3.9	4.3	4.0	2.2	1.8
Workforce by industry %:										
Manufacturing	19.5	16.7	19.9	17.0	19.8	15.9	16.1	15.2	12.4	14.7
Construction	6.1	5.0	6.9	5.5	3.3	2.6	3.1	2.9	3.0	4.4
Wholesale & retail	17.1	18.4	18.5	20.0	10.2	10.9	13.4	14.2	13.9	16.3
Hotels & restaurants	6.2	6.3	6.4	6.3	5.9	6.8	5.1	5.3	6.2	4.8
Transport & storage	10.1	9.9	9.2	9.1	16.1	15.9	11.6	10.0	10.2	7.2
Information & communications	3.8	3.9	3.8	3.8	3.0	2.8	4.9	6.3	6.3	5.7
Financial services	5.9	6.2	6.3	6.6	3.6	3.5	4.5	5.4	7.6	7.5
Business services	11.3	12.6	10.7	11.7	13.4	15.8	13.4	14.8	17.1	19.1
Community, social & personal services	19.0	20.0	17.8	19.0	22.8	23.6	26.2	24.5	22.7	19.9
Others	0.9	1.1	0.7	0.9	2.0	2.3	1.8	1.4	0.6	0.5
Average monthly income from work (S\$)	3,110	3,500	3,240	3,610	2,040	2,200	3,090	3,660	5,350	5,930
Median monthly income from work (S\$)	2,230	2,410	2,340	2,500	1,790	1,800	2,170	2,480	3,020	3,250

SOURCE: Singapore Department of Statistics 2006b

The Chinese are under-represented in the lowest income group but are over-represented in the highest income group as detailed in Table 4. By contrast, Malays are over-represented in the lowest income group and under-represented in the highest income group (Singapore Department of Statistics 2006b). As well, there are significant gender differences evident with females having lower labour force participation than males.

It would therefore seem that not all Singaporeans are benefiting from a globalised economy and economic development. Highly educated Singaporeans, therefore, are in a more advantageous position than unskilled workers and there is a widening gap between rich and poor (Tan, J 2005a; Singapore Department of Statistics 2006a). This widening gap is of concern, one report indicating that 20% of the workforce earned less than S\$1,200 per month³⁰ (Ho 2006b). For the poor, the recent years have been frustrating due to them facing demand mainly for highly skilled labour and day-to-day life becoming more expensive (Margolin 2005). There is no evidence that these trends will abate.

The danger is that social inequality may undermine social cohesion (Tan, J 2005a). Although government has attempted to address such problems, the issues of education, employment and perceptions of discrimination have only partly yielded to these government efforts (Ho 2006). With respect to University level education, income status has important implications as higher education in Singapore is not free, the student being expected to meet 25% of the costs (Tan, J 2005a). Hence, income does have significant implications for capacity to access the system, however transparent and meritocratic it professes to be.

As well, there is a level of stratification within the educational system. For example, data collected in 1992 indicated that 66% of students in the top schools had fathers who were professionals, administrators or managers but only 26% of the Singaporean population fell into such occupational categories (Tan 1998). Ethnicity also contributes to stratification within education, ethnic Chinese representing 92.4% of University

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³⁰ As will be discussed in Chapter 5, the poverty line is considered to be a household income of S\$1500 per month. Therefore, while there may not be absolute poverty in Singapore it is evident that a sizeable proportion of the population have incomes well below average earnings.

enrolments and 84.0% of Polytechnic enrolments in 2000 compared with their overall representation of 76.8% of the population (Tan, J 2005a). By contrast, ethnic Malays and Indians are under-represented in University and Polytechnic courses compared with their representation in the population (Tan, J 2005a). While the Singapore education system seeks to identify and nurture the brightest students (Chang 2000), the obvious message is that the student needs to have not only the intellectual resources but other resources in order to achieve to their potential.

There is also the issue of language policy, an area of interest from at least 1956. Many of the core decisions of language policy were taken in the period 1956 – 1966 and reflect the concerns of the time, namely, the need to reduce inter-ethnic conflict and to promote national identity (Kam & Gopinathan 1999; Gopinathan, Kam & Saravanan 2004). Malay was, therefore, the designated national language but it was English that was identified as the unifying language³¹. Each ethnic group was, therefore, to study their own language, according to their ethnic origin, but all would study English. The reality is that there is likely to be future domination by English and Chinese (Mandarin), thus again making it difficult for those educated in other languages to compete (Gopinathan, Kam & Saravanan 2004).

The other broad tension affecting education relates to the broad economic trends and indications of increasing unemployment rates and retrenchment rates. It is a reality that the Singapore Government is seeking new options to manage the economy, a suggestion being that the 2005 decision to allow Casino gambling to be introduced to Singapore reflects this concern (Ho 2006).

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³¹ Not reflected in the language policy is the wide array of languages and dialects spoken in Singapore. The official policy designates that Chinese study Mandarin, Malays study Malay and Indians study Tamil (Gopinathan, Kam & Saravanan 2004). By 2000 56% of 15 year olds were proficient in two languages, up from 45% in 1990 and the proportion of households using English was 23% up from 19% in 1990 (Gopinathan, Kam & Saravanan 2004). There is growing dissatisfaction with the restriction on access to Mandarin (Gopinathan, Kam & Saravanan 2004) although the statistics are unable to indicate this dissatisfaction.

TABLE 5: Key indicators on employment and productivity 1957 - 2005

Year	Labour	r Force (1)	Unemployed	Median Age of Labour Force (1)	Labour Force Participation Rate (1)	Unemployment rate (1)(2)	Number of Persons Retrenched	Self Emp.
		1 7		Years	% of	% of Labour	Thousand	% of
		Thousar	nds		population	Force		Lab.
					aged 15			Force
					years and			
					over			
1957	471.6	447.9	23.6	33.9	57.0	5.0	n/a	21.5
1970	701.7	644.2	57.5	30.3	55.3	8.2	n/a	20.0
1980	1112.1	1073.4	38.7	29.0	63.2	3.5	n/a	14.7
1990	1562.8	1537.0	25.8	32.6	66.0	1.7	3.7	9.8
1995	1749.3	1702.1	47.2	35.4	64.4	2.7	8.8	10.4
2000	2192.3	2094.8	97.5	35.1	68.6	4.4	11.6	10.1
2005	2367.3	2266.7	100.5	36.7	67.4	4.2	10.3	9.9

Data for 1957, 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000 are from Population Censuses. Data for 1995 and 2005 are from the General Household Surveys.

- 2. Data refer to non-seasonally adjusted unemployment rate in June.
- 3. Self-employed person comprise those who declared themselves as employers and own account workers.

SOURCE: Singapore Department of Statistics 2006a

While Table 5 highlights overall employment rates, of greater concern is the changing nature of unemployment. As shall be demonstrated by the Table 6, there is both a steady increase in unemployment as well as a changing nature of unemployment. It would

appear that achievement of higher education is a diminishing guarantee of employment. Further, the suggestion is the possession of a Polytechnic Diploma may be a better assurance of employment than a University Degree, the difference in educational standing being of diminished concern to employers once students enter the labour market (Kang 2005).

TABLE 6: Unemployment by education (000's) 1994 - 2003

Year	Total	Primary	Lower	Secondary	Upper	Diploma	Degree
			Secondary		Secondary		
1994	34.0	10.0	6.4	8.9	2.7	2.2	3.8
1995	34.9	10.5	5.8	9.9	2.7	2.3	3.6
1996	37.7	10.5	5.9	10.6	2.7	2.5	5.0
1997	34.8	9.4	6.6	9.1	2.6	3.2	3.8
1998	62.7	16.1	13.6	17.4	3.3	5.5	6.9
1999	69.5	18.0	13.7	19.2	5.0	5.2	8.3
2000	65.4	17.9	12.4	17.7	5.6	4.2	7.6
2001	71.9	17.1	12.4	19.1	6.2	7.2	9.8
2002	94.0	20.3	15.6	25.3	8.9	8.4	15.4
2003	116.4	23.2	18.9	29.5	11.5	12.2	21.1

SOURCE: Chew 2006

Table 6 illustrates that although unemployment linked to possession of a lower educational achievement remains a feature, the unemployment rate for people with primary education doubled in the period 1994 – 2003, while in the same period the unemployment rate for University graduates quadrupled (Chew 2006). These trends reflect a significant change in the composition of the unemployed as well as a rising number of unemployed people. Specifically, the possession of a degree seems of diminished value in ensuring that the degree holder will obtain employment. As Chapter

2 pointed out, there is no unemployment benefit in Singapore although there are a range of public assistance programmes.

There are some clear tensions underpinning national education in Singapore since the drive for social cohesion is undermined by social inequalities (Tan, J 2005a). It is clear that different outcomes are planned for different students. Those students attending Technical Institutes are intended to understand that they would assist themselves and their families by working hard and upgrading their skills; Polytechnic students are intended to understand that the survival of the nation depends on their efforts; and those destined for University are given a sense that they can shape their own future (Tan, J 2005a). Despite a meritocratic approach to education, it is clear that there are structural factors coming into play that directly influence the pathways that students end up following.

4.3.2 Higher education

In the decade to 2006, there was a steady increase in the number of graduates from Singapore tertiary institutions, especially from the Polytechnics. The number of graduates from Polytechnics increased from 11,000 in 1995 to 18,100 in 2005 (Singapore Department of Statistics 2006a). Over the same period there was growth in the number of University graduates from 7,900 to 10,300 (Singapore Department of Statistics 2006a).

The Singapore Government has adopted a strategy of ensuring that education is strictly geared to human resource development to service the nation's drive to industrialisation and that individual choice will only operate within this context (Kam & Gopinathan 1999; Chang 2000; Ashton *et al.* 2002). In line with this policy position, the Singapore Government ensures that numbers and categories of graduates do not exceed the demands of the occupational structure (Kam & Gopinathan 1999; Chang 2000). This has given rise a decline in the numbers of arts and social sciences students from 12% of the student body in 1968 to 6% in 1992, although this has since risen, but over the same period there was a rise in engineering students and students in other technical training (Chang 2000).

The trend for students studying engineering continues. In 1995 some 25% of University students studied engineering and this rose to 40% in 2005; over the same period the proportion of Polytechnic students studying engineering fell from 58% in 1995 to 41% in 2005 (Singapore Department of Statistics 2006a).

In 1999, the National Manpower Council was established in Singapore with the intent to establish directions and oversee national manpower planning and development (Ministry of Education 2003), the objectives being to ensure that manpower supply is able to keep pace with, and support, the needs of industry. Within this context, Singaporean Universities are conceptualised as playing a key role in Singapore's economic and social development. In 2002, the undergraduate enrolment was around 39,000 students with Singapore Government plans being to create an additional 3,500 places by 2010 (Ministry of Education 2003). These additional places would mean that the University participation rate would rise from 21% to 25% (Ministry of Education 2003). Nevertheless, University places remain scarce, with only about half, or less, of qualified applicants gaining a place in the National University of Singapore (Chang 2000). To support the achievement of these goals, there has been government commitment to spend 5% of GDP on education as well as the development of *EduSave*³² as a source of funding and the provision of scholarships for top students (Kam & Gopinathan 1999).

In Singapore between 1980 and 2001, the proportion of secondary school graduates entering University sector, as a percentage, increased from 5% to 21% and for the Polytechnic sector the rate increased from 5% to 36% over the same period (Lee 2002). By the end of 2002, the higher education sector of Singapore occupied more than 30% of public expenditure on education (Lee 2002). These figures demonstrate the extent to which the tertiary education sector is responding to increasing participation in higher education.

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 $^{^{32}}$ EduSave was started in 1993 by the Singapore Government to maximize opportunities for all Singaporean children. The Scheme rewards children who perform well and provides schools and students with funds to pay for enrichment programmes or to purchase additional resources. Children aged 6-16 years automatically receive an EduSave account and receive a yearly contribution from the Government. All primary and secondary schools, Junior Colleges, Institutes of Technical Education and special education schools also receive annual EduSave grants (Singapore Ministry of Education website, accessed 15 September 2006).

The Ministry of Education actively tracks the outcomes achieved by students. A significant number of students' complete secondary education while Polytechnic education is the dominant form of post-secondary education (Ministry of Education 2006a). The following table illustrates the outcomes achieved and are included to offer some understanding of how students progress through the education system in Singapore.

TABLE 7: Outcomes in the Singapore education system 2001 - 2005³³

Percentage of P1 Cohort (1) who	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Did not complete secondary education (2)	3.6	3.3	3.6	2.9	2.6
Sat for:					
PSLE and were eligible for Secondary school	97.4	97.2	97.1	97.2	97.2
GCE 'N' or 'O' Level Examinations and Had at least 5 'N' level passes or 3 'O' level Passes	84.1	83.7	84.4	84.5	84.4
GCE 'A' Level Examinations and had at least 2 'A' Level and 2 'AO' level passes (incl. general paper)	23.5	23.8	24.9	24.0	24.1
Admitted into (3):					
Institute of Technical Education	19.9	19.9	22.2	21.7	20.7
Polytechnics	38.1	38.3	37.8	38.9	38.4
Junior Colleges/Centralised Institutions	27.8	29.1	28.0	28.3	28.4
Universities (NUS, NTU, SMU)	22.1	23.0	21.9	22.4	22.2
Ratio of Students to Teaching Staff					
Primary	25.1	24.4	24.9	24.3	23.5
Secondary	19.6	18.9	19.1	19.0	18.5

⁽¹⁾ The P1 cohorts represented each year are different across the indicators, as different cohorts reach the target levels each year.

SOURCE: Ministry of Education, 2006a

The number of students not completing secondary education remains at a steady and low level as outlined in Table 7. As well, a significant proportion of students attend post-secondary education with the bulk of these moving into Polytechnics. Throughout the years 2001 - 2005 similar proportions of students moved to the various forms of post-

⁽²⁾ These figures exclude students who left school due to medical reasons, joined other institutions or left the country

⁽³⁾ Students who enrol in one type of institution may later progress to another.

 $^{^{33}}$ Please refer to Appendices 5 and 6 for an overview of the education system in Singapore.

secondary education each year. University study involves the lowest proportion of post-secondary education students, underscoring the notion that University study is reserved only for the elite as has been suggested elsewhere.

Table 8, that follows, suggests that the dominance of sciences remains a glaring trend, suggesting these disciplines as the discipline of preference or, more probably, reflecting the policy approach of education being linked to economic priorities. Polytechnic graduates in engineering science represent 39.5% of total graduates. When science and technology and information technology is added to engineering sciences, some 64.5% of graduates are in science and technology disciplines. By contrast, humanities graduates comprise only 4% of graduates.

TABLE 8: Intake, enrolment and graduates of Polytechnics by course (full time) 2005

	Int	take	Enr	olment	Gra	duates
Courses	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
Totals	20906	10136	58880	28064	16515	8113
Education	189	180	484	469	111	111
Applied Arts	1128	687	2593	1538	550	302
Humanities & Social Sciences	s 81	71	83	73	0	0
Mass Communication &Information Science	ns 448	324	1426	1029	419	282
Business & Administration	3483	2389	10143	7038	3044	2270
Legal Studies	126	83	341	221	102	71
Science & Rela Technologies	nted 1209	712	2844	1678	768	447
Health Science	s 1639	1326	4962	3971	1016	877
Info. Technolo	gy 4122	1887	11607	5065	3356	1464
Architecture & Building	515	312	1466	870	425	249
Engineering Sciences	7826	2097	22462	5939	6536	2005
Services	140	68	469	173	188	35

SOURCE: Ministry of Education 2006a

TABLE 9: Intake, enrolment and graduates of Universities by course (full time) 2005

	In	take	En	rolment	Gra	duates
Courses	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
Totals	12508	6371	43663	21659	10031	5330
Fine & Applied Arts	163	103	355	212	22	11
Humanities & Social Science		1644	6743	4799	1650	1249
Mass Communication	on 172	130	644	507	146	110
Accountancy	876	530	2561	1732	706	495
Business & Administration	n 1545	901	5013	3098	1256	898
Law	220	125	844	498	187	125
Natural, Physical & Mathematical Sciences	1701	1004	5389	3416	1135	769
Medicine	233	103	1169	479	209	86
Dentistry	33	19	139	67	34	12
Health Science	es 176	149	433	352	85	69
Info. Technology	773	280	2356	765	562	200
Architecture & Building	ż 299	175	1310	786	180	106
Engineering Sciences	4028	1170	16599	4868	3859	1200
Services	56	38	108	80	-	-

SOURCE: Ministry of Education 2006a

At University level the trend of dominance by science continues as illustrated by Tables 8 and 9. Some 38.4% of graduates are from engineering; when combined with information

technology and natural and physical and mathematics sciences the proportion of new graduates is 55.3% of the graduating university population. However, the trend towards humanities is stronger at University than Polytechnic level, graduates in these disciplines representing 16.6% of the graduating population. This greater proportion of humanities graduates may be indicative of the policy view that University students are elite, able to choose their own pathways and being less reliant on the demands of economic policy.

The other trend that emerges from Tables 8 and 9 is that approximately half of the student intake at both Polytechnics and Universities is female. Some 48.4% of the Polytechnic intake is female with females making up 47.6% of enrolments and 49% of graduates. At University, females consisted 50.9% of intake, 49.6% of enrolments and 53.1% of graduates. In engineering, for example, females make up 26.4% of enrolments and at University they make up 29.3% of enrolments. Clearly there are some indications that some study programmes are more attractive to one gender group over the other.

4.4 The Australian context

In Australia in 1955 there were 30,792 higher education students with most doctoral students being enrolled in the United Kingdom or the United States, Australian Universities having fewer higher degree students at a time when national spending on higher education was 0.25% of GNP (Marginson 2002a). By 1989 the picture was significantly changed. By that time enrolments were growing rapidly and the rate of participation in higher education in Australia was in the top third of OECD countries (Marginson 2002a). In more recent years the numbers of international students has demonstrated marked growth. In 1988 11,440 international students were enrolled in Australian Universities, this number increasing to 46,133 by 2000 (Department of Education, Training & Youth Affairs 2001). By 2004, enrolments of international students at tertiary level had risen to 166,954 of which 102,575 hailed from the Asia Pacific region (UNESCO 2006). As will be demonstrated in Table 10, the participation rate of international students in Australia is significant from a global perspective.

 $TABLE\ 10: Internationally\ mobile\ students\ in\ tertiary\ education\ by\ select\ country/region\ 2005$

Host Country		rom abroad				Mobile stu	dents by regio				
	Total	% Female	Arab States	Central & Eastern Europe	Central Asia	East Asia & the Pacific	Latin America & Caribbean	Nth America & Western Europe	South & West Asia	Sub- Saharan Africa	Other
Arab States											
Jordan	15,816	N/a	13,350	165	5	583	81	1,325	59	205	43
Lebanon	13,390	50	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a	13,390
Central & Eastern	Europe										
Russia	75,786	N/a	-	18,047	28,959	-	-	-	-	-	28,780
Ukraine	15,622	N/a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15,622
East Asia and the	Pacific										
Australia	166,954	45	2,481	1,536	158	102,575	1,911	16,115	23,347	5,344	13,487
Japan	117,903	49	600	1,206	885	107,854	1,157	3,093	2,501	488	29
Latin America an	d the Caribbea	n									
Chile	5,211	N/a	9	30	-	204	2,983	1,954	15	9	7
Cuba	13,705	N/a	100	10	39	252	11,277	66	10	1,661	290
North America ar	d Western Eur	rope									
United Kingdom	300,056	47	13,270	9,257	903	93,639	8,793	117,713	25,041	23,569	7,871
United States	572,509	N/a	17,631	36,176	3,078	229,577	70,235	78,477	99.115	33,583	4,637
South and West A	sia	•		•	•		•		•		•
India	7,738	N/a	843	40	68	1,595	28	435	2,188	1,673	868
Iran	1,791	42	542	71	127	70	2	18	929	32	-
Sub Saharan Afri	ca	•		•	•		•		•		•
Cameroon	1,529	N/a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,318	208
South Africa	49,979	54	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36,203	13,776

SOURCE: UNESCO 2006

While Australia's share of international students judged by raw numbers is clearly dwarfed by that of the United Kingdom and the United States, as outlined in Table 10, it is nevertheless a substantial share when judged by population size of Australia. Having noted that four major English speaking nations account for 54% of foreign students, in Australia the share is around 7% of foreign students (OECD 2004). However, between 1990 and 2000, the number of international students in Australia increased significantly (Marginson 2004a), and international students have become a significant proportion of the total student body.

TABLE 11: Exporters and importers of higher education 2002

OECD Exporter Nations	Internation	onal Students	Importing Nations from OECD	Internation	nal students
	Number	% of all students		Number	% of all students
USA	475,169	3.5	China	124,000	n/a
UK	225,722	10.9	Korea	70,523	2.3
Germany	199,132	9.6	India	61,179	n/a
France	147,402	7.3	Greece	55,074	11.4
Australia	110,789	13.9	Japan	55,041	1.4
Japan	63,637	1.6	Germany	54,489	2.6
Canada	40,667	4.6	France	47,587	2.0
Spain	39,944	2.2	Turkey	44,204	2.6
Belgium	38,150	10.6	Morocco	43,063	n/a
Austria	31,682	12.0	Italy	41,485	2.3

SOURCE: Marginson 2004b.

What becomes clear from Table 11 is that Australia maintains a significant ratio of international students as a part of its total student body, by far outstripping both the United Kingdom and the United States. This data underscores the extent to which Australia appears to have become reliant on international students as part of its student body.

TABLE 12: Revenue from international students 2003

Numbers of students and rev	enue by year	
Number of overseas students:		210,397
2003		
Onshore	151,884	2003
Offshore	58,513	2003
Number of Overseas Students by Home Country:		
Singapore	29,878	2003
Hong Kong (SAR of China)		29,169
2003		
Malaysia	27,267	2003
China	27,020	2003
Indonesia	11,865	2003
India	11,133	2003
United States of America	9,416	2003
Overseas fee-paying student load (EFTSL)	145,404	2003
	51,687	1996
Current formal agreements between Universities in		
Australia:		
Total	4,485	2003
Asia Pacific	2,837	2003
Number of Australian exchange students	2,640	2001
Number of exchange students funded by DEST	350	2003
Value of Australia's exports of education services	\$5.6b	03-04

SOURCE: Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee 2005c

Clearly, as Table 12 shows, there is reliance on the Asian markets as a source of international students, notwithstanding the growth trends mentioned previously. However, from 2002 there has been a softening of growth. In 2005 international student enrolments in Australian Universities were 8.3% of total enrolments (Australian Education International 2006f). In six of the *top ten* markets, or the markets from which most students originated, there was a decline in enrolments in 2005 from 2004; however, 76% of student enrolments were still from a limited number of countries (Australian Education International 2006f).

The international education environment is clearly becoming more competitive. One reason for this is heavy investment by the Chinese government in its domestic education system to an extent that in 2005 there were 140,000 international students studying in China and University enrolments overall had increased by 35% since 1998 (Australian Education International 2006a). As well, Singapore is seeking to become a regional education hub, actively encouraging foreign Universities to establish

branches in Singapore (Australian Education International 2006a), the BSW Singapore being but one example of this.

TABLE 13: International student enrolments in higher education 2006

	Annual Enrolments				Annual Commencements			
Nationality	Growth	Growth	Growth	Number	Growth	Growth	Growth	Number
	on 2003	on 2004	on 2005	in 2006	on 2003	on 2004	on 2005	in 2006
China	36.0%	31.8%	14.7%	46,075	35.7%	19.6%	2.5%	18,936
India	45.2%	24.4%	14.5%	25,431	41.5%	-6.5%	16.3%	10,975
Malaysia	3.0%	-3.3%	-2.9%	14,932	-9.6%	-8.9%	-2.5%	5,247
Hong	8.0%	-2.2%	-7.4%	9,948	-10.5%	-10.4%	-6.9%	3,082
Kong								
Indonesia	-7.1%	-9.5%	-8.2%	8,772	-10.5%	-14.4%	-6.3%	3,007
Singapore	-9.5%	-9.5%	-5.9%	7,862	-14.3%	-8.6%	-5.6%	2,757
South	11.1%	7.4%	4.8%	5,590	2.8%	0.2%	6.2%	2,269
Korea								
Thailand	1.1%	-8.1%	-6.3%	4,891	-7.7%	-16.5%	-4.3%	2,030
Taiwan	1.5%	-5.1%	-2.2%	3,854	-0.6%	-11.4%	2.5%	1,595
Bangladesh	21.6%	7.9%	-3.8%	3,501	9.8%	-14.9%	-17.3%	1,093
Sub-total	14.5%	10.%	5.1%	130,856	11.0%	-0.4%	2.3%	50,991
Other	4.8%	2.4%	5.6%	41,441	-1.4%	0.3%	13.3%	18,091
TOTAL	11.9%	8.1%	5.2%	172,297	7.7.%	-0.2%	4.9%	69,091

SOURCE: Australian Education International 2007

During 2006, as outlined in Table 13, higher education enrolments by international students in Australia increased by 5.2%, the higher education sector including 44.9% of all international students in Australia (Australian Education International 2007). Although this rate of increase was below the increase of 8.3% between 2004 and 2005 (Australian Education International 2006c), the significance of international students still outstrips the rate of growth in the increase in the number of domestic students enrolling in higher education (Australian Education International 2006c). Most of the enrolments were from the major markets, with students from China and India respectively accounting for 26.7% and 23.4% of international students (Australian Education International 2007). While the courses in greatest demand remain Business Administration and Computer Sciences, enrolments are increasing in the Medicine, Nursing and Health Sciences fields (Australian Education International 2007).

A significant number of international students are described as enrolled in cross-national or offshore programmes. These students are enrolled in educational programmes offered by an Australian accredited educational provider and are likely to gain an award that is Australian accredited unless the course is studied on a non-award basis (Australian Education International 2006c). These students study in their home country and there are more than 100,000 students enrolled in such programmes. The majority are studying at University level. More than 76,500 were enrolled in University education in 2004, and a further 23,000 enrolled in Australian vocational and technical education providers (Australia Education International 2006a).

Table 14: Overseas students – onshore and offshore by field of education, 2001 – 2003

	2001	2002	2003					
Onshore students								
Agriculture, environment and related studies	835	1096	1185					
Architecture and building	2,380	2,861	3,155					
Creative arts	4,497	6,683	7,738					
Education	2,181	3,492	4,305					
Engineering and related technologies	8,263	11,146	13,529					
Food, hospitality and personal services	20	19	11					
Health	4,809	7,222	8,506					
Information technology	15,440	25,253	25,292					
Management and commerce	30,576	47,296	56,281					
Natural and physical science	4,210	5,931	6,814					
Society and culture	7,313	9,200	14,121					
Non-award courses and mixed field programs	3,460	11,440	10,947					
Total number of onshore overseas students	83,992	131,639	151,884					
Offshore students								
Agriculture, environment and related studies	21	54	50					
Architecture and building	419	659	792					
Creative arts	933	1,217	1,429					
Education	625	1,133	1,251					
Engineering and related technologies	782	2,442	3,265					
Food, hospitality and personal services	5	_	-					
Health	3,753	4,670	4,322					
Information technology	3,655	5,983	6,631					
Management and commerce	16,251	34,306	37,199					
Natural and physical science	386	656	791					
Society and culture	1,297	295	2,436					
Non-award courses	139	2,004	347					
Total number of offshore overseas students	28,266	53,419	58,513					
Total overseas students (No)	112,258	185,058	210,397					

SOURCE: Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee 2005b

It is evident from Table 14 that there is a growing preference for offshore education where the student remains at home but still studies for an Australian award. It is clear that students' strongest preferences are for management and commerce and

information technology, other disciplines being apparently less attractive to overseas students, a factor commented on in Chapter 2 (Bradley *et al.* 2008). Despite the initial high demand for overseas education, both in the onshore and offshore programmes, it is evident that there is a slowing of the rate of growth.

Although growth has softened, most major English speaking markets, namely, Australia, the United Kingdom, Canada and New Zealand, have continued to demonstrate growth, but growth has declined in the United States (Australian Education International 2005f). The softening of growth in Australia has not yielded increased growth in other English speaking nations. While it is anticipated that English speaking destinations will continue to attract international students, improved national education and trans-national education strategies will increasingly come to offer students a viable alternative (Australian Education International 2005c). Thus, the development of the BSW Singapore is one illustration of cross-national education that eliminates the need for students to travel to the host nation in order to obtain a foreign qualification.

TABLE 15: International student enrolments in higher education in 2005

	Annual Enrolments				Annual Commencements			
Nationality	Growth	Growth	2005	Growth	Growth	Growth	2005	Growth
	on 2002	on 2003	Data	on 2004	on 2002	on 2003	Data	on 2004
China	38.6%	33.9%	40,054	32.6%	15.8%	33.1%	18,623	22.9%
India	38.6%	45.2%	22,279	24.8%	62.4%	41.5%	9,514	-5.8%
Malaysia	13.7%	3.0%	15,375	-3.3%	0.2%	-9.6%	5,388	-8.8%
Hong Kong								
	21.4%	8.0%	10,703	-2.5%	5.7%	-10.5%	3,285	-11.1%
Indonesia	-0.5%	-7.4%	9,543	-9.5%	-10.4%	-10.8%	3,226	-13.8%
Singapore	-2.4%	-9.4%	8,349	-9.5%	-19.4%	-14.1%	2,925	-8.6%
South								
Korea	21.9%	11.1%	5,380	8.1%	15.1%	2.8%	2,138	1.8%
Thailand	14.4%	0.9%	5,252	-8.2%	5.8%	-7.8%	2,134	-16.5%
Taiwan	5.7%	1.5%	3,964	-4.8%	1.8%	-0.5%	1,575	-10.7%
Bangladesh	35.6%	21.7%	3,657	8.5%	37.1%	9.7%	1,340	-13.6%
Sub-total	18.6%	14.0%	124,556	10.3%	9.7%	10.4%	50,193	0.8%
Other	12.0%	4.70%	39,374	2.6%	0.0%	-1.4%	16,167	0.9%
Total	16.7%	11.5%	163,930	8.3%	7.0%	7.2%	66,360	0.8%

SOURCE: Australian Education International 2006f

During 2005, as demonstrated in Table 15, one-in-four (24.4%) international student enrolments came from China, while 23% were from India and Malaysia combined (Australian Education International 2006f). Overall, Australia's largest markets of China and India grew by 32.6% while there was also growth from South Korea and Bangladesh. More than half of the enrolments were for undergraduate degrees and one-third were for Masters Degrees by Coursework (Australian Education International 2006f).

Despite softening demand and declines in more established markets, there are signs of emerging sources of international students. China and India³⁴ have both demonstrated strong demands for Australian education (Australian Education International 2006f & 2007). There are also indications of emerging markets in the Middle East, Canada, South America and Vietnam and there has also been strong growth in the East African nations of Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Australian Education International 2007).

The suggestion is that it is likely that the trend towards growth in numbers of international students will continue, albeit at a slower rate of growth, but that the sources of these students will change. This will add to the challenges of developing an internationalised curriculum able to cater for students from increasingly diverse origins. The other trend appears that, although there may be a softening of growth in the numbers of international students travelling to Australia to attend University, there may well be growth in international student enrolments where the student remains in their home country.

4.4.1 International students at Monash

Monash University has embraced the challenge of being an international University. A campus in Kuala Lumpur was opened in July 1998 in partnership with Sungei Way Group. The Monash South Africa campus was opened near Johannesburg in February 2001 (Monash University 2002). Since its inception in 1961, Monash has experienced steady growth in student enrolments across all campuses. As well, mergers with other educational institutions occurred during the 1990s, giving Monash additional campuses and numbers of students.

³⁴ While it has been the case that there has been strong demand from India during 2009 there have been indications that this may not continue to be the trend. There has been significant media attention paid to incidents of violence against Indian students as well as significant concern by both the Indian and Australian Governments regarding this. At the time of writing it is not possible to identify future trends in this market.

TABLE 16: Monash student enrolments as at 31 March 2002³⁵

Year	Clayton	Caulfield	Peninsula	Gippsland	Parkville	Berwick	Malaysia	S. Africa	TOTAL
1961	363								363
1971	11,034								11,034
1981	14,161								14,161
1991	16,864	7,773	2,792	5,367					32,796
1992	17,624	8,136	2,885	6,275					34,920
1993	18,657	7,857	2,982	6,493	478				36,467
1994	19,853	8,488	2,893	7,258	470				38,962
1995	20,395	8,715	3,161	7,988	463	115			40,837
1996	20,427	8,935	3,418	7,874	462	427			41,543
1997	20,208	9,249	3,346	8,028	483	730			42,044
1998*	20,551	9,049	3,125	7,914	494	1,074			42,207
1999*	20,635	9,180	2,788	7,925	506	1,320	596		42,950
2000*	20,296	10,115	2,930	7,550	682	1,375	986		43,934
2001*	20,527	11,060	2,978	7,665	731	1,498	1,380	48	45,887
2002*	21,374	12,119	2,872	7,802	836	1,661	1,701	126	48,491

SOURCE: Monash University 2002

Table 16 demonstrates the increased demand for Monash Univeristy education as well as an increasingly international focus in education. Of the international students enrolled at Monash University, although they come from many nations, the most significant international student group is from Asia with South East Asia being particularly significant. In 2002, students from Asia represented 34.06% of the total student body while students from South East Asia represented 19.7% of the student body (Monash University 2002).

This data offers the broad trends concerning student demand. It has not been possible, however, to identify data relating specifically to enrolments in Australian social work education by international students. Chapter 2 did identify that demand for

³⁵ The data in Table 16 was the most up-to-date data that could be located from the Monash University website.

international education tends to be focussed on specific disciplines and is not spread evenly across all disciplines (Bradley *et al.* 2008). From an anecdotal perspective there does not appear to have been substantial growth in international students in social work at Monash although international students do have a presence in the student body.

4.4.2 Students in the BSW Singapore

Student numbers in the BSW Singapore, during the period under review, were low. Having planned to introduce the degree, it became apparent that the absence of articulation between Polytechnic Diplomas and University Degrees in Singapore meant that students had to be admitted to the BSW Singapore via bridging units undertaken in the summer semester prior to commencement of each academic year (Department of Social Work 2006b). The development of these bridging units has already been described in Chapter 1 and Appendix 1.

TABLE 17: Student enrolments in the BSW Singapore

Student Enrolments							
YEAR	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	NUMBER FULL TIME	EFTSL				
2003/04 Intake	14	9	11.5				
2004/05 Intake	22	16	18.5				
2005/06 Intake	19	12	15.5				

SOURCE: Department of Social Work 2006b.

Table 17 highlights the number of students admitted to the degree programme during the 2004 - 2006 review period, but it is noted that twenty-one students entered the bridging subjects for the 2006/07 intake (Department of Social Work 2006b) and since that time around 18 - 20 students have joined the programme. As well, again outside the review period, from 2008 there has been some limited teaching at the post

graduate level and there are plans to introduce the Master of Social Work from 2010^{36} .

TABLE 18: Student retention in the BSW Singapore

Intake	Bridging units to BSW	Moved from first to second year
2003/04	11 students – all moved to the BSW	93.9% or 10 of the students moved into second year (one withdrew)
2004/05	21 students – 90.5% or 19 moved into the BSW	86.4% or 16 students moved into second year (one on intermission and 2 withdrew)*
2005/06	20 undertook bridging units – 90% or 18 students moved into the BSW	To date one student has intermitted. All are expected to move into second year

^{*} Two students from this intake elected to transfer to on-campus studies in Australia for their second year. As such, they are considered to have been retained and are not included in the students who withdrew from the course.

SOURCE: Department of Social Work 2006b.

While Table 18 outlines student retention on the Singapore programme, Faculty based statistics are not available for other BSW programmes (the On-Campus and Distance Education programmes) and, therefore, comparison by study programme is not possible. However, it would appear that the retention rate is highest for the BSW Singapore and lowest for the On-Campus programme (Department of Social Work 2006b). As well, student academic results presented to the Department of Social Work Board of Examiners meetings held each semester, during the time of this study, suggest that there is little difference in the academic achievements of the BSW Singapore compared to other study programmes.

³⁶ In early 2008 the Government of Singapore, as part of its efforts to further development the social services sector introduced a Leadership and Development programme. This programme consisted of students undertaking studies in leadership and management through the Lew Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at NUS and also undertaking two units from the MSW offered by Department of Social Work. There were eight students in that first intake and further students came into the 2009 intake.

Given that the period of review covers only the period 2004 – 2006, or the first three intakes of students, it is impossible to predict the nature of longer term trends. However, all indications are that the BSW Singapore is capable of retaining students and that the students are capable of fulfilling the requirements of the curriculum. This observation also tends to support the notion that Asian students cannot be stereotyped as rote learners, unable to engage in critical and reflective learning, the issue being how they are taught as well as than how they learn (Brown *et al.* 2005; Samarawickrema 2005). In the BSW Singapore the students have demonstrated an ability to manage the demands of the Australian based approach to teaching and learning.

Conclusion

The presentation of statistical data has been relatively brief given the central methodology being concerned with qualitative approaches to the research. Nevertheless, the picture that emerges is one of growing demands for international education. Although there are trends of slowing demand, compared to the decade of the 1990s, the provision of international education remains a robust arena.

In Singapore there is evidence that Singaporeans are a nation of high educational achievers. However, the provision of education is not without its challenges, particularly in the area of the consequences of the streaming policy and in the area of ensuring that all ethnic groups are able to achieve similar educational outcomes.

In Australia, international education has been embraced as a legitimate and long standing trend in the higher education sector, although there are some indications that the motivation also relates to the potential export income and responses to cost pressures (Marginson & Rhoades 2002; Welch 2003). Monash University has positioned itself as an international education provider as evidenced by the fact that the BSW Singapore is but one of its international educational offerings, others being, notably, through campuses in South Africa and Malaysia. During the research timeframe of 2004 – 2006, the BSW Singapore remained in its early phases. Although the BSW Singapore has been formally reviewed, and accredited by the AASW, it had

yet to be in operation for sufficient time to establish long term trends in student enrolments.

CHAPTER 5: QUALITATIVE DATA – FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The previous chapter contained findings from analysis of secondary data relevant to the research. This chapter offers an overview and analysis of the key findings from the primary data collection in the research. Three unanticipated themes emerged from the data collection and these will be detailed as well as the themes that emerged directly from the data collection and in particular it draws on evidence established in the literature review with particular reference to Figure 1, in that chapter, that sought to highlight the similarities and differences in social work approaches between Singapore and Australia. As foreshadowed in Chapter 3, which outlined the methodology, the approach has primarily been one of qualitative case study research in which it is the depth and richness of the data that is important.

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3 the method used in this research was discussed, the emphasis being on induction and qualitative thematic analysis (Bryman 2004; Morris 2006), an approach appropriate in any exploratory study where there is limited knowledge of the phenomena under review. This research had the formal approval of the Monash University Ethics Committee and that approval prescribed the parameters of the data collection process. However, the data were also derived from direct observation, dialogue and anecdotal evidence. This raises challenges concerning the extent to which the researcher is conceptualised as an aloof and objective outside participant in the research and the extent to which the researcher is an active participant in the research. The primary intent of the researcher being constructed as an active participant is that it allows gathering of data specific to context and to allow the researcher to use their own conceptions as a source of data (Morris 2006).

In Chapter 4 the quantitative data highlighted trends in the development of international education particularly during the period 2004 - 2006, the period under

review. The data highlighted the significance of international education and international students for Australia, particularly students from Asia (Sidhu 2005). While the trends indicated substantial growth in the demand for higher education in the international context, caution about the longer term was being expressed as early as 2003 (Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee 2003) that the growth may not be sustained. These concerns were confirmed by 2005 (Australian Education International 2006f). It is important to bear this context in mind as the backdrop to the analysis of findings.

The data collection phase of this research commenced in October 2008 as the global economic crisis was gaining momentum. At that time the President of the United States had sought the support of Congress to allow a bail out package and the United Kingdom announced a similar approach. The Australian Government, like governments around the world, was developing various approaches to the issue of economic stability and there were growing concerns that a global recession would result from the chaos in financial markets. By the time that the second round of data collection occurred during February 2009 the global economic crisis had deepened, and the Singapore Government had brought forward its budget announcements from April to January. It had become apparent that a number of Governments were seeking to develop strategies to address both rising unemployment and deteriorating economic conditions.

What emerged as a significant broad finding from the research was that, while research respondents specifically indicated a lack of support for a welfare state, they also expressed a view that Government would provide for the needs of the citizenry through a range of policy measures. This finding will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Before proceeding further, it is important to note that the 2009 Singapore Budget was delivered amidst the global economic crisis. One report from the *Straits Times* dated 7 February 2009 highlighted the apparent paradox of denial of a welfare state and dependence on Government provision:

"...even while many Singaporeans disavow a reliance on welfare handouts there are calls in some quarters for more targeted help for the jobless in this recession ..." Oon (2009, p A28).

As well, while the researcher was in Singapore for the period 28 January 2009 – 12 February 2009, it was not possible to read the daily press without being assailed by reports of Government schemes to seek to reverse the downward economic trends³⁷. The schemes were multitudinous to such an extent that it was impossible to make sense of all of them. However, it was clear that the Singapore Government moved to inject funds into Community Development Councils and Family Service Centres as well as deciding to increase the Community Care Endowment Fund (Shoon 2009). The overall impression was that despite the avowed position that welfare dependency must be avoided, the array of schemes led a high level of welfare provision, although characterised by emphasis on the measures as temporary measures only.

To a significant extent, therefore, the data was collected during an extraordinary period. The extent to which the deepening global crisis may have shaped the responses collected is unknown. What would appear certain is that the path ahead for social work and social workers will be characterised by increasing social problems as communities and individuals experience hardship as a consequence of global conditions. As well, social work education will need to be both sensitive and responsive to these conditions. This is the background against which the research findings will be presented and analysed. The findings are broadly grouped against the outcomes sought from the research.

The other theme that influenced the data analysis was a lack of Singapore based social work research about social issues against which to compare the findings. Thus, the observation method of research outlined in Chapter 3 proved invaluable. As well,

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³⁷ The researcher experienced a strong sense of being overwhelmed with the array of initiatives being introduced. In conversations between the researcher and various players in the social services sector in Singapore, around this time, there was a view expressed that practitioners were similarly feeling overwhelmed. Agencies and practitioners were struggling to keep up with changing policies and programmes, many practitioners stating it was impossible to know what people were actually eligible for. This complexity, at least in part, was addressed through the announcement that NCSS had developed a resource kit to assist frontline workers at Family Service Centres to keep updated on the new schemes (Shoon 2009).

daily media reports and organisational websites, rather than the academic literature, proved a more available source of information about social issues in the contemporary context. To some extent, the lack of academic literature was foreshadowed in Chapter 2. This will be further discussed later in this Chapter as an unanticipated finding from the research, even though in some ways such a finding could be anticipated, at least to some extent.

5.2 Findings group 1: Social issues

This section will outline what the research respondents identified as the key social issues confronting Singapore at the present time. All social issues are defined by policy context and the ways in which social problems are conceptualised and responded to in any setting. To varying degrees all Governments make some provision for meeting the needs of their citizens' basic shelter, food, education and some form of protection for their more vulnerable citizens. There is general acceptance in most developed countries that such needs should be addressed (Alcock 2001). What varies, however, is the degree of emphasis placed on individual rights over economic rights and/or development; that is the way in which the relationship between welfare needs and development and economic needs and development are balanced (Esping-Andersen 1983 & 1990).

5.2.1 The policy context

The seminal works on the Western welfare state (Esping-Andersen 1983; Esping-Andersen 1990) neglect discussion of the Asian context. However, there is growing commentary that suggests that while the Asian countries are generally conceptualised as social policy laggards (Goodman & Peng 1996; Tang 2000; Rieger & Liebfried 2003; Ramesh 2004), the welfare measures these states provide are highly effective and relatively low cost (Smyth 2000; Gough 2001; Rieger & Liebfried 2003; Schmidt 2005; Aspalter 2006a; Vasoo & Lee 2006; Ghesquire 2001).

5.2.1.1 The Singapore welfare state

The research respondents consistently indicated that a welfare state would not be appropriate for Singapore. What also emerged from the research respondents was that the welfare state presents a paradox. On the one hand, welfare ideology has been built on a notion of minimal state provision amid claims that the state could not afford, either in financial or social terms, to move to a welfare state, as already discussed in Chapter 2 (Lee 1998; Lee, KY 2000; Barr 2002a; Ngiam 2006; Yao 2007; Chua 2009b). On the other hand, political legitimacy seems reliant on a benevolent state that meets the needs of its citizens, at least at some basic level. This would seem a complex position for the PAP regime that has spent years in building political capital around notions of *Many Helping Hands* as the guiding philosophy, as outlined in Chapter 2 (Ngiam 2004), a position associated with absence of welfare dependency by individuals and family as the primary source of support. One can question the capacity of such a policy to survive economic downturn, particularly when combined with an increasingly educated and articulate electorate.

In terms of the research data, what was a notable response from respondents is not so much what they said but how they said it, the tone being difficult to adequately convey in the written form. One interview question specifically noted that some Singapore commentators were calling for a more liberal approach to the provision of welfare including the provision of social security (Low & Aw 2004), as well as there being significant concerns expressed by Singaporean and other commentators regarding the capacity of historical and existing arrangements to continue to meet the needs of the population especially as it ages (Chia & Tsui 2003; Low, L 2004; Low & Aw 2004; Asher & Nandy 2006). Almost without exception, research respondents were vehement in their position that Singapore could not have a welfare state and the tone was one that sometimes suggested that the researcher did not really understand the particular needs of Singapore.

The impression was that the research respondents may have formed a view that the researcher was expressing a particular opinion about institutional arrangements rather than conveying a message from Singaporean commentators. The only evidence for this position is the tone of the responses as already outlined. To the best of the

researcher's knowledge and ability the question relevant to this aspect of the research interviews was asked with the same approach and demeanour as all other questions. There were clear differences in the tone of the response used by respondents in questions asked before and after. In the event this impression is accurate it would seem to highlight the sensitivity of the issue in Singapore and the degree to which Singaporeans have accepted and absorbed Government policy and rhetoric.

This leads one to question whether there is a good understanding of the range of welfare state options. There also appears a lack of focus on the wider dimensions through which the Singapore Government has affected social change and redistribution through housing, education and health policies (Chua 2009b). One of the possible inferences, therefore, is that there has been acceptance of the stated policy position in the absence of more detailed analysis of what is actually operating in the Singapore context. As will be discussed later, this appears to raise an issue of *situatedness* (Lyons & Gomez 2005).

The cornerstone of welfare provision has long been the Central Provident Fund, or CPF, (Asher 1998; Kwon 1998; Ramesh 2000; Khan 2001; Low & Aw 2004; Vasoo & Lee 2006; Ghesquiere 2007), which has a primary focus, amongst other objectives, of ensuring that there is provision for retirement based on savings made during the working lifetime of the individual. As a form of enforced savings it has been linked to notions that Singaporeans are a nation of high savers. However, this was challenged by at least two research respondents.

"... there is 'instant gratification' as credit cards make it possible to buy what you want without having to think about the longer term consequences..." (KS2).

"...people lack basic skills in saving and this is critical in times of recession such as the present time...." (KS5).

The level of savings would appear central to the maintenance of an adequate CPF system, or any other system for that matter, able to meet the needs of citizens. Research respondents did not offer specific evidence to support their claims, but the

claims do reflect concerns that have been reported in some of the literature regarding the adequacy of CPF savings to meet needs when people leave the workplace (Low & Aw 2004). That there may be a move away from willingness to save suggests that this may be one factor contributing to future stresses on the CPF. One research respondent advised that the Singapore Government has initiated steps to address potential shortfalls in the CPF:

"... in 2007 there was some reform of CPF to allow lifelong benefit ... this is lifelong savings which means that if CPF funds [from individual accounts] are exhausted there will have been a small amount put aside to ensure that there is ongoing income ... regardless of the savings level achieved ..." (KS4).

There was minimal documentation of this initiative other than through the CPF website. Perusal of that website indicated that *CPF Life* will be launched from 2013 and will automatically include all members of CPF under the age of 50 years, as well as the application of new rates of interest being applied to members' benefits (CPF website accessed 7 November 2008). Nevertheless, this initiative will be unlikely to entirely address concerns regarding the adequacy of CPF coverage and does not address the issue of benefits for citizens not covered by CPF.

While stating a position that Singapore should not adopt a welfare state model, the research respondents identified a wide range of welfare supports available to citizens. The option of skills upgrading was high on the list. But research respondents also identified a myriad of other supports such as adjustments to CPF; provision of specific financial support to so-called dysfunctional families, for example; the availability of public assistance; and a range of other supports such as school pocket money funds and subsidisation of utilities bills. While the language of these support provisions were couched in the terminology of compassion, in reality it would appear that notions of charitable provision are generally driving the various forms of support. As well, there appears an underlying notion that the Government will in fact provide in spite of what its formal policy says. This latter assumption is particularly paradoxical. On the basis of conceptualising a welfare state as being associated with dependency, or a *crutch mentality*, there is nevertheless some evidence that there is reliance on Government provision through some means.

Indeed, there was specific concern about moving towards a Western style welfare state identified by three research respondents:

"...I would oppose this [referring to a Western style welfare state with direct cash transfers in the form of benefits and pensions] ... it would make us too comfortable. I have a broad question... should we take assistance away [asked as a reflective question about the level of assistance that is appropriate] ... it diminishes the family helping itself ..." (KS2).

"...Singapore has always subscribed to 'not developing a crutch mentality'... as well, there is fear around creating complacency ... if people have a reasonable wage and contribute to CPF ... in retirement there should be enough to live on ..." (KS3).

"...the approach is that Singaporeans need to 'take their bitter medicine' ...that is SOP^{38} ... the focus will be to help people to keep their jobs but to target the payment of bonuses and that people will accept flexible wages .. .they trust the Government to "make up" when the difficult times pass...." (KS4).

There were reassurances offered that no single person would be left without support, by implication by the research respondents but also as outlined in Chapter 2 (See also Appendix 4). Although protesting that Singapore is not a welfare state there is a complex array of social assistance and support schemes. This was summarised by one research respondent:

"...Government is responsive to need but it must also avoid the moral hazard issue... it is afraid of the entitlement mentality ...it invokes comments such as

³⁸ SOP: Standard Operating Procedure. The research respondent explained that, in terms of past

that Government may sponsor. For illustration of the way SOP has been adapted to the current context please see Appendix 17.

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patterns of Government response to difficult economic times, the likely strategy of response would be to focus on ensuring that people maintained their jobs even if this meant that annual bonuses would not be paid and that lower wages may be earned. As well, the pattern has been that once the adverse economic times pass Government then makes up for wages lost. In essence, the approach is to maintain employment wherever possible. This approach appears to focus on maintaining employment and incomes and, as an integral component, includes the strategies such as subsidised re-training schemes

'taxpayers' shouldn't have to'... Government has seen what happened in welfare states.... there is public assistance available to those needing it ...there is debate whether it is adequate ... Government claims there are other forms of assistance available through Community Development Councils ... the elderly do not like to be seen receiving handouts ... they see their [adult] children as being overburdened ... some have no choice ... they lack the means to support themselves...." (KS4).

As well, there was a belief that, despite the alleged absence of a welfare state, the Singapore Government was in fact meeting needs according to one research respondent:

"...Government has a range of policies in place ...there are good communication strategies as well as the capacity [for citizens] to have conversations with Government and Ministers ...the aim is that people are heard but also that they hear the 'right things'...." (KS5).

This comment was particularly illuminating and suggests an overall strategic approach of encouraging dialogue but with the specific objective of ensuring that citizens hear the message preferred by Government. It also needs to be borne in mind that most Singaporean politicians have played an active role in community organisations and CDCs. This in turn raises a question as to the capacity of citizens, and indeed social workers, to openly articulate and advocate any need for changed welfare arrangements. It raises questions about the willingness of the Singapore Government to fully appreciate, and address, messages from the grass roots level where such messages are not compatible with the political agenda of the Government. Claims that a welfare state is inappropriate for Singapore, as claimed by the research respondents, must therefore be evaluated within this context.

The previous comment also raises questions about the extent to which the primary agenda is concerned with the maintenance of the political position and to what extent it is concerned with ensuring that welfare policy meets the needs of citizens. This is a complex question in any context, by no means limited to Singapore. However, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, the Singapore Government has a long history of ensuring

the maintenance of political power and position as the primary motivation underpinning all policies and all policy responses.

Nevertheless, there is an overall increase in the use of a range of public assistance schemes, where the basic rate of public assistance is around \$\$300³⁹ per month (Ministry of Community Development, Youth & Sports 2008b⁴⁰). Given that the population of Singapore is around four million persons (Singapore Department of Statistics 2008b), it is evident that those in receipt of public assistance form a minority group whose entitlement is reminiscent of charitable approaches and of payments only being made where there are no other options. Conceptually, this approach would seem more consistent with the framework underpinning the Poor Laws and residual welfare frameworks (Elton 1968; Friedlander 1968; George & Wilding 1985) than with notions of the social contract or welfare rights based on citizenship (Titmuss 1958; Marshall 1963; Titmuss 1974). As well, the level of assistance provided would only appear to barely meet subsistence needs, falling well below the identified poverty line of \$\$1500 per month.

What appears absent from the framework, is a specific recognition of goals concerned with redistribution, equality and social justice. Indeed, Lee Kuan Yew, founding Prime Minister of Singapore notes in his autobiography that, at the time of independence, Singapore decided not to adopt a redistributive approach as they lacked the resources to redistribute (Lee 1998; Lee, KY 2000). Nevertheless, some level of redistribution does occur even though it appears to be within a framework of compassion, charitable entitlement and a victim framework. At the same time, the rhetoric of compassion also appears to be under challenge at least according to two research respondents:

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³⁹ Over the last five years the Australian dollar has generally bought around S\$1.20 although there has been a peak of almost S\$1.30 in October 2008 and a low of the Australian dollar buying S\$0.90 in February 2009. This data has been drawn from the researcher's direct experience in travelling to Singapore

Singapore.

40 Announcements were made by the Singapore Government in February 2009 (Shoon 2009) that the funds available through this scheme would be enhanced by 54% in order to help individuals and families affected by the economic downturn. The rate of usage of the fund, however, was not available beyond 2008 at the time of this research.

"...we think about ourselves alone ...outside of our class status, our family ... we do not care... Singaporeans are never compassionate ..." (KS6).

"... there is social suspicion ... there are increasing disparities between government policies and people's acceptance of these ..." (KS5).

At the same time, it is necessary to speculate on the reflexive capacities of the research subjects about their own *situatedness* in these debates (Lyons & Gomez 2005). The concept of *situatedness* is one introduced to explain that many Singapore commentators "are employed in state-supported institutions, including educational institutions where concepts of academic freedom are strongly mediated by the practical considerations related to tenure" (Lyons & Gomez 2005 p. 120). What this would suggest is that, rather than adopting a position of deeply reflecting on the appropriateness of particular arrangements, there is a vested interest in adopting the rhetoric of the day in order to sustain your own position.

This notion of *situatedness* emerged as an interesting one. On the one hand other researchers have suggested that Singaporean commentators have an interest in ensuring that they adhere to the preferred Government positions. Yet the research respondents appeared to be challenging the Government position. It may be that the research respondents felt safe to take such stands on the basis that they were anonymous participants in a research process. It may also be that there is decreasing willingness to accept depoliticization by the citizens (Chua 1995; Gomez 2000; Yao 2007), heralding moves towards a possible change in the relationship between citizens and Government. The parameters of this research make it impossible to explore these reflections in depth, but it does appear to herald some diminishing acceptance of Government policy.

Overall, although the Singapore Government has supported, and still supports, the rhetoric of compassion and meeting the needs of its citizens, it has also consistently resisted any move towards the development of a coherent and comprehensive social security net. The notion of compassion and Singapore's construction as a compassionate society was a recurring theme among the research respondents and gave rise to speculation, from a social work perspective, about the ways in which this

notion could be harnessed as an advocacy tool for social change. Specifically, any calls for change, arguably, would need to be couched in terms of affirming the compassion of the Singapore Government in their responses to social need. This has important implications for both social work practice models and the ways in which the social work education curriculum teaches advocacy and the pursuit of social justice.

As one research respondent explained:

"... from a curriculum point of view it is important to profile some successful advocates ... have the students consider what made these people successful advocates ..." (KS4).

This suggestion could be constructed in two ways. The first is to maintain a focus on the Singapore context and to consider ways in which change has been achieved without seriously challenging the *status quo*; that is without direct and open challenge to the prevailing institutional arrangements of the Singapore Government. The second construction is to adopt a more global view and assess the strategies adapted by a wide range of people from social work pioneers, for example, through to those who changed the face of government. In either instance the quest is to help students achieve the development of frameworks to aid the development of advocacy strategies that are culturally and politically appropriate to their specific context of Singapore.

It appears that resistance to the suggestion of a welfare state is based on *a one size fits* all approach that conceptualises the provision of social security as encouraging welfare dependence. But even in residual welfare states, such as Australia (Kewley 1973; Jones 1980; Bryson 1992; Castles 1996) there has long been recognition that there needs to be provision made for the most vulnerable members of society such as the aged, infirm, unemployed and disabled. The reliance on a single aspect of the perceived negative consequences of comprehensive welfare provision suggests that there is an absence of detailed analysis of both the advantages and disadvantages of the welfare state or what the welfare state could mean.

5.2.1.2 Globalisation

Concerns were raised in Chapter 2 about the ways in which globalisation has drawn social work, and social workers, into policies that emphasise the policing role of social work over the caring role (Dominelli 2004). The research respondents were asked about their views of the implications of globalisation in terms of future social problems and the requirements of social workers and social work practice (See Appendices 13, 14 & 15). None of the research respondents made specific connections between the impact of globalisation and the trajectories that social work is following. This suggests that either the possible impact has yet to be experienced in the Singapore context or that the impact has not been recognised.

The Singapore Government sees globalisation as a changing condition to which it has to respond rapidly and effectively, in order to meet the continuing needs of the society for which it is responsible (Ho 2006b). Globalisation has intensified economic competition and has made economic decision-making more complex. Globalisation will accentuate social inequality as wages are determined less by local conditions and more by global conditions; it will increase Singapore's susceptibility to problems originating elsewhere; and it inherently increases the range of competing claims for time, resources and ultimately the loyalty of citizens (Balakrishnan 2006; Tan 2007c). Operating in a globalised context also makes the PAP Government more vulnerable to making mistakes as the domestic economy becomes more difficult to manage (Tan 2007c). In turn, the propensity to make mistakes also risks eroding the political legitimacy of the PAP Government (Tan 2007c).

Globalisation was a topic discussed primarily by the seven key stakeholders interviewed, however, none sought to define the concept. In some ways the impact of globalisation was conceptualised as occurring at the micro level of the family. Two research respondents specifically commented on this phenomenon.

"....values are changing with globalisation. Families used to be close knit but they are now more distant and there is a decrease in family support networks ..." (KS2).

"... social workers can help kids at school understand that these problems are not limited to Singapore ... there might be greater impact due to the small size of Singapore and its small population but many nations are facing similar problems" (KS3).

While these comments sought to connect globalisation to the family and social problems, they did not offer detail as to how globalisation may have been responsible for the trends they identified. There are a number of other phenomena that could give rise to the concerns identified.

There was no mention by any of the research respondents of the economic crisis being connected in any way to the rise of globalisation and/or the position and strength of multinational corporations. As well, in the Singapore context there appeared increased openness to other views, as one research respondent questioned whether there is still an orientation in Singapore that is primarily Eastern. However, there were some conflicting views as to the extent to which the curriculum needs to equip graduates to be practitioners in a global context as demonstrated by differing opinions between two research respondents.

"...there is increased mobility and increased choices for Singaporeans. The implication would appear that there is a need to focus more globally ... these thoughts do not appear well thought through in terms of social work and social work education contexts ..." (LP1).

"... have we gone global yet? Really, it doesn't matter whether we are global or not ... what we need is to get a job and get started ..." (SFG 1).

These reflections raise important questions about the extent to which the quest for an internationalised curriculum, able to equip graduates to function in a global context, have been thought through, or even recognised as important issues. As well, the emphasis on a global perspective must also equip graduates to perform in their local contexts. Certainly, as outlined in Chapter 2, questions are raised as to the extent that the internationalisation agenda has been conceptualised as entailing anything but a revenue generation paradigm (Marginson 2002b; Sidhu 2004; Clifford & Joseph

2005), without commensurate consideration for the need to equip graduates to meet their aims of employment, careers and earning their living.

5.2.2 The role of the family

In advance of the data collection phase of the research, the researcher had formed a view that there was a high level of communitarian spirit, the literature being replete with claims that Asian societies are communitarian, vested in Confucian tradition and the cornerstone of social policy is the role played by the family. There was no doubt, again based on the literature, that the Singapore position is strongly premised on the family as the cornerstone of welfare provision, the state offering residual intervention based on demonstrated need only where the family and community has failed.

While some may disagree, the researcher's experience has been that Singaporean students are generally involved with their family tasks and functions to a significantly greater degree than is experienced with Australian students. Examples of this ranged from a highly protective attitude towards pregnancy, and family requirements that the student cease studies until after confinement; through to one student discontinuing the study programme on the basis of need to hold an additional job in order to support the family where the family breadwinner was out of work and another student being unable to leave home on cultural grounds despite experniicng home conditions not conducive to study. This experience suggested that there is a much stronger focus on the role of the family and that young adults are not apparently as free to make decisions as their Australian counterparts may be.

Thus, it was a surprise to find that when research respondents were asked about the role of communities, families and individuals in responding to social issues (See Appendix 13), they did not necessarily share the view that Singaporeans are communitarian in nature. Indeed all expressed a view to the contrary; that Singaporeans are individualistic. Within this context there was a range of far reaching concerns about the family, highlighted by one research respondent commenting on a key concern of the Singapore Government:

"...all social policies are premised on the family remaining together and supporting each other... a key question is 'can the family hold'..." (KS4).

In order to elaborate this respondent went on to raise a number of factors in this concern. The respondent expressed concerns regarding the rising divorce rate and a particular concern for the so-called *sandwich generation*, meaning the middle aged group who are facing prolonged child care as their (adult) children are delaying marriage and remaining at home for extended periods⁴¹ while at the same time they are expected to provide care for ageing parents. In return, the ageing parents are feeling that they are an unacceptable burden to their already over-burdened (middle-aged) children. It was noted that there is little research evidence pertaining to this notion of the *sandwich generation*, there having been minimal research into this area. Reliance on the family as the cornerstone of welfare provision presupposes that the community holds family-centric values. Indeed, some commentators have suggested that, despite a rise in individualism, the change remains gradual (Thio 2002), suggesting that family values continue to dominate. However, two research respondents challenged this.

"... there is increased selfism ... people are working to the clock..." (KS5).

"... some of the key issues in Singapore include the break up of the family, decreased parental control over children ...this all stems from erosion of values and parents not being in a position to carry out their responsibilities..." (LP1).

The evidence from the research respondents highlighted changing family values; a position reflected in some of the literature (Ramesh 2000; Quah 2004; Teo *et al.* 2003). Changing family values, of course, have significant implications for the overarching policy framework that is reliant on the family. However, the research respondents also identified a number of other issues that could emerge as a

limited opportunities for young people to leave the parental home in advance of marriage.

⁴¹ HDB policies disallow rental or purchase of a flat or other accommodation for other than married couples. The options for single people to obtain rental accommodation are very limited and commonly are options similar to those available to older people without a family in which housing allocation may be based on sharing arrangements between non-related people. The implication is that there are very

consequence of changing family values. According to the research respondents these could manifest themselves in a range of ways:

"... [low] fertility rates which may have major implications for the workforce..." (KS4).

"... many younger people are opting for divorce ... this may not be a problem if there are no children ..." (KS2).

"...child care provided by domestic workers" (KS3).

"...families used to be close knit ... but now they are more distant and there is a decrease in family support networks ..." (KS2).

Clearly, it was the view of each of the research respondents that there are a number of problems confronting families in the contemporary context. The common theme was diminished family cohesion and self-help, a factor that would suggest there is a need for increased professional help, in the form of social workers, to bridge the gap created by changing family norms. As well, there was an interesting comment regarding the role of domestic workers acting in the child care realm⁴², the expressed concern being about the impact on the bonding and attachment trajectories of children, especially as domestic workers often remain in Singapore only for a two year period. This concern was captured succinctly by one research respondent:

"...with the care of young children the child often becomes more attached to the domestic workers than the parent ... children experience significant upheaval when the domestic worker departs ..." (KS1).

There were other identified challenges to the family, one specific area being the area of changing ethnic composition in the population.

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⁴² Again, anecdotal evidence suggests that a similar concern exists in the realm of aged care as domestic workers are commonly used to care for the aged and infirm on behalf of the family. In both instances, additional concerns emanate from the fact that domestic workers are typically young females with limited experience in the care of either the very young or the aged. These issues are beyond the scope of the current research but are important issues worthy of exploration in other research.

"... in the future there will be increasing social problems among non-Singaporean families. Singapore has core [ethnic] groups ... but there is an increasing number of people from China⁴³ and other places. There is marriage between Singaporeans and non-Singaporeans" (KS2).

Thus there are emerging areas of potential social problems that, thus far, policies have not needed to address. These emerging problems might also be conceptualised as indicative of a society in the midst of significant change which poses major challenges to society, social work and social work educators. There will be challenges for the Singapore Government to address simultaneously with the changing nature of families as well as what is appearing as a changing composition and nature of race relations. Other issued will potentially include fertility rates, divorce rates, use of foreign domestic workers, and family support. These issues can be constructed as both symptomatic of and contributing factors to increasing individualism and the increasing prevalence of Western style nuclear families.

5.2.3 Maintaining social cohesion

As outlined in Chapter 2, at the broad level Asian societies emphasise orderly social relations and respect for authority (Koh 2000; Nguyen, Terlouw & Pilot 2005). As well, the history of Singapore, from the assumption of power by the PAP in 1959, has emphasized the need for social cohesion, which is seen to be linked to the survival of the nation (Chua 1995; Chan & Haq 2007; Yao 2007). Social cohesion remains a clear objective of the Singapore Government.

The research respondents were asked a broad question about the nature of future social problems (See Appendix 13). The research respondents revealed details of a range of indicators of social cohesion as well as revealing a picture that is perhaps less

⁴³ It became evident through the research responses that Chinese from mainland China are not seen to be the same as Chinese from Singapore, and similarly with regard to Indians from India and Singapore Indians. On the one hand this may be indicative of the emergence of a distinctly Singaporean identity that is different and unique. On the other hand it may be indicative of a certain degree of dislike for people not born in Singapore.

rosy than might at first be thought. Indeed, there are quite critical concerns about social cohesion as revealed in a newspaper report:

"...how the economy develops will be critical in managing discontent" Oon (2009, p A28).

This comment suggests that continued economic prosperity is viewed as central to managing potential social disputes and suggests that economic management is the means by which tensions can be constrained and perhaps avoided. This issue also goes to the heart of questions about civil liberties as highlighted by one research respondent in particular:

"... people want to have a stake ... and the concept of the nation is important as this relates to defence, loyalty and coping with the current recession ..." (KS4).

All research respondents identified the impact of foreign professionals as undermining social cohesion, although only one respondent placed it in terms of the historical context of Singapore remaining a relatively young nation.

"...never before has there been such a big contingent of foreign professionals, especially from China and India ... in the long term this trend will benefit Singapore but it takes a certain level of maturity to come to terms with this trend. There is a foreign/local divide that needs attention. Parents are feeling the pressure as their children have to compete in school with Chinese from China and Indian children from India ..." (KS3).

One research respondent identified the problem of social integration as a significant problem. However, it is believed that the Singapore Government has begun to respond to the challenges of foreign professionals and the ways in which social integration may be achieved.

"... the Government is now emphasising that Singapore is an immigrant society whereas in the past policy emphasised nation building and

socialisation as Singaporeans. This leaves some Singaporeans confused ... but the 'end game' remains unchanged ... social cohesion ...' (KS4).

5.2.3.1 Racial harmony

Singapore has promoted itself as a multi-racial society where there is harmony between the ethnic groups in a context where racial harmony and social integration are related and self-supporting concepts in the Singapore context. Since independence in 1965 there has been a nation building project that has actively promoted racial harmony, although some would argue that the promotion of religious harmony has been little more than another exercise in social control (Rajah 2008). Nevertheless, Singapore has not confronted serious racially motivated violence since the 1960s and, on the surface at least, there is tolerance.

The research data, however, revealed a different perspective with three research respondents commenting on this issue in response to questions concerning the nature of future social problems.

"...there is still discrimination. The darker your skin, the more the discrimination..." (LP 3).

"...there has always been a history of foreign workers but in more recent times there are tensions – the Singaporean Indians are finding the newly arrived Indians to be 'different'... matters of class and caste come into play as well as there being differences between Singaporean Indian culture and Indian culture. In similar vein, the Singaporean Chinese are finding the mainland Chinese to be 'different'... while the locals are practical and pragmatic the mainland Chinese are 'go getters'...." (KS4).

"...basically Singapore is harmonious – it has a long history of multi-racial living and all but the Malays are in fact immigrants⁴⁴. So it is about helping to

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⁴⁴ The official position is that the Malays are identified as the indigenous people of Singapore. Prior to the commencement of colonial settlement there was free movement of people around the Malay

promote understanding of the impact and implications of immigration...." (KS3).

Despite this latter view of harmonious relations, there are apparent tensions between the ethnic groups well established in Singapore and the arrival of new people from the same or similar ethnic backgrounds. In addition, there are issues of the challenges foreigners introduce for Singaporean citizens. It appears that, in recent years, increased difficulty in gaining access to the United Kingdom or the United States has heightened the attraction of Singapore as a migration destination. But this has not been without challenges according to one of the research respondents:

"...the foreign talents believe themselves superior ... they look down on Singaporeans who may have come from different castes..." (KS3).

"...the foreign talents are leaving local graduates not feeling good enough ..." (KS3).

What the research respondents seem to be indicating is that there are varying levels of social cohesion. This has some level of support in discussions about whether the dominant Chinese are aware of their privileged position and the extent to which discrimination may be occurring towards other ethnic groups (Barr & Skrbis 2008). As well, the Chinese appear unaware of the consequence of their dominance in terms of the other groups, and the sense of marginalisation Chinese dominance engenders for the Indians, Malays and other minorities (Barr & Skrbis 2008). As well, there tends to be minimal interaction between the ethnic groups (Tan, ES 2004), which has the potential to further heighten a sense of ignorance, and a lack of understanding of each other's cultures, as to the underlying tensions, feelings and issues that may be experienced.

According to two research respondents, there are also suggestions that the impact of foreign workers has raised the spectre of racism:

Archipelago with it being believed that these people arrived in the area some 3,000 years ago (Abdullah 2006a; Brydon & Liddell 2009a).

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"...foreign workers ... there is a subtle underlying racism. Within the context of a multi-racial society, foreign workers are conceptualised as 'other'. For Singaporean citizens there is a multi-racial society based on equality ... but foreign workers are threats to society and unable to remain indefinitely ..." (KS1).

"....[Singapore] is a compassionate society but it is also very racist. Singaporeans do feel sorry if a foreign worker is stranded ... they come forward to help but they still say we do not want them in my area" (KS7).

These issues have important implications for the ways in which cross-cultural social work and policy is taught, as well as some implications for all subjects in the curriculum. This will be discussed in detail in the section concerning foreign labour. These two issues are clearly intertwined, although in part quite separate issues.

5.2.3.2 The gap between rich and poor

A key aspect of social cohesion is that there needs to be a society where people are treated relatively evenly and fairly. Hence there is significant concern in Singapore about the widening gap between the rich and poor. This was identified as a key concern by a number of research respondents in response to questions about the nature of social issues in Singapore. An associated theme was the need to avoid the emergence of an underclass.

"...there is an issue of the working poor – that is where income is less than S\$1500 per month" (KS4).

The issue here appears not so much about absolute poverty as most people are accommodated and are able to afford to eat. The issue is the standards by which people live. The researcher has been unable to identify clear research data able to shed light on the nature and extent of income disparity in Singapore, a view supported by one research respondent:

"... poverty is not well documented in Singapore .. there is limited academic literature ... there is evidence that the Government is aware of this as evidenced by policy responses and re-training and taxation..." (KS1).

As well, one research respondent expressed a concern that the issue of income disparity may also deepen along, possibly discriminatory, ethnic lines.

"...in Singapore the Malays and Indians do not possess the same degree of zeal as exhibited by the Chinese; they do not have the same will to succeed/achieve. It is difficult to match the Chinese but this must be done in order to be part of the nation; otherwise they will become known as an underclass. If there emerges an underclass then there will be even more problems in Singapore..." (KS3).

Clearly the issue of a potential underclass is not only one of economics but also of ethnicity, with direct implications for the maintenance of racial harmony. The primary responses to concerns about poverty and income disparity appear to be vested in continued reliance on programmes of skills upgrading and re-training. While this approach is not without merit, it does raise questions concerning the ways in which the issues are conceptualised as individual responsibilities and a lack of apparent consideration of structural issues that may contribute to disparity in income. It also raises a question as to whether there comes a point at which re-training is considered beyond the capacity of the individual. Despite this, one research respondent explained that there is an expectation that the individual will be gainfully employed, regardless of income disparity:

"...if you are unemployed the assumption is you cannot remain unemployed ... you will be supported to upgrade your skills" (KS4).

Finally, the attitudes towards income disparity do not appear to consider the generational aspect to them.

"...there is a generational aspect ... for the first generation economically active from 1965 the issue was that their children were able to attain higher

educational achievement and therefore better themselves ... so each generation became better educated ... but the first generation did not have access" (KS4).

It would appear that although there is evidence of Government concern regarding the gap between rich and poor, all indications are that ensuring that people remain in the workforce, with some opportunity to upgrade their skills and knowledge, remains the primary, if not sole strategy through which such concern is addressed. There is no evidence of recourse to any strategies that involve re-distribution of income at more than a marginal level.

While the implications of this issue spread across many subjects in a social work education curriculum, there are particular messages for subjects concerned with the ways social workers deliver their services to marginalised people and subjects concerned with paradigms for policy development and understanding. The pertinent issues for curriculum are primarily concerns with notions of social justice, anti-oppressive social work practice and theoretical frameworks for policy within a still collectivist context.

5.2.3.3 Foreign labour

Singapore has a very long history of foreign labour flocking to Singapore in search of employment and a better way of life. From its initial establishment as a British Colony in 1819, Singapore has been a country where migration has been integral to its history and development (Yap 1999; Yeoh 2004). The intent of early settlement concerned economic considerations, the clear objective being trade rather than territory (Thompson 2005). In a similar vein, all subsequent immigrants held a similar goal, to make money (Wee 2004b), prospects of economic advancement attracting mostly indentured immigrants, particularly the Chinese (Milne & Mauzy 1990).

The question of foreign labour raises further issues about social harmony especially as it emerged relatively recently as a significant area of concern. Although there are distinct categories of foreign labour, the research respondents at times used the term

generically to encompass any non-Singaporean who was working in Singapore and at other times expressly identified a discreet group of foreign labour.

There are sharp distinctions drawn in Singapore's immigration laws around the status of foreign labour. Foreign male workers, typically labourers and construction workers, are able to obtain work permits for time limited periods only. They are, however, registered with the Ministry of Manpower and therefore able to benefit from the protection of some labour laws. By contrast foreign domestic workers, typically females employed for domestic duties such as childcare and care of the aged (family members of employers) do not come under the aegis of the Ministry of Manpower and do not have protection under labour laws. Neither of these groups of foreign workers are able to obtain permanent residence in Singapore, and there are many restrictions on them including being prohibited from marrying Singaporean citizens and not being permitted to have children (Human Rights Watch 2005). The other major group in the foreign labour pool is the so-called foreign talent, typically qualified professionals able to gain permanent residence and citizenship. This group is actively sought out in Singapore, as explained by two research respondents in response to a question about the nature of pressing social issues, and is conceptualised as playing a role in making Singapore more competitive in the global context.

"... there have always been migrant workers .. they commenced arriving in greater numbers in the 1970s ... they were never a problem. Migrant workers were never a concern of social work ... they continue not to be a concern" (KS7⁴⁵).

"... the integration of foreigners. There has always been a history of foreign workers but in more recent times there are tensions ... "(KS4).

It is significant that the so-called problem of foreign workers appears a relatively recent phenomenon but the respondents did not offer substantive evidence as to why this may be the case. What is of at least equal significance is that it is suggested that social work has largely ignored this group of people resident in Singapore. This raises

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⁴⁵ This research respondent was adopting a position that foreign workers ought to be a concern of social work and social work advocacy as their well-being appears not to be a significant concern in policy.

questions about the commitment of social work to all oppressed and marginalised people and the extent to which social work in Singapore may have become concerned only with Singaporean citizens.

Within this context one could reasonably expect foreign labour to be an accepted part of day-to-day life. To some extent this is the case; it is not possible to travel around Singapore without becoming aware of the presence of foreign labourers and domestic workers. The identified *threat*, however, comes not from unskilled workers so much as from foreign professionals, although it is clear from media reports that even labourers are seen as a threat to the jobs and livelihoods of Singaporeans as well as being described as disruptive in some neighbourhoods.

"... there is a major issue with the changing demographics, specifically the presence of foreigners ... foreign professionals that are leading local [Singaporean] graduates to feel that they are not good enough..." (KS3).

"....the issue around foreign talent seems ready to explode..." (KS3).

Concerns about foreign labour, however, seem to be coming into the public domain.

Not only concerns about foreign professionals, but also about other groups of foreign workers, are being discussed with four research respondents paying particular attention to this issue. According to one research respondent:

"...the issue of migrant workers is coming into the open ... the rate of pay is low .. upon arrival the average foreign workers has a debt of about S\$8,000 ... they face working for 12-18 months before they can make money ..." (KS7).

Within the broad context of foreign labour there was also concern expressed regarding abuse occurring to this group. The nature of abuse seemed to assume a range of guises, both structural and personal, according to three of the research respondents.

"...they are going to a different family, in a different country, a different culture and a different way of speaking...many are forced to leave [their own country] by poverty" (KS7).

".... The consideration of domestic workers are different... the contracts say 'adequate' leisure and 'reasonable' hours ... these are open to interpretation..." (KS1).

"...issues arise when employers do not provide for workers ... there is a low rate of prosecution by Ministry of Manpower against employers who default on their obligations ..." (KS7).

"...she is only a maid... she is not meant to have feelings [the family asks] .. why is she homesick, why does she cry .. she came here to work and earns money...." (KS6)⁴⁶.

To a significant extent, the research respondents' conceptualisation of abuse of foreign workers occurs within a framework that emhpasises the supremacy the rights and needs of Singaporean citizens, a view that the rights and needs of Singaporean citizens are always the primary concern.

"....if Singaporeans benefit its okay to compromise [workers] rights ... to remain competitive we must sacrifice workers' rights ..." (KS7).

Within the context of concern regarding the movement of labour there are also concerns that labour will exit from Singapore.

"... there is a concern that the top talent from Singapore will emigrate – there are no reliable statistics about departures of Singaporeans⁴⁷ ..." (KS 4).

These issues, like the issues concerned with racial harmony, would appear to have significant implications for teaching cross cultural social work. While openly and

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⁴⁶ This research respondent was attempting to (cynically) portray the responses made by employers when facing the distress of the foreign domestic worker. The research respondent did not hold these views and was conveying a position that foreign domestic workers face challenges that need sympathy and understanding rather than criticism.

⁴⁷ This research respondent commented that Minister Mentor Lee has placed the number as being around 1,000 per year. The research respondent could not refer the researcher to any documented source to verify this estimate. There is concern about the departure of *local talent* given that there has been investment in their education.

firmly proclaiming itself to be a multi-racial and socially harmonious society, in some respects it would appear that these values apply to Singaporean citizens alone, and even then there are tensions within the Singaporean population, however subtle and little discussed. Attitudes of multi-racialism and harmony do not appear to extend to non-Singaporeans, even though there are significant numbers of non-Singaporeans resident in Singapore for at least significant periods of time. This is a somewhat ironical position given that the overwhelming majority of Singaporeans are of immigrant stock, many having come from similar circumstances that some members of the foreign labour contingent find themselves in today, a position not necessarily different from themes in contemporary Australian society.

5.2.4 Other social issues

A number of other social issues were identified by the research respondents. These included questions of the ageing population, adoption of foreign babies and other issues. The identified problems were too numerous to explore each in detail and in some instances the research respondents did little more than make a passing comment. However, three such issues appeared of greater importance for each of the research respondents, as indicated by the emphasis they placed on these issues, and these will be discussed in turn.

5.2.4.1 Integrated resorts

In April 2005, the Singapore Government announced plans to construct two Integrated Resorts⁴⁸, one on the main island and one on nearby Sentosa Island, which is easily accessible via car and cable car. The announcement came after months of public discussion and speculation, the emphasis being on the legalisation of casino style gambling. The anecdotal evidence at the time suggested that the population *knew* that the Singapore Government would allow these developments, commenting that the approach to controversial decisions by the Singapore Government was to allow discussion and airing of concerns but to then implement an already made decision.

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⁴⁸ In popular parlance the Integrated Resorts have been termed *casinos*; the Singapore Government has, however, been careful to emphasise the formal title of Integrated Resorts. They have been heralded as offering family type activities with the casino being only a single function among many to be available from the Integrated Resorts.

A difficulty is that the Integrated Resorts have yet to be completed and there is no way of knowing what impact they will have on social problems. As well, there is limited documentation, at least in the public domain, of the potential impact. It is known that the Integrated Resorts have been conceptualised as offering a major new tourist attraction to Singapore, boosting the economy and providing employment. Plans have been made to impose higher costs on entering the Integrated Resorts for Singaporeans than for foreign visitors as a means of discouraging gambling among locals⁴⁹. Nevertheless, there are concerns as to the ultimate impact of the Integrated Resorts on local families and local social problems as highlighted by one research respondent:

"... IRs – there is already a gambling problem with associated problems of alcoholism and drug abuse but this will increase once the IRs are opened..." (KS5).

Another research respondent put the issues in a somewhat different way, linking this directly to concerns that a future social problem will be in the area of rising addictions.

"...addictions is likely to be a future significant problem. A major aspect of this is gambling addiction which is likely to get worse once the IRs open. This is linked [also] to greater family violence and greater geographical mobility to avoid loan sharks" (KS4).

Clearly, the concern is that not only will there potentially emerge an increase in the area of problem gambling but there are concern that there will be consequences with regard to family violence and, therefore, family breakdown. These are issues of concern that indicate the magnitude of problems that may emerge. While there is some evidence⁵⁰ that there has been some preparation to respond to future social

⁴⁹ The researcher has been unable to obtain documentation regarding this matter. The source of the information has come through discussions with a wide range of people but particularly from Singaporean taxi drivers. The rationale for the methodology and the range of methods utilised has been outlined in Chapter 3.

⁵⁰ Arguably the survey mentioned by the research respondent is a form of preparation it consisted of a survey rather than necessarily an action plan. Anecdotal evidence has suggested that there is some

problems arising from Integrated Resorts, there is no evidence that the planned response will be able to cope:

"...MCYS undertook a survey about the possible incidence of problem gambling ... they concluded it would not be significant ... professionals could take care of it. But there is a lack of appropriate professionals ... not enough social workers, psychiatrists, psychologists ..." (KS4).

This response suggests two possible areas of concern. Firstly, that the survey focussed on the incidence of problem gambling but may not have taken sufficient notice of the problems that may arise as a consequence of problem gambling. Secondly, while there was an identified need for professionals to respond there was a lack of attention paid to the size of the professional workforce available to provide this response.

While it is beyond the scope of this research to explore the implications of the Integrated Resorts in depth, what is significant is that some research respondents are expressing concern about the issues and raising doubts as to the capacity of the professional workforce to respond to the needs that may arise. This has important messages for workforce management into the future and the extent to which it is able to meet both current and future welfare demands in Singapore.

5.2.4.2 Volunteerism

One particular consequence of the *Many Helping Hands* approach (Ngiam 2004) has been to emphasise that Government considers meeting welfare needs to be a shared responsibility. This in turn limits the budgets of many voluntary organisations, forcing them to rely on volunteers in order to get the job done (Chiang 2000). However, the preferred policy of reliance on volunteerism is not necessarily straightforward as explained by one research respondent:

training strategies in place to help respond to problem gambling. However, it has not been possible to obtain comprehensive details of strategies to meet future needs in this area.

"....Government has emphasised, and continues to emphasise, the role of volunteerism, but it is having a hard time getting people to come forward. The value system of people is changing..." (KS 2).

To a certain extent this approach also relies on notions of Singaporeans being compassionate and willing to help their fellow citizens. However, two research respondents seriously challenged the validity of this assumption.

".... who said this ... this is not the case ... we think of ourselves alone ..." (KS6).

"... there is a lack of community focus on addressing problems and a lack of interest among families. There have been years and years of campaigns but Singaporeans are very individualistic. Government creates an 'illusion' but this is not the case ... it is all politics. Singaporeans do not care unless the issue directly affects them ..." (KS5).

There are certain problems posed by volunteers, including lack of training, professionalism and discipline (Chiang 2000). As well, there is a relatively low rate of volunteer participation in Singapore. This is attributed to problems such as the levels of accountability and evaluation within voluntary organisations, and the level of leadership and management offered to volunteers (Chiang 2000). Thus there are presenting challenges to build, maintain and support the activities of volunteers ensuring the volunteers are properly trained and supported.

As well, the level of volunteers is not as high as might be desired by the Government. The number of people engaged in volunteerism in 2006 was 18,136 (Ministry of Community Development, Youth & Sports 2008b), increasing only marginally in the following year. As well, during the years 2006-2007, in excess of 3,000 people were involved in Citizens Consultative Committees; around 3,000 were involved in Community Centre or club management and almost 12,000 were involved in Residents Committees (Ministry of Community Development, Youth & Sports 2008b). While on the surface these participation rates may appear positive it must be

remembered that this is participation out of a population of more than four million people, representing a participation rate of around 0.4% of the population.

Thus, it would appear that despite an over-arching framework of *Many Helping Hands* there is an attitude of not wishing to become involved. This has significant implications for the role volunteers may play in the future as well as having implications for the number of professional helpers, such as social workers, required to meet need as well as the costs entailed in building the social services workforce in the future.

5.2.4.3 Dysfunctional families

The role afforded to the family has already been outlined in this Chapter. It would appear that dysfunctional families have been a particular concern in Singapore since at least the early 1990s but that there remains minimal research about appropriate ways to respond to these families (Tan, A 2003). In the Singapore context the conceptualisation of dysfunctional families appears to pertain to those families in need of ongoing financial support although other problems are certainly apparent.

The question of dysfunctional families fell outside the parameters of the literature review for this research. Dysfunctional families are those for whom there is rarely a single agency able to respond to their needs, requiring coordinated and collaborative intervention by a number of agencies across a wide spectrum of the service sector. The literature that relates to dysfunctional families encompasses the notion of families that generally do not respond positively to intervention. Indeed, coverage of *untreatable families* in the literature is relatively limited (Jones 1987; Gelles 1996; Brydon 2004 & 2005) and the notion of family preservation seems more able to reflect political, legal and community views about families being strengthened and able to achieve positive change (Sheehan 2000 & 2001a), although their reality would seem to suggest that these families have less capacity to achieve positive change.

In the contemporary context it has been estimated that there are about 7,500 dysfunctional families in Singapore (Balakrishnan 2009), although the researcher has been unable to locate the source of this data or the methodology in arriving at it. At

the same time it is clearly a contemporary concern of the Singapore Government that firstly established an Inter-Ministerial Committee to Review Help for Dysfunctional Families with Children (Ministry for Community Development Youth and Sports 2008a) and consequently announced new measures to help such families (Ministry for Community Development Youth and Sports 2009).

The researcher is not aware of particular academic literature that focuses on dysfunctional families as a significant social concern in Singapore. However, one research respondent identified it as a significant social issue, albeit one that has been around for some time.

"... we are already seeing families with multiple difficulties; dysfunctional families for whom no one agency can respond ..." (KS2).

"....dysfunctional families ... the sole breadwinner is unemployed ... there may be remarriage and additional children The breadwinner or both parents may be in prison" (KS2).

The researcher is aware through conversations held with various players in Singapore that the Ministry for Community Development, Youth and Sports has identified this as a concern and a Family Research Network has been established under Ministry auspice to begin to address this, although these efforts appear to be in their early phases.

"...when you ask what is your sister doing to help dysfunctional families cannot rely on their family networks – in many instances the dysfunctional is inter-generational..." (KS2).

While dysfunctional families are derived from all ethnic groups in Singapore (Kuak 2008), there appears particular concern focussed on Malay families. There has been considerable progress achieved by the Malays since 1980 (Ministry of Community Development, Youth & Sports 2008a). There remain, however, concerns regarding the divorce rate with this rising since 1980 and there is also a steady rise in single parent households, along with an increase in the number of births registered by Singapore Malay parents (Ministry of Community Development, Youth & Sports

2008a), as examples of particular social problems outlined earlier in this chapter. Although there was a decline over the period 1980 – 2008 in the rate of teenage births, this remained a concern in the Malay community (Ministry of Community Development, Youth & Sports 2008a).

These statistical indicators were consistent with some of the commentary from research respondents. There has been some attention paid to finding strategies to respond to dysfunctional families, but clear definitions of dysfunctional families and the prevalence of these remains unclear. As well, it would appear that the issue of dysfunctional families is being defined in individual terms, the focus being on a notion that somehow these families can be *fixed*. Despite this, there is some doubt as to the extent that the problems are individual rather than structural as suggested by one research respondent:

"... the real issue in all of this is economics. Case analyses reveal that many do not have post secondary education ... this affects the jobs they may get ... things are tight financially. They often come from poor families and drop out of school early ... this is often inter-generational transfer as their parents may not have had much education" (KS2).

In terms of responses to dysfunctional families at the grassroots level, there appears some efforts to adopt a systematic and co-ordinated approach (Ministry for Community Development Youth and Sports 2009), but some research respondents suggested that there is an absence of well-developed inter-agency models of collaboration able to respond to such complex family needs. This conclusion was supported by a report on working with dysfunctional families that did not address the issue of multi-agency responses and collaboration (Lee 2009), and rasied by one research respondent:

"... there is not a well developed tradition of case conferencing ... the social worker needs to 'be in charge' but to communicate with others ... to look at the case as a team ..." (KS2).

In addition, the responses to dysfunctional families appear dominated by the delivery of financial incentives concerned with children receiving an education and the provision of opportunities for skills upgrading (Kuak 2009; Ministry for Community Development Youth and Sports 2009). While these are appropriate measures for inclusion in any repertoire of responses, they do also suggest a more limited understanding of the nature of dysfunctional families and the degree to which their problems may be deeply entrenched.

It may also be that the policy and rhetorical emphasis placed on the centrality of the family unit as the cornerstone of welfare policy acts as a barrier to deeper analysis of why the problem of dysfunctional families exists but appears resistant to strategies for change. This position is consistent with other research that has identified that in-depth studies of families who do not respond to intervention appear limited (Jones 1987), and indeed there is minimal attention to these families in contemporary literature. The notion that some families appear *untreatable* presents as anothema to practitioners and researchers (Jones 1987; Brydon 2004 & 2005).

In light of the policy emphasis on the family as the cornerstone of welfare responses, it would appear reasonable to expect that the area of dysfunctional families would be widely researched in the Singapore context in search of strategies to assist families to meet their own needs. This does not appear to be the case.

5.2.5 Summary of social issues

As noted previously, it was difficult to locate academic literature regarding the nature and prevalence of social issues in Singapore. Nevertheless, the research respondents identified a number of areas of concern. In view of the identified concerns there is no alternative but to question whether the policy preferences of the past 40 years can be sustained into the long term future or whether new paradigms of welfare provision might need to be developed.

In making sense of the difficulties encountered in uncovering details about the nature and extent of social problems from the academic and public domains, it would appear reasonable to adopt a speculative stance, asking to what extent the open identification of the range and depth of social problems might be construed as criticism of the Government of Singapore. Specifically, if social problems are uncovered this may

signal shortcomings on the part of Government, thus undermining their political hegemony.

The PAP dominance of Government since 1959, arguably, has hinged on the notion that it has, and does, deliver a reasonable standard of living for the people of Singapore. While that has happended, the existence of social problems would, however, suggest that the success record is less rosy than might be apparent from Government public statements in the public domain. In turn this suggests something of a paradox whereby Government professes concern but this is not accompanied by social research that would seek to understand the nature of social issues as well as identifying posisble responses.

Associated with this view is the apparent absence of structural analysis in the construction of social problems or in the responses to social problems. Rather than structural analysis, there appears a preference for constructions that place the root of the problem(s) in individual shortcomings or pathology. Emphasis on individual responsibility would, therefore, obviate any need for reform at the structural level.

In the event that such speculation bears merit, there are important implications for the ways in which social workers might elect to bring social problems to the attention of the authorities, as well as the ways in which social work education addresses the practice of social justice and advocacy for social change. In doing so, as identified by one research respondent, social workers need to be sensitive to the position of the Singapore Government:

"... the Singapore Government is sensitive to [foreign] criticism ... but at the same time it does not like to be seen to give way Policies need to be developed in response to their own [the Singapore Government] considered judgement ... public education works well ... "closed door" negotiations can work well...." (KS1).

Thus, the key messages are that advocacy must be crafted in a fashion that simultaneously raises the issues about social problems, supported by facts, but allows the Singapore Government to conceptualise itself as having the dominant and responsible role. In order to raise the profile of social issues, social workers and social

work education will need to conceptualise a partnership with Government and couch recommended responses in terms of Government compassion.

5.3 Findings group 2: Experiences of the Monash BSW

In social work practice it is always important to gain insights into problems and possible solutions to those problems from the perspective of the client. Similarly in research it is important to gain a perspective from stakeholders. The research respondents overall did not introduce particular expectations of the Monash programme nor of the Monash graduates. Rather they presented a range of views as to what social workers should be equipped to do. While the desired outcome would have been more specific comments on the Monash programme, the commentary elicited nevertheless carried important messages for the curriculum.

5.3.1 Expectations of Monash BSW graduates

The research respondents were asked about their expectations of social work practioners (See Appendix 13). The views of each and all research respondents as to the nature of activities undertaken by social workers were mixed. Two took an overarching view.

"...the issues are clearly structural and the need is for action. Stopping at food and shelter is not enough ... this would not lobby for change ..." (KS7).

"...social work is weak in community work and advocacy ... social work continues to conceptualise social work as casework. Social workers must understand policy and seek to influence policy through advocacy... Government will listen if there is evidence ..." (KS7).

"... social workers need advocacy skills that will help them to bring grassroots matters to the attention of policy makers .. it is not enough for social workers to fight fires .. they must form an interface with policy makers...." (KS4).

Two other research respondents, however, had a more narrow view of the role of social workers in the policy arena.

"...it is unrealistic to expect beginning social workers to be able to develop policy ... social workers should have a knowledge of policy and be able to understand overall policy and the rationale for it ..." (KS5).

"...these [policy] skills are not so important ... but they do need to recognise how policy can impact on the ground" (KS2).

The overall expectations appear divided about the extent that students, and therefore practitioners, should concern themselves with structural perspectives in Singapore. While some research respondents appeared to consider that social workers did not need to concern themselves with structural issues; others appeared to lament the lack of activity in this area. This suggests that in the contemporary context social work and social workers have primarily focussed on individual issues. It further suggests that social work has not maintained its connection to the achievement of social change that was evident during the 1950s when social work was being established in Singapore (Department of Social Welfare 1947; Department of Social Studies 1956; University of Malaya 1956; Braga *et al.* 1961; Department of Social Studies 1961). It also suggests that there is ambivalence about social work assuming a broader role.

5.3.1.1 The experience of professionals

This group of research respondents were asked about their experiences of and with Monash BSW students (See Appendix 13). The experiences of leading practitioners and field supervisors suggested that the level of experience of our students in the social services sector had a direct impact on what could be expected of the students undertaking the BSW Singapore study programme.

"...some were already working as social work assistants so I am not sure how the course affected them ... some entered the course with limited understanding of the nature of social work and social issues ... the course helps them to clarify this and in particular to increase their self awareness and make decisions whether social work is for them..." (LP1).

One factor associated with the request of the Singapore Government to introduce the Monash social work education programme was concerned with assisting social work assistants, or those involved in social work type positions but without formal qualifications, to upgrade their skills and educational qualifications. The experience of the Department of Social Work at Monash University has been mixed with regard to whether prior experience aids or constrains students in their study programmes. In some instances experience as a social work assistant does prove valuable but in other instances the students have been found to have been exposed to social work practices that are not necessarily helpful, particularly where they have been supervised and managed by people in social work positions who posses qualifications other than social work.

But regardless of the level of experience of students entering the study programme, there was a view that students found the process of adapting to their studies somewhat challenging:

"...the students struggle to move into academia ... that is to source journal articles; they struggle to present definitions that are consistent with academic work ..." (LP3).

This is not a surprising finding given that the significant proportion of students in the programme are in possession of Polytechnic Diplomas where the rigours of study are different to those at the University level. Again there is a lack of academic discourse to support such observations. However, this has been consistent anecdotal feedback from tutors involved in the programme from 2004. This anecdotal dialogue suggests that Polytechnics are more reliant on didactic teaching and learning styles with less emphasis being placed on adult learning principles and critical inquiry. With the adoption of the *Thinking Schools Learning Nation* policy framework across the educational system (Mok & Welch 2003; Sidhu 2005; Tan, C 2005a & 2005b) it is likely that there will be changes in student approaches to learning although the impact of the policy is only likely to occur slowly over time (Gopinathan 2006). In the

meantime there is a need to develop strategies to assist the students to make the transition to a different set of educational expectations⁵¹.

A pervasive theme expressed by the some research respondents was that studies in social work needed to help students to develop a measure of reflection and self awareness. Despite this, their emphasis remained on the development of micro skills with minimal emphasis on the need to develop an understanding of structural issues and how to achieve change. This led the researcher to the view, expressed earlier, that practice in Singapore is conceptualised as addressing social problems that have their roots in individual shortcomings rather than being the consequences of the structural aspects of the society in which they live their lives.

Notwithstanding this, there was also evidence that there are particular challenges to undertaking structural analysis within the Singapore context.

"...there is a level of control in Singapore that can undermine critical thinking but this needs to be measured against the fact that there is a level of control in any society and it is unrealistic to think that this would not be the case. The students are accustomed to people lecturing at them.... engaging in critical and reflective thinking is a new experience for them..." (LP 3).

A surprising finding was that there was no call for indigenisation of social work practice and the development of models of practice able to respond specifically to the Singaporean context. While there was commentary that there needed to be some specific Singaporean focus in the curriculum, as discussed elsewhere, this was more concerned with coverage of issues particular to Singapore rather than to the development of models of practice particular to Singapore. Despite this position,

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⁵¹ Early efforts to achieve this goal have been introduced at the so-called Bridging Subjects level, the units most students undertake in order to meet the articulation requirements of the programme. The fact that the students struggle to *get started* is consistent with the findings in other studies (Maxwell *et al.* 2000; Egege & Kutieleh 2004; Ridley 2004; Samarawickrema 2005). Fine detail of the Bridging Units is beyond the scope of this research to discuss but this is detailed elsewhere (Department of Social Work 2006a & 2006b). A core component of the Bridging Units is teaching dedicated to the question of the study expectations of the BSW programme. As well, students are encouraged to avail themselves of the support of the Learning Skills Adviser attached to the Department. In addition there are relationships formed with tutors that allow the tutors and unit coordinators to be familiar with issues of student progress and particular areas of difficulty.

conversations with potential post graduate research students suggest that a process of indigenisation may have been occurring although it has not been specifically researched and/or articulated. Specifically, these conversations suggest that social workers do adapt models of practice imported from elsewhere and make adaptations to fit the Singaporean client group. However, it would be difficult to incorporate this into a social work curriculum without further articulation of these indigenous models.

5.3.1.2 The experience of students

In undertaking the literature review presented in Chapter 2, the researcher became aware of the somewhat limited scope of research concerning student perspectives on international education through offshore modes of study, with only a few studies being identified (Chapman & Pyvis 2005, 2006a & 2006b). The other studies into the student perspective related to the experience of international students travelling to another country in order to study (Asmar 2005), the experience of Distance Education studies (Bishop 2002), or the issue of ensuring the delivery of quality education for international students (Bruch & Barty 2000; Baldwin & James 2000; Devos 2003; Egege & Kutieleh 2004; Clifford & Joseph 2005).

In view of this limited amount of research it was disappointing that invitations to students to participate in the research received minimal response. It is noted that some students currently enrolled in the programme did seek to participate but had to be excluded on the basis of the exclusion criteria in the research design, which meant that current students could not be interviewed because of ethical concerns. Nevertheless, the three students that took up the invitation to participate offered important insights.

When asked about the feelings of entering the study programme (See Appendix 13), the students reported a fairly positive attitude towards embarking on their study programme:

"... we were not particularly excited ...we liked the idea that we were going to gain knowledge but overall we were more apprehensive than excited ..." (SFG1).

There were a couple of areas of apprehension that were of particular note:

"...we were worried about the financial costs ... there is no subsidy and managing study and work is an issue ..." (SFG1).

Despite this concern about costs there was also an alternative view:

"... financially it was more viable to do the Monash programme ... at NUS I could not work and study full time ... as well NUS does not allow advanced standing to Diploma holders" (S1).

This issue of costs is a complex one and the costs of the programme have been a matter of considerable discussion in forums outside the research. Although not identified in any research data, the anecdotal evidence from the BSW Singapore programme is that the majority of students do not come from affluent backgrounds. The students mostly needed to maintain employment during the study programme and were often also financially supporting parents, especially where the breadwinner was out of work, as well as sometimes supporting their siblings.

There is, on the one hand, a structural issue as the Singapore Government offers subsidies to students undertaking other social work education programmes at local Singaporean Universities, raising an issue of equity for students studying in the Monash programme. But it also raises an issue about how Monash University constructs the role of international students and determines the price of education for these students, which will be discussed in subsequent sections.

5.3.2 Capacity of Monash students to undertake field practicum

The field practicum is the point at which students have the opportunity to begin to integrate their classroom learning and knowledge with the direct delivery of social work services to clients and agencies (Bogo & Globerman 1999; Rai 2004; Fortune, Lee & Cavazos 2005; W0ng & Pearson 2007). The question was posed about the preparedness of students to undertake the field practicum (See Appendix 13). It was positive that there was a general view that Monash students were well prepared for the

field practicum and that field placements were made available, despite some identified difficulties in this area.

"... SSTI is good in getting placements ..." (LP2).

"...the area of placement goes to the issue of some territorialism among social work education programmes ... some agencies/supervisors have not been willing to offer placement to a Monash student" (LP1).

What is alluded to here is the fact that Monash entered the arena as only the second social work education programme to be offered in Singapore. The National University of Singapore, by virtue of being the only educational facility to offer social work education over many years, had of course monopolised the field and the organisation of field practicum. Not surprisingly, nor unreasonably, it would appear that there was resistance to the introduction of an additional programme, possibly the resistance being increased due to the programme being offered by a non-Singaporean institution⁵². It is, therefore, more significant that field practicum has been offered with minimal problems as the social services sector has generally been responsive to requests for field practicum.

A factor that was not revealed by the research respondents but which is part of the anecdotal evidence is the preference (or need) of many students to undertake workbased field practicum. To a significant extent that related to the need to maintain employment/income during the study programme as already discussed. It also became apparent that employers appeared reluctant to release social work students from their employment duties for the duration of the field practicum. There were also particular difficulties in ensuring that work-based field practicum arrangements allowed students to have a reduced and protected workload as required by the AASW⁵³. These

⁵² This is a complex area to verify from the research. Administration of the BSW Singapore that has included student/staff meetings at the commencement of each semester. As well, the researcher, in the capacity of programme coordinator, has met with many individual students over the course of the past five years. A pervasive theme of both sources of dialogue has been a student concern with how the Monash qualification would be viewed in the social services sector.

⁵³ This requirement was always outlined for students and employers prior to commencement of the placement, but despite assurances problems did emerge on occasion. Where problems became apparent these were addressed through fieldwork coordination arrangements on a case-by-case basis. All issues were satisfactorily resolved.

experiences raise important issues related to the question of whether students should be paid while undertkaing practicum and, in turn, are issues in need of attention of the professional associations governing social work.

As well, there was a perception that prior to embarking on the field practicum students ought to be comprehensively prepared:

"...supervisors in the field appreciate students who come prepared for placement ... on first placement supervisors expect students to have basic interviewing skills, basic knowledge of theories, understanding of the social worker role, skills in self awareness and reflection ..." (LP2).

Despite the emphasis on preparation there was also a question as to whether it is actually possible to fully prepare any student to undertake the field practicum.

"...to some extent students can never really be prepared for practicum or practice. They need a generic framework but they [also] need exposure to practice...." (LP3).

"... students with work experience [in the welfare arena] come into the course with some ideas about where they are headed and what they need ..." (S1).

This, of course, raises a core dilemma in social work education that is in no way particular to the Singapore context. The classroom and the field practicum setting are both, in different ways and to different extents, removed from the realities of the practice setting. As well, the core task of the field practicum is for students to make the connections between classroom teaching and direct practice (Rai 2004; Fortune, Lee & Cavazos 2005; Wong & Pearson 2007), a task that is not easy as well as being a task that is only achieved over time and through practice experience.

Overall, the researcher has gleaned additional insights through the coordination of the field practicum programme. While the students express eagerness to undertake the field practicum, they seem under-prepared for the realities of the field practicum experience. This appears primarily the case with regard to the first field practicum. It would appear that students enter the study programme with motivations primarily

concerned with *helping people*, whereas the field practicum exposes them to the complexities of helping people to find solutions to the complex social problems that confront them.

Again there is a lack of academic literature that examines the preparedness of social work students, in Singapore, to undertake the first field practicum. Thus, the researcher has developed an understanding of some of the general themes through dialogue with students and through the perusal of their critical learning reports⁵⁴. The emergent themes from these two sources of information are that students experience some level of *surprise* at the extent of social problems in Singapore as well as the various manifestations of these problems for the individual. Intervention plans appear to be developed less around risk and desired outcomes and more around issues of respect for the maintenance of the family unit in which the head of the household must be afforded authority, obedience of children towards parents enhanced, and family structures maintained.

What has emerged is a fundamental paradox. On the one hand the students are prepared for placement through Western-based social work practice and principles; but on the other hand they are already accultured to the Singapore context that promotes Asian values whereby family and collective identity is rated as more important than individuality (Koh 2000; Nguyen, Terlouw & Pilot 2005). In essence, it would appear that students are exposed to problems of a nature that they were previously unaware of, this particularly being the case in child welfare and correctional contexts but also in hospital settings where some are confronted with issues of unwanted pregnancy and out-of-wedlock pregnancy, both being constructed as issues that undermine the traditional family values espoused in Singapore. The impression is that there is a greater level of both naivety and moral judgements demonstrated by the Singapore students than the Australian students. This naturally, must be subject to further research.

⁵⁴ As part of the assessment requirements for the field practicum, students are required to submit a 1500 word critical learning report. This report is based on an incident that occurred in the course of the field practicum that students found to promote a particular aspect of professional learning. This assessment task is part of the process of students making specific connections between theory and practice.

Arguably, the shock of exposure to a wide range of social problems is a typical experience for all social work students embarking on their first field practicum. However, in the Australian context there appears a greater degree of congruity between social work values, the nature of families and the political context than is the case in Singapore. This, therefore, becomes an area that will need increased attention and action in preparing and supporting students in the Singapore context. As well, it raises issues that need consideration for a wider range of international students whose primary acculturation experiences are non-Western.

5.3.2.1 The perceptions of professionals

Among leading practitioners, some of whom have supervised student field practicum, there were some mixed views when they were asked about the capacity of students to undertake the first field practicum (See Appendix 13).

"... overall they were well prepared ... but there are needs for additional frameworks ... it would be helpful if they did family work and group work prior to [first] placement ..." (LP3).

"... the skills that the students possess at the commencement of first placement are varied ..." (LP2).

The research respondents appeared to have two primary views regarding the variability of student capacity to undertake the first field practicum. One view related to the level of maturity of the individual students; the other view related to the role of the University in supporting the field practicum as well as an implied position that the Monash programme ought to adopt the same approach as the NUS programme⁵⁵.

⁵⁵ Implicit in this commentary is the fact that there are different models of social work education on offer and, indeed differences between the models offered by the Monash BSW Singapore and the NUS programme. A discussion of the relative merits of the respective models as well as their differences was beyond the scope of this research.

"... the skills level depends on the previous experiences of the student ... generally the Monash students present with greater life experience and maturity than NUS students ..." (LP2)⁵⁶.

"... NUS students undertake specific units to prepare for placement ... while on placement [they] are brought back to the University on a fortnightly basis This is intended to highlight skills development ..." (LP2).

The conclusion is that there is probably no ideal model of preparing and supporting students both in advance of field practicum and during the field practicum. It is also noted that all arrangements for the field practicum adhere to the standards set by the AASW and there is support offered in terms of recall days and liaison visits, as well as specific negotiated arrangements according to emerging issues and particular support needs.

With regard to the primary purpose of the field practicum as helping students to integrate theory and practice, it was noted that this remained a challenging task for the students, including at the level of the second field practicum.

"... at this stage students are still struggling to integrate theory and practice. They struggle about how to take on new knowledge and integrate it. Specifically, how do they make sense of different perspectives; they are too narrow in their focus" (LP3).

"... there is need to focus on family work and group work ... the emphasis on the connection between skills and theory is helpful ... from skills we find a way to ask the question required by the theory ..." (LP3).

There was some concern expressed regarding the supervision of students undertaking field practicum:

⁵⁶ This reflection that more mature students bring additional insights into a social work education programme is not necessarily an unfamiliar reflection. However, one wonders if there may be greater emphasis placed on age and experience in Singapore than Australia. This was a further issue beyond the scope of this research.

"... there are competencies [to be demonstrated] ... but there is a need to be pragmatic as one of the issues is that there is not enough [qualified] social workers to offer supervision ... many existing supervisors are not social work trained. As well, many social workers leave due to pregnancy and child rearing ... part time arrangements are not necessarily satisfactory ..." (KS5).

While such comments were made in relation to the field in general, rather than specifically to the supervision of field practicum, and while the Monash programme has been able to secure sufficient field practicum opportunities, the question of availability of supervisors is an important one which has a number of professional and practice implications. The question of ensuring that there are sufficient numbers of supervisors extends well beyond arrangements to ensure that field practicum can proceed. This question also has implications for the availability of qualified supervisors to supervise new graduates in particular but also to ensure that there is supervision available across the social service sector.

The question of availability of supervisors raises key issues regarding the support and retention of practitioners once they are in the field. This in turn raises issues about levels of remuneration for social workers, the availability of career paths⁵⁷, the provision of high quality supervision by qualified and experienced social workers and the availability of flexible working arrangements able to respond to the need for balance between professional and family life. While such arrangements are beyond the scope of this research to address in any detail, they do present challenges for the social work education curriculum and the ways in which it may, or may not, inspire students to make a long term commitment to the profession and, in doing so, help them to develop appropriate self care strategies able to help them sustain that commitment.

⁵⁷ In 2008 the Singapore Government launched a training/education scheme that had dual intentions around increasing the level of professionalism across the sector along with addressing retention in the sector. One arm of the scheme allowed experienced social workers to apply for outside study programmes and sabbaticals. Another arm of the programme was the Leadership and Development scheme, taught jointly by the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, NUS and Department of Social Work, Monash University. This scheme targeted potential future leaders in the sector and was supported by the Singapore Government through MCYS. An initial intake of eight students undertook the programme in 2008 with a subsequent intake commencing in 2009.

To enhance the capacity of students to perform in their field practicum it was identified that there is a need to increase the emphasis on critical thinking capacity. At the same time, this was identified as a particular challenge to be addressed.

"... there needs to be greater emphasis on critical thinking skills ... the students thinking about what they do and why they are doing it ... within this context there is a level of control in Singapore that can undermine critical thinking ..." (LP3).

"... the word critical comes from criticise and I suppose we [Singaporeans] cannot criticise ... you do have to obey authority; respect them because they are authority ... they know better" (LP1).

These issues are central to practice. Practitioners need to ensure that they do reflect on what they do and why they are doing it, as part of ensuring that the best service possible is delivered to clients. The issues also go to the heart of curriculum and teaching and learning issues. One of the primary values of social work is a commitment to social justice, entailing both a willingness and capacity to address issues of social injustice and marginalisation of vulnerable groups in society. It is during the field practicum that students come into direct contact with such groups and need to begin to critically reflect on the position of such groups in society. In doing so, in any context, there needs to be advocacy for social change undertaken in a way that is both constructive and not de-stabilising. This is not an easy task in any context but, as the research respondents suggested, it is a task more complex, and possibly more sensitive, in Singapore where the approach of Government has been premised on calibrated coercion where the populace acquiesces to the directions of Government (George 2005). As one research respondent succinctly put it:

"...engaging in critical review in Singapore is difficult ... social reform and politics come together. Some politicians get consumed – tend to be more blatant and receive more attention; little is heard about their successes. There is also confusion between assertion and aggression as well as there being no room for dissent. ..." (LP1).

Thus there is a dilemma that goes to the heart of the mission being undertaken in Singapore through the BSW Singapore. Broadly, the mission is concerned with the delivery of a social work education programme in which we have to teach social policy relevant to the context, but there is no mandate or credibility to become involved in the policy directions established by the sovereign Government of Singapore. These themes will be elaborated on in subsequent discussion.

5.3.2.2 The perceptions of students

From the student perspective, all research respondents viewed the field practicum as a positive part of the learning experience able to directly expose the student to professional tasks. Students value meaningful and challenging activities (Fortune, McCarthy & Abramson 2001). This does not mean, however, that students do not experience anxiety about the field practicum. The source of anxiety for students undertaking field practicum concerns whether they will be competent. They worry about performance and being evaluated and experience feelings of emotional discomfort, tension and nervousness (Lee, TY 2002; Maidment 2003; Gelman 2004).

When asked about their preparedness to undertake the first field practicum, the views of the students tended to confirm the views expressed by the professionals as already outlined. That is, that there was a question about their preparedness to undertake the first field practicum:

"...it's really about learning on the job ... we went into the first placement blank ... we felt overwhelmed and knew very little ..." (SFG1).

"...we were not mentally prepared for the first placement ... not feeling fully competent ..." (S1).

While the professionals expressed concern about the preparedness of students for field practicum in terms of their skills and knowledge, the student view tended to highlight worries more concerned with attitude or emotion and feelings of competence. While efforts are made to brief students about the requirements and processes of the field practicum, what the students identified as core issues related more to the emotional challenges of the field practicum.

The literature about preparing students for the field practicum appears limited, but confirms that it is not uncommon for students to experience anxiety when commencing the field practicum. It is also suggested that students respond to efforts to normalise these feelings through reassurance that other students experience similar feelings, pre-practicum visits to the agency, reassurance regarding supervisory arrangements and reassurance regarding safety during the field practicum (Jirovic, Ramanthan & Alvarez 1998; Davys & Beddoe 2000; Maidment 2003; Gelman 2004). In particular, it appears helpful to reassure students regarding the nature of the supervisory relationship including the fact that this relationship needs to be nurtured and developed over time (Irwin 2006). Specifically, students need help to understand that they have responsibilities to develop the supervisory relationship, the supervisor not having the sole responsibility.

It would appear that field practicum involves a process described by some commentators as conscientisation (Larson & Allen 2006), whereby the classroom input about social issues involves intellectual understanding, whereas the field practicum entails students developing deeper awareness of the nature of social problems and their understanding of their own attitudes, biases and responses to poverty, marginalisation and diversity (Larson & Allen 2006). This position suggests that prior to the commencement of the field practicum students should have a level of awareness, however subconsciously, that they will be challenged to respond to the realities of practice.

These issues are by no means unique to the Singapore programme. At a broad level, it would appear that there is need to increase the evidence base regarding strategies to address student anxiety as they move into their first field practicum experience, as will be further discussed in Chapter 6. To date the response has been to prepare students around the tasks and processes of the field practicum with less emphasis on the emotional challenges of the process.

With regard to the need to normalise the feelings regarding the first field practicum (Gelman 2004), attempts have been made to utilise the experiences and perspectives of students who have already completed a field practicum and for them to share their experiences. With the wisdom of hindsight and reflection, there has been insufficient emphasis placed on the emotional aspects of the transition. Further, there has been

reluctance on the part of students to share their experiences at any but a superficial level. The extent to which this may be culturally based, which is likely to be a factor, is beyond the scope of this research to explore. Nevertheless, it does present as an issue in need of some comparative analysis in future research studies.

The student experience of the second field practicum revealed a different perspective:

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"... it [second field practicum] is in the right place ..." (S1).
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"...by the time we went into the second placement we positioned ourselves as rookie social workers ..." (SFG1).

The students adopted a position that by the time they commenced the second field practicum they were feeling appropriately equipped through the curriculum and the first field practicum to achieve maximum gains from the second field practicum. They expressed a view that it was in the sequentially correct position in the curriculum, coming as the final subject of study. As well, by the time they entered professional practice, the students were feeling able to perform the required tasks while maintaining an appropriate level of self awareness that they were still in the early phase of their professional careers.

"... there is still a lot to learn ... we are beginning practice. It seems almost like we learned nothing ... it takes time to make the links. We do not have specialist knowledge ..." (SFG1).

On the basis that the transition to the final field practicum and then into practice seemed to proceed with comparative ease, compared to the transition to the first field practicum, it would appear that it is the first field practicum that is the bigger emotional challenge. This resonates with suggestions from the literature that identifies the importance of field practicum in terms of acculturation of the students towards the professional persona (Bogo *et al.* 2002; Lee, TY 2002; Bogo *et al.* 2004; Furness & Gilligan 2004; Fortune, Lee & Cavazos 2005).

There was also commentary that the requirement to undertake two field practicum was beneficial:

"...the two placements are very helpful as they gave us insights about what we might expect..." (SFG1).

The position and views of the students appears to confirm that the field practicum achieves its aims insofar that they feel a certain measure of confidence about entering the field. As will be demonstrated in the following section, the expectations of the social service sectors in Singapore would appear to confirm the student self-evaluation.

5.3.3 Attitudes towards the Monash BSW

Overall, all thirteen research respondents were positive about the Monash BSW programme as illustrated by some of the responses:

"...the course is equipping them for generalist practice and in the course there is a good balance between micro and macro perspectives ..." (LP3).

"...I do not think that employers are worried about the source of the qualification ... they are increasingly confident about Monash students. The biggest employers are the hospitals and they are taking the [Monash] students on placement and are increasingly confident about the students [and the programme]. Pay in the hospitals is about 20% - 30% higher than in other sectorsthe hospitals are expanding..." (S1).

"....it is a generic qualification and we still need to specialise ... we can do the Masters if we want to specialise further ..." (S1).

To some extent, this section is centrally concerned with the perceived role of social work in Singapore. The SASW is a member of the IFSW and, as such, operates within the broad Code of Ethics and the mission of caring for the marginalised and promoting social justice. Yet there is also a particular approach of alignment with the Singapore Government that leaves some question as to the voice and mission of social work.

"...social workers [in Singapore] are seeing problems on the ground. The role of social work must be to allay the fears of the population... social work needs Government backing but Government also needs to build social work. Social work is still able to advocate for justice and can undertake some preventative work. Government is still the largest employer of social workers ... Government wants something ... improved standards of social work that gives a message it is okay to see social workers; to help eradicate social problems ... but what is the voice of social work...." (KS5).

Clearly, as arguably is the case on other countries, there is a degree of entwinement between social work and Government. That is not necessarily surprising. However, there does not appear to be an appreciation of the dilemmas for social work in becoming entwined with the agenda of Government. The research respondent cited above, alluded to this only in terms of social work finding its voice but did not elaborate on some of the deeper dilemmas and tensions, despite these being implied in the response. Some of the risks of such entwinement have been identified in other countries, where there is undue emphasis on social control and the rise of managerialist agendas to dominate social work values and the professional agenda (Dominelli & Hoogvelt 1996; Healy 2004; Dominelli 2005c; Harris 2005; Jones 2005; Ferguson & Lavallette 2006).

According to key stakeholders there are a wide range of demands confronting the social work profession in Singapore in the contemporary context, with four of these research respondents offering specific views.

".. they need a good understanding of the culture ... as well, social workers must understand that the problem does exist and then help others to understand the macro context" (KS3).

"... there is need for cross cultural sensitivity they also need to have good coaching skills – the ability to help a number of groups to integrate into the workforce ..." (KS4).

"... they need to carry the attitude of a professional. They must be concerned with the promotion of social justicethey need to have a good attitude towards self and society ..." (KS5).

"... they need good negotiation and advocacy skills ... they need skills in case management ... to negotiate referrals and promote collaborative work...they need to be able to form relationships" (KS2).

"...they need to be able to conduct good basic assessments ... they need good organisational skills and community organisation and programme management skills ..." (KS5).

What is particular about this list of expectations is that the primary emphasis rests upon direct one-to-one intervention. There is, however, some focus on advocacy and the need to consider some broader aspects of practice. What is interesting is that there was reference to social justice as a goal but in the absence of discussion as to what it may mean in the Singapore context. As well, social workers were not viewed as needing to engage in policy development that might address social justice in a comprehensive fashion:

".... [policy development] .. these skills are not as important...." (KS2).

There was, however, recognition that there is a need for social workers as identified by two research respondents. More importantly, there was an identified need for the status of social work, and social work education, to be elevated.

"... we need more social workers" (KS2).

"....the role of social work is under valued ... there needs to be Government action to address this. One reason is that the value is [all] placed on professions [such as] doctors and lawyers that have higher status and higher salaries" (KS1).

As well, there was commentary regarding perceptions of typical NUS graduates and typical Monash graduates:

"...NUS graduates have typically come through O levels, A levels and then University. They often enter University to get a degree ...it is getting the qualification that is important" (LP2).

"... when NUS decreased the hours required on practicum the standard of social work fell ..." (KS5).

This is a particularly difficult area to address. The researcher is not aware of any formal research into the area of employment destinations for social work graduates from Singaporean educational institutions. The researcher is, however, aware of anecdotal information that suggests that NUS graduates have mixed views about the social work profession and that many view the qualification as a degree that enables them to work in a variety of fields, notably the human resources area. That is, they are not particularly keen to work as professional social workers. As was pointed out:

"... the Monash students are paying good money to do the degree and want to enter practice ... but at NUS the issue is more about obtaining a degree..." (LP2).

The researcher, again without formal research having been undertaken, is aware that graduates from the Monash programme have entered the social work profession and from direct experience with the students the researcher has been informed that in every instance the students have expressed an intention to work as professional social workers.

The closest source of independent verification of these observations and informal sources of information came through a media article in the *Straits Times* dated 5 March 2009. That article announced plans to open an additional five Family Service Centres in response to rising demand for services. The article went on to cite the Chief Executive of the National Council for Social Services as saying:

"...there will be enough social workers to fill these positions ... up until recently, the unglamorous field of social work could not attract new entrants, but the recession seems to have turned the situation around. ... usually, half of each year's cohort of 180 social work graduates would join other sectors, but the tight job market could push them to practice in their field of study ..." (Ang 2009).

This appears to confirm observations that around 50% of social work graduates from NUS are not necessarily committed to social work. It also suggests that the possession of a degree has been more important to graduates than the particular field of qualification.

From the student perspective there appeared an appreciation of the generic model of social work education.

"...I like the generic approach I do not think that it needs to be specialised ..." (S1).

"... the course gives us good grounding and got us started ... it teaches us basic communication skillsbut we only have basic skills" (SFC1).

As discussed previously, there are some critical dilemmas confronting the delivery of social work education in an offshore context, such dilemmas revolving around tensions between the educational tasks and professional responsibility. The issue becomes one of teaching students how to adapt key elements of the social work profession to the local context. In this research the context was Singapore. However, the issue is pertinent to any context in which an Australian social work educational institution context may find itself.

Although the research data did not specifically address teaching and learning issues, these would appear central to the way that the curriculum is delivered. Students have been found to need more direct tuition in the earlier phases of their study programme (Samarawickrema 2005) and Asian students have generally been identified to have an attitude of the teacher as expert and an associated concern with *getting it right*

(Samarawickrema 2005), a position supported by our anecdotal experience in the BSW Singapore. At the same time the tradition of Chinese education has been to have greater concern with training according to established criteria whereby the intent is to strive for harmony and criticism is construed as rude and arrogant (Smith 1999).

The experience of our students prior to the BSW Singapore has been of a teaching model based primarily on didactic input and a lack of critical reflection. The implications are that greater attention needs to be paid to ensuring that the expectations of critical and reflective approaches are not only made explicit but that students are given specific instruction and assistance as to how to achieve this.

5.4 Findings group 3: Unanticipated findings

This research set out to seek answers to pre-determined research questions. During the research three themes emerged that were not directly related to the research questions. This is probably an inevitable component of all/any research. However, the unanticipated themes require exploration as they help to shed light on the research question and have important implications for international education.

5.4.1 Gaining access

The first unanticipated theme which emerged from the data has implications for social work practice, social work education and research. The researcher found it difficult to recruit research subjects and notes that, in most instances, approaches to Government Departments or statutory bodies went unanswered as outlined in Chapter 3. Such difficulties are not uncommon, particularly as much research in the contemporary context is framed within national, local or organisational contexts rather than concern with the social work context (Powell 2002). However, this research encountered more difficulties than typically encountered in gaining access to an organisation for the purposes of research.

In the context of this research the researcher speculated about possible for the difficulties in gaining access. These related to the realities of being a Caucasian and

non-Singaporean, investigating matters that were Singaporean. The question whether a Singaporean researcher may have fared better was not specifically addressed in the research. This question is also not addressed in the academic literature but some insights came from two separate instances of personal correspondence, each from a Singaporean source.

"... I guess it is more of a national phenomenon of Singaporeans generally being aversive to any form of research and recently we had to have some public forums to encourage greater participation on clinical trials..." (Personal communication, 20 January 2009, reproduced with permission).

"..[when doing research]...we are stepping into the unknown ..." (Personal communication, 30 January 2009, reproduced with permission).

Additional insights emerged through the involvement of the Department of Social Work, Monash University, in the Leadership and Development Programme as detailed earlier in this Chapter. In this programme, the students, both individually and collectively, identified a lack of locally (Singapore) based studies to inform their own research and literature review. They were required to rely on sources from outside of Singapore, such sources presenting models that had varying degrees of relevance to the Singapore setting. This position confirms the researcher's own difficulty in identifying Singapore based social work research.

In the course of developing the literature review, the researcher identified few social work specific texts able to guide endeavours. The texts that were helpful tended to be developed by sociological researchers (Chua 1995, 2000a, 2000b,2003 & 2005); political commentators (Barr 2002; George 2005; Ho 2003 & 2006c; Singh 2007; Barr 2008); and those calling for reform of key aspects of policy (Mutalib 1992; Rahim 1998; Low & Aw 2004; Mutalib 2005; International Bar Association 2008).

The research respondents identified a similar concern regarding the availability of research and some of the barriers to undertaking research that is critical in its approach. This theme emerged in a range of guises.

"... people may disagree but there is no room for them to raise this voice. I am a citizen first and a professional second .. .there is still a need to promote Singaporean citizens and values..." (LP1).

Another response specifically identified the lack of local Singapore material. While the comment was made particularly in relation to the nature of the social work curriculum, it highlighted the lack of a social work research tradition in Singapore.

"... the curriculum is generally Australian. There is a need for more local content but there is not a lot of local material available..." (LP2).

"...there is not much [social work] literature about the Singapore context. Singapore does not do research..." (S1).

"... there ought to be [encouragement] of post graduate research under the guidance of Monash to research key issues locally ..." (LP1).

This lack of independent social work based research on social problems in Singapore leads one to speculate on the role of Government, either explicitly or implicitly, in this scenario. Chapter 2 outlined the fact that the regime has been described as an illiberal democracy (Tremewan 1994; Rodan 2004b; George 2005; Mutalib, 2005; George 2006; Ghesquiere 2007). As well, Chapter 2 outlined the reliance of the Government on coercion rather than violence, the people acquiescing with Government (George 2005). In essence, the sustained success of the PAP Government has been due to the fact that it delivers results in the form of economic progress and development.

From a speculative perspective, it would seem arguable that the existence of social problems could be constructed to imply failure on the part of Government. That is, if there were open discussion and rigorous research into the nature of social problems, this would signal a shortcoming in terms of the capacity of Governments to deliver results. There could even emerge criticism towards Government for allowing such problems to remain. It has not been possible to identify any literature that directly supports this speculative position.

The most pertinent material pertains to the ways in which the PAP Government has coped with challenges over the years, beginning with the fact that a wide range of commentators have highlighted the lack of strong Parliamentary opposition in Singapore. Arguably this discussion ought to be located in Chapter 2, the literature review. However, during the literature review phase of this research, although there was some material alluding to a question of dissidence, and how it is managed, finding details of this proved an arduous and lengthy process. It was during the data collection phase that both anecdotal detail and academic literature was identified. This process of identification of additional material was necessitated, at least in part, by the research findings. For these reasons it appeared more appropriate to locate the discussion of these issues in the current chapter.

There are two specific issues that shed some light on the possible lack of research. Firstly, there is a long history in Singapore of repressive responses to any form of dissidence. In response to this, some players in the international community have taken a position of advocating that civil and political rights cannot continue to be afforded a secondary role to that of economic development (International Bar Association 2008). While the history of how dissidence has been managed by the PAP Government is complex, it is beyond the scope of this discussion to explore it in any detail. Instead, from the social work perspective, the key event appears to have occurred in mid 1987 when the Internal Security Department arrested sixteen young men and women in connection with a so-called clandestine Communist network, further people being arrested later (Seow 1994; Barr 2008).

Many of those arrested were associated with Roman Catholic social and welfare organisations including the Geylang Welfare Centre for foreign workers. In the aftermath of the arrests, the then Prime Minister emphasised that religion must not get mixed up with politics (Seow 1994; Barr 2008); that the proper role of religious groups was charity and community work such as the setting up of childcare centres. The then Prime Minister also went on to state that there had not been serious concern about a Communist conspiracy. Rather, the incident seemed to delineate the boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable discussion and activism (Barr 2008). In

⁵⁸ It was only through Barr (2008) that details became apparent and sent the researcher on a quest to gather evidence and understanding of the events.

essence, speaking out could be expected to bring strong redress. So-called out-of-bounds markers were thus established and despite signs of increased liberalisation in the most recent decade, caution remains (Lyons & Gomez 2005).

Secondly, there are difficulties in obtaining statistics concerning the magnitude of social problems, further suggesting that independent research on social issues is not encouraged. There are indications that what is made available in the public domain, from Government sources, is limited (International Bar Association 2008). As well, the researcher's efforts to obtain reliable and detailed data about social problems such as poverty, homelessness and the rate of drug usage have been fruitless. It was therefore, of interest to note that in January 2009 the *Straits Times* reported commentary from the Singaporean Parliament where the Law Minister rebutted claims by the President of the Law Society of Singapore that the absence of publication of detailed crime statistics prevented social scientists from undertaking research on the causes of crime and the effects of current penal policies (Low 2009). The detail of the debate is not so important as the fact that the President of the Law Society of Singapore saw it as necessary to adopt this position.

Clearly the research respondents, and others, have made a case that there is limited social work specific research, and therefore literature, in the Singapore context. As well, there is a hypothetical case that Government, at best, has an ambivalent approach towards research into social problems. This position raises two important issues that will be discussed in turn.

5.4.1.1 The evidence base for social work?

The first concerns the ways in which direct social work practice may be developing in the absence of an established evidence base that is specific to social work. While acknowledging the lack of social work research available in Singapore one research participant identified the need to ensure that practitioners do develop these pathways.

"...there is need to increase the research from the social work perspective in the Singapore context. The students, as practitioners, should be encouraged to write about their experiences and to build practice knowledge. The area of social work in Singapore is not well documented... much of the research is undertaken in the field of sociology and there is good material that undertakes comparative Asian analysis and places Singapore in that context..." (LP3).

As well, there has been concern expressed about the lack of social work models specific to the Singaporean context. This was specifically identified as an issue through insights offered from the researcher's professional contacts in Singapore:

"... there is a real need to lift research materials to create a Singapore model in social work" (Personal communication, 20January 2009, reproduced with permission).

Having already noted that there is limited social work literature in the Singapore context, web-based⁵⁹ perusal of courses on offer in Singapore suggest that available offerings are commonly counselling and therapeutic models that present with a strong flavour of being from the United States. This is not necessarily to suggest that there are inherent inadequacies of models from the United States. Rather, the suggestion is that there does not appear to be energy directed towards the development of counselling models responsive to the local Singapore context which is collective rather than individual in nature.

As well, there was evidence from the data collection that models for case management and case collaboration are under-developed in the Singapore context:

"...they need skills in case management ... promote collaborative work They need to be resourceful ... that is knowing what questions to ask and what resources are available" (KS2).

The suggestion here is not that Singapore imports a model of case management and collaboration from another context but that there is need to develop ways of

⁵⁹ It is impossible to specify the range of courses on offer. The researcher, in the course of managing the BSW Singapore, has had occasion to examine a wide range of web sites, in part related to checking the standing of particular study programmes undertaken by prospective students. The impression has been that there is a plethora of short courses available and that many of these are focused on how to offer counselling to clients.

conceptualising and delivering direct practice that suit the local context, maximise sharing of resources and case knowledge and minimise the potential for either duplication of services or information slipping through gaps.

This emphasis on the development of research raises a question of whether the appropriate strategy for entering into social work education in an offshore context should occur at the undergraduate or the post graduate level. While there was discussion of this issue at the genesis of the Monash programme, to the researcher's knowledge⁶⁰ the discussion centred more on what the Department of Social Work could realistically manage given the available resources and the preferences of the Singapore Government to train direct service practitioners who would possess an internationally accredited degree.

With hindsight, it is arguable that a range of factors needs to be considered. These include, firstly, the evidence base to guide social work education and practice already available and accessible in Singapore. Secondly, what may have been the most appropriate strategic position for the provider of social work education to take in order to collaborate with the quest of the Singapore Government to increase practitioner numbers and ehance the level of professionalism across the social services sector?

The evidence is that there is not a strong social work research tradition in Singapore. As well, there is a perception that the demands for research in the Monash BSW and the processes associated with this undergraduate level research are rigorous and more demanding than offered elsewhere.

"...the focus was always on the economy ... but now it is possible to focus on social issues and I think that the government will support social services research. Committees that look into social service issues are not necessarily doing research ... I am not sure if research guides their activities. Some agencies have research sections. But I am not sure it is research ... the

⁶⁰ The source of this knowledge is from information relayed around the time that the researcher became directly involved in the BSW Singapore in mid 2004. The issue appears poorly documented, confined mainly to minutes of meetings and to email correspondence. There is no evidence that the issue was discussed on any more than a *practicality* basis.

methodology is not clear. There is not a lot of attention to research ethics as in Australia ... that's a better approach..." (S1).

5.4.1.2 Some implications for social work education

There are implications from the data for the way in which offering a social work education programme in an offshore context is conceptualised. Certainly there is the imperative to actually offer the educational programme and to ensure that it meets accreditation standards, thus equipping graduates for practice. But there are wider considerations. One option is to remain focussed on simply offering the programme and ensuring that there is financial gain for the sponsoring University. This approach is consistent with the conceptualisation of successive Australian Governments since the late 1980s to conceptualise education as an export industry (Marginson 2002b) whereby the quest is to make Universities as independent as possible of Government and to generate revenue (Sidhu 2004; OECD 2006a; Brydon & Liddell 2009b). In essence, Universities have turned into wealth creation institutions (Bradley et al. 2008). Therefore, a form of academic capitalism is becoming increasingly common in shaping higher education across the globe (Mok 2005), clearly affecting how students are conceptualised as a consequence (Sharrock 2000).

This option, however, is not consistent with the social work concern with social justice and meeting client needs. The pioneers of social work sought a more inclusive society, which offered a place for all, seeking to help the poor by emancipating them from oppression through social reform (Powell 2001). This is not to say, however, that the pre-occupation ought to rest with exploring an Australian brand of social work and expecting it to be effective in Singapore, or any other context for that matter. The opportunity is to collaboratively form links with other countries, in this instance Singapore, to assist them to develop the evidence base, through research, that will enhance the indigenisation of a model of social work best suited for the local context.

What has been apparent from the BSW Singapore is that the students have adopted an active position as stakeholders in the programme, presenting twin desires of wanting more locally based case studies as well as more Australian based case studies (Brydon

& Liddell 2009b). They are proud to be students in an internationally recognised programme, but also appear to struggle with the vexed debate around local/national/international frameworks for understanding social problems and potential social work responses (Brydon & Liddell 2009b).

These issues would appear to be central to the internationalisation agenda. That is, the extent to which local materials are used; the extent to which Australian materials are used; the extent to which international materials are used; and the extent to which a significant component of the internationalisation agenda ought to involve partnering with non-Australian institutions to develop contextualised materials and research able to guide social work development in a wide range of contexts.

5.4.2 Models of research

At this juncture it is important to make some comment about the challenges of research in the non-Western context. In particular, categorising and comparing knowledge between countries does not necessarily allow consideration of the impact areas on knowledge from one country on another (Payne 2001). Simple comparison of knowledge between countries diminishes the need to examine our own knowledge in light of knowledge from another context; this means that we need to consider, and understand, how knowledge from another context shapes and alters the ways in which we construct our worldviews. Where knowledge is transferred from one context to another there is a process of interpretation. This leads to a form of assimilation of new knowledge with existing knowledge (Payne 2001). Inevitably there will be biases in how we interpret that knowledge, shaped by our own experiences, worldviews and contexts.

Arguably, research methodology, as a way of knowing, must be inherently linked to culture. Much Western research methodology is based on the scientific paradigm under which knowledge is discovered through detachment from the environment, to observe and analyse reality objectively (Ling 2004). It must be noted that this research by Ling (2004) introduces the notion of culturally relevant research paradigms but review of the literature has revealed a paucity of similar commentary and scholarship. An added difficulty is that in many non-Western cultures relationships are not

individualized but governed by one's social position and roles in a network or interconnections (Ling 2004). There are difficulties around linguistic and conceptual equivalence, communication processes and style, and the way human relationships are perceived. The search from within for a culturally appropriate practice, therefore, needs to be accompanied by developing a culturally appropriate research framework (Ling 2004).

The suggestion here is that the construction of the researcher's role is a significant issue that needs active consideration. Exploration of this notion will have important implications for social work education programmes seeking to extend their focus outside of Australia but is also a consideration that will present ongoing ethical dilemmas concerning bias and objectivity.

5.4.3 The mission of the University

Perhaps the most vexing issue concerned the mission of the University. As outlined in Chapter 2, the Australian position has been to conceptualise education as an export product, subject to market forces and occurring within a context of competitiveness to attract international students and to use revenue from international students to compensate for declines in Government funding (Carnoy & Rhoten 2002; Marginson 2002a & 2002b; Marginson & Rhoades 2002; Mok 2003; Bjarnason 2004; King 2004a; Marginson 2004a; OECD 2006a).

Despite this trend, the stated mission of the University is not concerned with revenue generation, but focussed on a public mission, a place for scholars to pursue knowledge, equipping people for occupations, advancing social mobility, producing new technologies and service to the community (Newman 1927; Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs 2000; Barry, Chandler & Clark 2001; Marginson 2004b; Monash University 2004a, 2004b & 2005; De Bary 2007; Bradley *et al.* 2008). In the conceptualisation of Monash University there is no mention of a mission concerned with revenue generation. Thus there is a lack of transparency regarding the mission of the University or, at least, an underlying ambiguity regarding its mission.

The delivery of the BSW Singapore has been carried out within a context of relentless pressure concerning the revenue generation aspects of the programme, the often not-so-subtle message being that quality of the programme and its future would be measured in terms of dollars over other benefits. This has, of course, placed significant pressures on the people most directly involved in the delivery of the programme on the ground, meaning those in regular contact with the students and offshore partner personnel. These pressures have imposed an impact on working conditions and staff morale, both of which carry important implications for others involved in international education.

However, these staffing considerations are not as significant as are matters of transparency and management of a programme that has capacity to yield significant long term benefits across a wide range of domains. These domains include internationalisation of curriculum, research collaborations, the international standing of the University and growing experience in the on-the-ground delivery of international education.

Clearly, the economic rationalist approach to internationalisation of curricula has dominated, the implication being that only minimal introduction of some intercultural perspectives into the curriculum are required (Knight 2004; Clifford & Joseph 2005). This ignores the transformative approach that entails teachers and students, from the local and international context, making paradigm shifts and viewing the curriculum from different racial, ethnic and gender perspectives. It also ignores findings from other studies that indicate that an internationalised curriculum ensures that academic content is updated to make global phenomena understandable while also promoting intercultural sensitivity and sustainable development (Gacel-Avila 2005). That is, the process of internationalisation needs to be integrated systematically into the curriculum (Gacel-Avila 2005), but this also raises important issues about the time and resources available to achieve such a goal as well as the priority that the University might afford the task.

There is a suggestion that Universities are ambivalent about international students, particularly under conditions of rapid commercialisation of the University and demands to maintain the quality of curriculum, teaching and assessment (Devos

2003). In essence, international students are simultaneously conceptualised in negative terms on the basis of their inadequate English language skills and the way they are forced on academics with no option but to teach them; and in terms of the extent to which they will like and accept their teachers (Devos 2003). Even where English has been the language of instruction at the pre-tertiary level this concern about language skills is not necessarily quietened. Our experience has been that Singapore and Singaporeans have developed unique and localised ways of English expression that are not necessarily consistent with the Australian approach. As well, the students have varying degrees of capability when it comes to adapting to academic expectations as to how assessments will be presented and constructed. Thus, the question of *acceptable English* becomes somewhat contentious.

Australian academics are exposed to an increasing number of international students, with students from Southeast Asia making up over 80% of the international student body (Egege & Kutieleh 2005). From the teaching perspective little preparation is offered to teach international students. This is especially the case with offshore teaching programmes. Teaching international students requires that teachers develop an understanding of the cultural, political, legal and economic contexts the students have experienced (Gribble & Zigarus 2003).

To return to the position that there is ambiguity and lack of transparency around the mission of the University in the contemporary setting, there must be questions raised regarding the ethics and morality of this position (Brydon & Liddell 2009b). All academics teaching in the BSW Singapore are qualified social work practitioners, accultured to the ethics and requirements not only of the profession but also to the prescribed standards of social work education as put down by the professional association (Australian Association of Social Workers 2000 & 2008). While arguably it is the responsibility of Government to ensure adequate funding of higher education, shortfalls in funding should not exonerate the University from considering the ethical perspective of both the relevant profession and their own ethical responsibilities towards both international and domestic students. At a minimal level, the University ought to be clear and transparent in stating its goals, not hiding the supremacy of profit over its publicly articulated mission.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the findings of the research and has engaged in analysis of what they may mean, the analysis being directly relevant to the final responses to the established research questions. It has become evident that the Singapore context is facing a wide range of social problems and that many of these social problems are under- researched, particularly by the social work discipline. In particular there are challenges confronting Singapore in terms of its capacity to maintain a policy framework that is underpinned by emphasis on economic development and the capacity of the family to meet the welfare needs of Singaporean citizens. The capacity of an Australian University to advise another nation as to how to make its policy choices is a highly sensitive issue. Nevertheless, there are important messages for the development and delivery of a social work curriculum as well as for the promotion of social justice.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will consider how the research question was addressed. It discusses the findings and their wider implications in terms of both international education in general and more specifically in terms of their relevance to social work education in the offshore context. The chapter reflects the fact that, although Singapore proclaims itself not to be a welfare state, there is an active social services sector in place and the Government of Singapore appears committed to providing appropriate responses to the needs of its marginalized and vulnerable citizens. The research was constructed to have a particular focus on the fieldwork practicum as a means of gaining focus in the research and as a means of guiding the development of the fieldwork programme in the offshore context. Some particular findings concerning the fieldwork practicum are presented in this chapter. More broadly, this chapter will also offer insights into areas in need of attention in terms of policy, education and further research.

6.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 1, motivators for international education include ensuring that curriculum development will enable graduate students to work anywhere in the world, better equip students to develop cultural competency, and develop better educational programmes through benchmarking (Department of Education, Science and Training 2001a). The primary aim of this research, as outlined in Chapter 1, was to review aspects of the BSW Singapore 2004 – 2006, offered by Department of Social Work, Monash University. The programme commenced with minimal understanding of what was entailed in the delivery of internationalised programmes. There was a lack of clarity regarding the underpinning model of international education, and, indeed, lack of appropriate debate about the model of internationalisation. There were clear motivators regarding funding and policy driven market strategies.

As also detailed in Chapter 1 there has been little literature and research detailing teaching and learning in offshore education (Dunn & Wallace 2004). At the same time, there are debates about the nature of international social work and continued

striving to develop international definitions of social work applicable to a range of practice contexts (Hare 2004). Social work remains a professional discipline with roots firmly in Judeo/Christian thought (Payne 1997; Payne 2005), but with questions as to the applicability of this philosophical framework to societies and contexts where the philosophical frameworks are markedly different.

Broadly, the research found that the research respondents were largely positive about the educational programme, the BSW Singapore, and did not identify significant ways in which the programme needed to be modified to meet the needs of the Singapore context. However, deeper analysis of the data collected suggests that there are many challenges and tensions that need attention, particularly around indigenisation of social work practice and education, the mission of the University, the nature of social problems in any context and the most appropriate ways to meet the needs of students as the primary stakeholders.

This is the framework within which we will now return to the research questions and consider the messages from the data collection that shed light on the responses to those questions. There will follow some discussion of the implications of the data for further endeavours to develop a truly internationalised curriculum and suggestions for further research.

6.2 The research findings

This research was premised on an overarching research question as well as three associated areas of inquiry as outlined in Chapters 1 and 3. Also as outlined in Chapter 1, one purpose of the research was to offer a case study as to how an international social work education programme could be conceptualised in order to ensure that the course is responsive to both the host and recipient countries. The primary research question will be re-stated and discussed, followed by consideration of the associated areas of inquiry.

How should an Australian University introduce a social work education programme into a different cultural context? What are the historical,

contemporary and policy issues and trends in the host and recipient countries (in this case Australia and Singapore) which influence and shape the delivery of a particular programme in an off-shore context?

The findings that respond to the research question fall into two broad areas. The first area is that of general findings applicable to the wider question of international education. The second area is more specific to the provision of international social work education.

The primary finding in relation to the research question is that the introduction of a social work education programme into a different cultural context needs to be both preceded and accompanied by a thorough review and consideration of the historical and contemporary setting of the host and recipient countries (Australia and Singapore).

The second general finding is that there needs to be construction of understanding from the perspective of the recipient country (Singapore). The third general finding relates to the nature of relationships formed with players and agencies from the host country with their counterparts in the recipient country. These three findings are best understood as general findings that, arguably could apply to the development of any proposed programme of offshore education and to international education more broadly and they will shortly be discussed in more detail.

The research also found that the various stakeholders in the host country also have specific views to contribute to the understanding of international education. These groups are each detailed separately later in this chapter in response to the specific subsections of the research question.

6.2.1 General findings

This section is concerned with broad findings applicable to the development of offshore education and international education at a broad level. That is the findings are not specific to the development of international and/or offshore social work education. The findings constitute responses to the research question concerned with

how to proceed with the development of a social work education programme in another cultural context.

6.2.1.1 The depth of analysis

The decision to embark on the delivery of the BSW Singapore was largely driven by an analysis that focussed on feasibility primarily concerned with costs and the potential to achieve a profitable return. Less attention was paid to the depth of complexity that would be encountered in the programme or the nature of the contradictions that would become apparent. It is only with the wisdom of hindsight, shaped by the experience to date, that the nature and purpose of the analysis required became apparent. In essence, an Australian University seeking to introduce a social work education programme into another context must undertake an analysis that pays close and detailed attention to the historical, contemporary and policy trends in the host country. It must also ensure that the insights gained from such analysis guide and shape the delivery of the programme.

It is evident that the analysis, perhaps best conceptualised as a scoping exercise whereby a wide range of factors concerning the proposed country of delivery are explored, must embrace a vision that is broader than the question of economic feasibility. Further, the broader scoping exercise needs to occur at the initial phases of planning to move to an internationalised offering, but it must also be woven into ongoing development whereby adjustments can be made as new insights become available.

The magnitude of the literature review offered in Chapter 2 demonstrates the depth of analysis required. The literature review deliberately considered both historical and contemporary trends, issues and challenges from the perspectives of globalisation, international education, policy in Singapore and the nature of international social work. But the literature review also considered the Australian context with the intent of gaining insights into the similarities and differences between the host and recipient countries. From the perspective of the researcher's journey, the processes entailed in the literature review not only gave insight into the Singapore context but also challenged (re)thinking of Australian concepts, thus becoming a transformative

process. This notion of transformative process will be discussed later in this chapter with regard to the role of Australian social work and its applicability to an offshore context. The clear message, however, is that Australian academics must be prepared to shift their thinking across a number of paradigms concerning curriculum content and delivery.

While in many ways this was an individual journey, the journey also represented a more collective exercise involving many players in both Australia and Singapore. This journey has the capacity to simultaneously inform the BSW Singapore as well as any subsequent internationalisation exercises. This means that the events, insights and knowledge relating to the complexities, tensions and dilemmas in undertaking such a programme only emerge over time. The implication is, therefore, that an internationalisation exercise needs to be open to being informed by, and responding to, such insights and knowledge as they emerge.

6.2.1.2 The construction of meaning

Within the transformative context, there is an implication that internationalisation means that Australians too have to be open to other insights, influences and ways of viewing the world. Adopting a constructivist paradigm, where the intent is to gather information specific to time and context (Morris 2006), and the research relied heavily on an approach of seeking to construct meaning in the Singapore context. The approach relied in part on observational methods, methods not without their shortfalls but also meeting the criteria of good research insofar as it does no harm, has just purpose and makes a positive contribution to knowledge (Alston & Bowles 2003). These theoretical and methodological concepts had practical application not only in terms of this research but also in terms of broadening the breadth and depth of the scoping exercise as well as the understanding of one country from which international students both derive and will practice. This has important messages for the internationalisation project that seeks to have a broader focus and application than only an Australian perspective. It also means that it is essential that staff involved in the offshore programme develop detailed knowledge of, and appreciation for, the nature of the country, including the complexity and dilemmas, in which the education programme will be delivered.

This gave rise to a critical issue; the question of anecdotal evidence and its ability to inform both this research and the BSW Singapore. In this research anecdotal evidence came from a number of sources including direct observations, conversations and perusal of websites. Arguably this anecdotal evidence was more than mere commentary and aided the integration of academic literature with the ways in which the Singaporean context could be understood. From a theoretical standpoint, anecdotal evidence does not fit easily within specific research paradigms. It does, however, constitute valuable information that offers local insights and has the capacity to steer researchers and educators towards either verification through academic literature or towards potential gaps in both the literature and the research.

With regard to the collection of anecdotal evidence this in some ways is the issue of familiarity with the local context. But it is also about developing an appreciation of a different culture and context at a level that reveals insights from the perspectives of a range of people from that context in order to build the most comprehensive picture possible. This means that academic staff need to be open to immersion in the local context via avenues such as eating at local hawker centres, observing street life in areas away from tourist centres, noting that even hotel staff can be a source of knowledge⁶¹.

6.2.1.3 Offshore relationships

There is an important question concerning the nature of relationships that are formed with international students, offshore partners and other key stakeholders in the offshore context. The capacity to gather data through observation and anecdote is maximised if there is emphasis on the development of collaborative relationships. From the researcher's perspective, these additional sources of data only became possible after relationships at some level were formed. Equally, only when the

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⁶¹ For example, hotel staff are often non-Singaporean. It is not uncommon to find reception and front desk staff at hotels from other countries and that they are willing to discuss issues such as visa status and their intent to support families in their home countries. Also in hotels there is a large percentage of the domestic staff (particularly the maids) who are non Singaporean. Although they are often limited in their capacity to speak English they are able to discuss their hopes and dreams of gaining through their Singapore experience an opportunity to gain a better level of employment when they return to their home country. Such dialogue has been able to add to the researcher's knowledge of a wide range of issues in a way that would not have been possible only through recourse to the academic literature.

researcher had gained some level of understanding of the Singapore context was it possible to engage with Singaporeans in discussions of interest to Singaporeans and with some understanding of their context. Moreover, it is significant that these relationships only emerged over time. Clearly, it cannot be expected that relationship development will be immediate.

The question of relationships is a complex one where, by necessity, partnerships must be governed by legal contracts which place various legal obligations on the parties and can undermine the formation of collaborative relationships. From a social work perspective in particular, models of direct client work lend themselves to the formation of collaborative relationships where the emphasis is placed on mutual respect, mutual recognition of strengths and a commitment to collaborative problem solving. A legal perspective does not have the same capacity to enable joint ownership of the programme and the outcomes of the programme.

6.2.2 The views of the key stakeholders

The key stakeholders were invited to share their views about social issues in Singapore, the nature of institutional welfare arrangements and the requirements of social work and social workers. Largely these responses shaped an understanding of the components of the research question concerned with what is required of social work practitioners and the significant social issues confronting Singapore.

6.2.2.1 Constructing social work

With regard to the data collected, no research respondents suggested a need for any significant review and/or adjustment of the model of social work practice and social work education delivered by Monash University in the form of the BSW Singapore. But there was clear evidence that the research respondents held views about the nature of social problems and the role of social work that differed from those held by Australian academics and practitioners. Of particular note was the tendency to construct the family as the cornerstone of welfare provision and to adopt viewpoints that did not appear to take significant account of structural analysis of social problems.

The literature review and the overall research data, suggested that there is need for a more detailed and in-depth analysis of the model of social work delivered not only in Singapore but in any international context. There is need to review the *goodness of fit* between the presenting social issues and priorities for intervention as well as the theories underpinning social work practice and social work education and the cultural context in which they are interpreted and implemented.

There were no calls by the research respondents for indigenisation of social work; that is to develop models of practice specific to Singaporean social issues and client needs, especially with regard to ethnicity. This is particularly interesting in light of the fact that during the early days of social work in Singapore concern was expressed about the applicability of Western casework models, and the need for locally based models was a subject of debate during the early days of social work in Singapore (University of Malaya 1956). The concerns at those early times related to the fact that social work in other contexts had reached a point where the focus rested on meeting the needs of developed societies in which there was a high degree of literacy and an abundance of social resources (University of Malaya 1956), characteristics absent from the Singapore context of the 1950s. From its inception, social work education in Singapore was concerned with ensuring that the curriculum was appropriately indigenised in order to meet local needs (Wee 2002), this being consistent with internationalised patterns of social work seeking to become increasingly localised (Mayadas & Elliott 1997; Ferguson 2005). It is important to note that indigenisation is not only a professional concern but also an assertion of local autonomy.

Nevertheless, the research respondents, together with other sources, articulated a wide range of views that suggest there is a need to review not only what is taught, but the ways in which curriculum might be taught in a wide range of contexts. The research respondents provided insights into a wide range of issues that are confronting Singapore but perhaps are not of equal relevance in Australia. As well, social work is clearly delivered in a wider socio-political context where the levels of control are more specific and tighter in Singapore than in the Australian context. These issues will be further discussed in some of the recommendations contained in this chapter.

Overall, it would appear that that there is a need for review of social work practice and education. The literature review highlighted multiple challenges for international social work, holding that the direct application of Western models of social work, to non-Western contexts, is not only flawed as an approach but indicative of professional colonisation (Cox 1995; Khan & Dominelli 2001; Payne 2001; Gray & Fook 2004; Asquith, Clark & Waterhouse 2005; Gray 2005; Payne 2005; Yip 2004a; Haug 2005; Yip 2005a). While the research respondents did not specifically call for reconceptualisation, they did at least hint at this need. Specific examples of this included commentary concerning the nature of policy arrangements in place (such as the comments concerns the welfare state as outlined in section 5.2.1.1.), the range of social issues identified which are not necessarily the same as those identified in the Australian context, and the commentary by a number of respondents concerning the need to develop critical thinking skills, to name but a few issues. The literature review also highlighted different policy contexts in that the broad thrust of Asian countries was to develop policy concerned with the promotion of economic development as the primary aim (Holliday 2000; Tang 2000; Schmidt 2005; Aspalter 2006a; Ghesquiere 2007). Importantly, and arguably, it is not appropriate to maintain a monocultural position when there are differing paradigms within which society develops and within in which policy responses are promulgated.

There needs to be increased attention paid to the ways in which individual and structural analyses of social problems are constructed and for such constructions to be vested in understanding, appreciating and promoting worldviews that are not necessarily Australian in their origin and distribution. Across all areas of the curriculum there are rich opportunities to re-develop content in a fashion that is more inclusive, less exclusive, of world views not steeped in the Judeo/Christian tradition (Payne 2005); an important starting point being to realise that the Judeo/Christian paradigm is conceptually an indigenous worldview that is not necessarily shared across the globe.

Herein lays an important message. It is consistent with the postmodernist position, however contested, that holds no single world view to be privileged over another (Mok & Welch 2003). This will present significant challenges for Australian academics teaching social work. The challenge is twofold. Firstly, to reflect on and

critically analyse their world views and to recognise the ways in which these have been shaped by context and culture. Secondly, to become open to world views that have been shaped by other contexts and cultures. In doing so there is need to couch such reflection and critical analysis within the core values of social work as they are concerned with understanding the person in the context of their environment and the pursuit of social justice but not necessarily within a framework of individual rights.

6.2.2.2 The significant social issues

The key stakeholders articulated wide ranging views regarding the nature of key social problems currently confronting Singapore and these have been outlined in detail in Chapter 5. However, there were two pervasive themes; the role of the family and the maintenance of social cohesion both issues being constructed in a fashion that differed significantly from the construction common in Australia. There were clear historical trends underpinning the responses insofar that there has never been the embrace of a Western style welfare state by Singapore as well as their being evidence of the Confucian tradition of reliance on collective responsibility through the family. These trends have been incorporated into contemporary policy that continues to avoid any admission of a welfare state.

With regard to the role of the family, as already emphasised in Chapters 2 and 5, the notion of family responsibility for meeting the needs of its members has been, and remains, a fundamental premise underlying social policies in Singapore, despite the myriad of ways in which the Singapore Government meets the needs of its citizens (Brydon & Liddell 2009a). Despite recent initiatives in response to the global economic crisis, there is no evidence of a move away from the policy framework premised on the role of the family, although these recent initiatives may be suggestive of some implicit, perhaps future, shift away from the emphasis on family and community towards greater emphasis on Government provision.

In terms of the curriculum, this has implications for teaching in both the areas of policy and the area of direct one-to-one work with families and individuals. In the realm of policy, arguably, Western paradigms of policy even where they seek to minimise the role of government are, nevertheless, founded on a notion that

government does have a direct responsibility to meet the needs of citizens. Comparison of state intervention across history suggests that there has not been change in the degree of control by the state so much as the form of state intervention has changed (van Kreiken 1991). There remains inherent tension between the extent to which individuals should be self-reliant, and the extent to which the state should provide (Wilson, Thomson & McMahon 1996).

By contrast, the Singaporean approach, consistent with other Asian contexts, places greater emphasis on family responsibility and emphasises Asian values that include notions of filial piety, hard work and collectivism (Milne & Mauzy 1991; Chua 1995; Huntington 1996; Koh 2000; Low 2001; Barr 2002). At the same time the lower rate of government spending in the area of social welfare tends to obscure the ways in which Asian governments do intervene in this area through the provision of housing, health and education for example (Kwon 1998; Schmidt 2005).

The implications are that policy, from the curriculum perspective, needs to be redeveloped to present all students with a broader vision as to the ways in which social welfare policies emerge in different contexts. In simple terms, reliance on Western paradigms is not a realistic option if there is to be an internationalised curriculum. This broader vision is important as the neo-liberal agenda has wound back the welfare state and reconstructed assumptions around costs, effects and the role of social welfare (Drache 1996; Clarke & Newman 1997; Shaver 2001; Green 2002), suggesting that there may be less ideological difference between Western and Asian perspectives in the contemporary context. There has been increased reliance on notions of *workfare* in Western contexts, in recent years, and an increased move towards the provision of social security benefits as a time limited form of support premised on the expectation that people will participate in the workforce in order to meet their own needs.

Added impetus for broadening the policy vision also comes from the contemporary global economic crisis. Governments globally are now seeking to identify and deliver the *right strategies* to address the crisis, Singapore and Australia included. It is likely that new welfare arrangements will emerge in the next few years. While it is not

possible to predict the shape and form that these will assume, it is reasonable to predict that new policy paradigms will emerge.

The other aspect of concern regarding the family relates to specific models of working with families and individuals. While it appears that traditional Western derived models of casework intervention continue to hold sway, there are opportunities to embrace models that are more consistent with Family Decision Making and Family Group Conferencing approaches that place the family as a group entity at the centre of decision making. While not without their pitfalls, these models are premised on conceptualising the family as *experts in their own lives*, well able to make decisions about the most appropriate way to respond to their problems.

Such approaches appear more consistent with a context where the family consists of a broader kinship system whereby the roles and responsibilities of family members are shaped by interdependence in relationships (Dwairy 2006). In essence, this entails moving away from Western based counselling models premised on individuality and self-actualisation towards styles of intervention that have different conceptual understanding of the ways in which individuals and families function (Lee 2004; Dwairy 2006).

The other significant area of concern related, broadly, to the maintenance of social cohesion, racial and ethnic harmony and the gap between rich and poor and the need to avoid the emergence of an underclass. The question of the so-called income gap has implications for policy subjects and the role of social work advocacy and the promotion of social justice.

It is important to recall that Singapore has been scarred by racially based tensions in the past (Narayan 2004; Oei 2005). As well, much of the Singapore discourse highlights the geopolitical position of being a small nation located between two significant Muslim neighbours in Malaysia and Indonesia. The Singapore Government has paid significant attention to the maintenance of racial harmony within its overarching authoritarian approach, while also promoting notions of a collective Singaporean identity.

The cross cultural scenario in Singapore differs from that of other countries insofar as there are efforts not only to manage newcomers, newcomers were identified as a threat by some research respondents, but also the degree of cohesion within the Singaporean population. Indeed, as one research respondent put it:

"...as a young nation we are still getting to know each other..." (KS3).

The suggestion is that Singapore, despite the rhetoric on inter-racial understanding and being a multi-racial and harmonious nation, may not have the degree of internal cohesion desired. Indeed, there have been other suggestions that the promotion of harmony may only be another form of control (Rajah 2008), and that there is minimal inter-racial association and dialogue (Tan, EB 2004). Accordingly, the thrust of cross cultural understanding appears different to that in the Australian context where there is greater emphasis on the need to facilitate immigrants adapting to the Australian context although also to promote inter-racial and inter-ethnic understanding.

6.2.2.3 The expectations of social work practitioners

The broad expectations, as identified by the research respondents, of social work and social workers appeared that they address the needs arising from social problems. In doing so, it would appear that social workers should work from a position of constructing social problems as individual in their genesis and, therefore, as individual in their solution with emphasis being placed on the social control function of social work practice. This position would seem consistent with a policy position of seeking to avoid welfare dependence and subordinating social needs of individuals to wider economic development for the good of overall society.

There was considerably less call for social workers to engage in structural analysis; social work involvement in the development of policy was not viewed by most respondents as having importance; and specific contextual factors were identified as discouraging critical and reflective practice approaches. In addition, there were some indications that social workers need to be primarily concerned with the agenda of government rather than with a specific professional agenda. These views would seem

unsurprising given the high level of control exercised by the Singapore Government as outlined in Chapter 2.

Thus the stated emphasis in the curriculum would be concerned with the ways social workers can be assisted to practice in a context that values conservatism and the maintenance of the *status quo* over the promotion of social justice. The picture, however, was not one of pessimism in this regard. Some research respondents outlined particular strategies that can be utilised by social workers to achieve social change, these suggestions and views being endorsed by other anecdotal evidence available to the researcher.

The challenge for social work education in this area becomes one not necessarily of brash critique and challenge to the ways in which social work has been defined, but rather to develop models and concepts that will equip graduates to achieve the goals of the social work profession in a particular local context. The quest to achieve this aim will not be easy but it does suggest the need for research and the development of some indigenous Singaporean models for advocacy and the pursuit of social justice.

6.2.3 The views of our students

In order to understand the student perspective, this group of research respondents was invited to comment on a range of aspects of the BSW Singapore as they had experienced it. This responded to the components of the research question concerned with the ability of graduates from the BSW Singapore to apply their skills to the fieldwork practice and to direct service delivery upon entry into professional practice. These are clearly intertwined issues and therefore will be addressed together.

In considering the views of the students, the researcher was mindful of the need to approach their responses with some caution. One the one hand it has been noted elsewhere that the students do struggle with the notion of criticism, and, given the researcher was known to them as the programme co-ordinator, there remains a risk that they would only state what they believed the researcher wished to hear. This position has to be balanced against the fact that the students had indeed completed their studies at the time of participation in the research and, arguably, would be more

able to state their position. The students also had the benefit of two years of study in which they had been actively encouraged to develop their critical and reflective skills and had also had many direct dealings with the researcher and, therefore, had the opportunity to develop an appreciation of her desire for information that reflected their feelings. On balance, it would appear likely that there is a substantial degree of honesty and openness that could be attached to their responses.

Overall, it appeared that our graduates felt appropriately equipped to enter practice and to apply their skills and knowledge to both the field practicum and professional practice. They did, however, also acknowledge that they remained at the beginning stage of professional practice at the time of entering the field and were appropriately cautious as to the extent of their knowledge as well as their need to gain further professional experience before becoming fully autonomous professionals.

This was an encouraging finding that points to the BSW Singapore offering adequate preparation without making the students and/or graduates either under-confident or over-confident. In addition, the fact that our graduates have been able to secure employment as social workers tends to confirm the view that they are adequately prepared for practice in their local context.

While the students indicated that they felt confident upon entering the field practicum, they also expressed particular anxieties surrounding the first field practicum. As stated previously, such anxieties are not unique to students in the BSW Singapore and are common across all student cohorts (Bogo *et al.* 2002; Lee, TY 2002; Bogo *et al.* 2004; Furness & Gilligan 2004; Fortune, Lee & Cavazos 2005). What appears necessary is additional development of the processes and activities currently undertaken to prepare students for the first field practicum. Such processes and activities ought to direct attention towards enhancing the student's sense of mastery and competence to undertake the field practicum. In essence, this should assume the contours of a strengths-based perspective designed to encourage students to identify the positive attributes and feelings for practice they already possess, along with strategies to further develop these.

To a significant degree, such processes go to the heart of developing a sound and useful learning agreement to guide the field practicum. This position is equally applicable to the Australian context where some students do struggle around this notion. It would appear that the Singapore students may need additional assistance to conceptualise the learning agreement as a documented process that not only emphasises areas of learning need but also recognisees the strengths and competencies they already possess.

6.2.4 The views of our leading practitioners and supervisors

The leading practitioners who agreed to participate in this research had experience of our students and graduates through both direct classroom teaching and in their roles as supervisors of students undertaking the field practicum. This group of research respondents was invited to comment on their experiences of students in the BSW Singapore with particular reference to the capacity of the students to perform as practitioners and also their views about the appropriateness of the curriculum in order to respond to the components of the research question concerned with the ability of students in the BSW Singapore to apply their skills to the field practica and upon entry into practice.

This group of research respondents tended to highlight some of the realities of the historical and contemporary policy context in Singapore as they tended to highlight some of the challenges around social workers becoming involved in policy development. They also cautioned about involvement in advocacy and the dominance by government in defining and responding to social problems. These themes tended to highlight the differing political contexts between Australia and Singapore and the challenges of teaching outside of the Australian context.

The general views expressed by these research respondents were that the students were appropriately prepared for both the field practicum and for their entry into professional practice. However, they noted some differences in the skill levels of students according to whether they possessed prior experience in the social services sector. This has important implications, firstly, as to whether the possession of prior experience ought to be a pre-requisite for entry into the study programme and,

secondly, whether additional steps are required to assist students to make the transition to social work studies and practice.

With regard to pre-requisite prior experience the application criteria require students to outline their experience in both a voluntary and professional capacity and this is given weight in the assessment of the application. However, no application has been refused solely on the basis of an absence of prior experience; indeed there are dilemmas in expecting potential students to have experience when their aim is actually to enter social work through formal study. As well, it seems significant that the presence, or absence, of prior experience did not seem to affect preparedness to undertake either the second practicum or to enter practice.

Thus, it would seem that the more appropriate approach would be to take additional steps to prepare students for the first field practicum. This position is consistent with the needs identified by the student research respondents who suggested that the first field practicum is particularly daunting. This research finding raises a need for further dialogue and planning between the Department of Social Work at Monash and the offshore partner with a view to developing a research plan able to review and explore this area. Further, the finding has implications for the broader context of any future international programmes that the Department of Social Work at Monash may pursue. The other area identified as needing attention was the preparedness of our students to meet the degree of rigour required of the study programme. These views were consistent with the researcher's experiences of assisting the students to make the transition to the expectations of the University. The preparedness of students seemed influenced by prior educational experiences, their preferred learning styles and their expectations concerning the preferred mode of teaching. That the Department of Social Work at Monash premises its teaching and learning approaches on adult learning models (Schon 1987; Department of Social Work 2006a) presented a challenge for students not accustomed to such an approach. Our experience suggests that our students demonstrate a capacity to adapt to this teaching and learning approach, and to achieve at least the same academic standards as our Australian students. This tends to confirm that the issue is not so much the abilities of the students but the ways in which they have previously been taught and that Asian students tend to have a higher level of teacher dependence in the early stages of the study programme (Smith 1999; Smith & Smith 1999; Watson & West 2003; Chan & Chan 2005; Samarawickrema 2005).

It would also appear that there is a need for Australian academic staff teaching in the programme to gain a greater appreciation of some of the underlying issues in teaching international students. There are important differences between Western and non-Western or Confucian learning systems (Egege & Kutieleh 2004). In the Asian, or Confucian context, there is generally reliance on teacher-centred approaches of guided didactic learning (Samarawickrema 2005), whereby the primary objective of education is to gain in terms of moral fortitude and insight rather than to gain knowledge (Smith 1999).

Accordingly, international students need a period that allows adjustment to the University. Many will have experienced a style of education where the primary outcome is to ensure that they can reproduce what they have learned (Sayers & Franklin 2008). The reality of the education they receive from an Australian programme is that they are required to engage in critical and reflective approaches from which they develop individual analyses of the material before them (Sayers & Franklin 2008). Students entering the programme through the bridging units are provided with some assistance regarding the preferred approach to studies, but it is clear that there needs to be a review and re-development of the strategies adopted to date.

The leading practitioners appeared to welcome an additional social work education programme in the Singaporean context. This was not totally clear and emerged as a sensitive issue since some of the insights presented were more positive towards the Monash programme than to NUS social work programme. The introduction of the Monash programme has offered an alternative educational approach.

That there are many educational institutions offering social work education in Australia has led to the Department of Social Work at Monash being accustomed to working collaboratively with other institutions through bodies such as the Australian Council of Heads of Schools of Social Work and, in Victoria, the Combined Schools

of Social Work⁶² group. That formal dialogue has not been developed between the Schools of Social Work in Singapore can only be seen as a shortfall in the schools in Singapore. It is noted that there is a Board of Studies attached to the programme and operating as a Standing Committee of the Department of Social Work Monash University Board of Studies. This Board is chaired by a senior member of the social services sector and has representation from all relevant parties such as tutors, students and leading social service agencies.

In this regard then, there is an important message for how the Department of Social Work, Monash University, works in the international context. That is, whether the intent is to assume the guise of *competitor or collaborator*. Clearly, a mantra of collaboration would have more appeal given that it is consistent with the principles of social work practice that demand the establishment of mutually respectful relationships and has the potential to help avoid notions of educational imperialism while also being consistent with the Singapore culture.

6.3 Broader implications of the research findings

As outlined in Chapter 1, throughout the research process it has been anticipated that there would be implications of the research that extended beyond the direct research question. The intent of addressing these implications is to consider ways in which the findings of the research can be operationalised. These will each be addressed in turn.

6.3.1 The role of Australian social work and its applicability to an offshore context

Through its development of the BSW Singapore, the Department of Social Work at Monash has positioned itself as a national leader in the field of social work education,

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⁶² There are currently five Schools of Social Work in Victoria. On a regular basis, the academic staff concerned with the delivery of field practicum meet. The intent is to collaboratively work on the identification of placements able to meet the needs of each school and to also address issues concerning the field practicum. This group collaboratively organises at an annual workshop on field supervision for field practicum supervisors. There is no commensurate body in Singapore nor is there a Heads of Schools of Social Work forum in Singapore. To date, the Department of Social Work at Monash has held some informal and productive meetings with UniSIM; however, approaches to NUS have yet to yield substantial dialogue. This would seem consistent with our experience in other relationships in Singapore; trust is gained slowly, perhaps taking years.

especially in the realm of offshore delivery. The research respondents did not directly offer significant or specific details as to how existing frameworks for social work practice may need to be adapted for other contexts nor ways in which the curriculum may need to be developed other than suggestions that there should be the inclusion of more Singapore-based cases studies.

Despite this position, based on analysis of the research respondents commentary, evidence arising from the literature review, direct observation by the researcher over a period of years as well as substantial anecdotal information, it does appear that there is a need to further develop the curriculum in order that it becomes increasingly applicable to non-Australian contexts. As well, the nature of social problems identified by the research respondents were in some instances different from those afforded priority in the Australian context. There were also issues identified about achieving critical and reflective practice approaches and strategies for undertaking advocacy. There was also evidence of a particular policy paradigm that is both similar and different to the Australian experience. Certainly it differs insofar as stakeholders other than the Executive Arm of Government generally have a diminished role in policy formulation and Singaporean Members of Parliament play significant roles in community organisations especially through Community Development Centres (CDCs). This suggests that the models of practice and advocacy applicable to the Australian context do not have universal appeal and need to be developed in a fashion that is culturally appropriate.

The challenge then is to adopt a transformative approach to internationalisation (Clifford & Joseph 2005), that challenges Australian social work academics to think beyond their frequently Anglo-centric experience⁶³ of social work practice, social problems and social work education. As well, Singapore operates in a substantially different social and political context with substantially different policy objectives and trajectories. As one research respondent explained (LP1), it should not be the responsibility of students to develop the Singapore specific frameworks and insights.

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⁶³ It is acknowledged that Australian academics derive from a number of ethnic and national backgrounds and may, therefore, have experienced different practice contexts. It is also acknowledged that within the broad term of 'Western' that there are differences in practice between the major nations such as the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia. However, within the Australian context views other than so-called Western views remain a minority.

The implication is that the curriculum ought to lend itself to the students being offered a framework that they can apply to their own context.

In making moves towards a model of social work education applicable to international contexts there will be need for social work academics to better inform themselves about models of social work practice and social issues in a wide range of countries. This challenge will, of course, have implications for workloads for social work academics as well as for the content of the curriculum and models of curriculum delivery. As well, there will be challenges for professional associations, particularly the AASW given that this research is Australian in its origin, to become open to accepting the standards and practice models of diverse settings while also maintaining minimum standards of professional practice and identity to ensure that appropriate levels of professional practice remain in force.

6.3.2 The ways in which fieldwork programmes may need to be redeveloped with particular reference to the standards required by the Australian Association of Social Workers and the local context

As detailed in Chapters 3 and 5, there was less input from students and field teachers than would have been desirable and this has limited capacity to comment on this area. As well, at the commencement of the fieldwork programme in 2004 the AASW standards for the provision of field supervision demanded that the supervisor be in possession of a four year social work education qualification (Australian Association of Social Workers 2000), this being amended later to accepting a three year qualification in the instance of offshore programmes conditional on the qualification being recognised by the relevant originating country professional association (Australian Association of Social Workers 2008).

This shift in pre-requisites for the supervision of field placements was a welcome one as many Singaporean supervisors lacked the necessary four year qualification despite holding supervisory positions in the Singaporean social services sector as well as having substantial practice experience usually well in excess of the level possessed by Australian supervisors.

There is need for the AASW to undertake further work in the area of international programmes. The Code of Ethics, standards and guidelines continue to reflect the Australian context and the content of the curriculum it requires remains focussed on Western paradigms. The reality is that there are increasing movements of social work students, with widely diverse ethnic, social and cultural backgrounds, both into and out of Australia.

At the same time, there are particular global challenges such as global warming, the rise of terrorism, mass movements of people, increases in displacement due to a range of ethnic and racial conflicts and issues of people trafficking including trafficking of children. In the context of these global social problems, it is doubtful that models of social work intervention that evolved from charitable concerns in the nineteenth century and based on Judeo/Christian ideals will continue to suffice. In order to realise the goals of social justice, social work education will need to develop new models of addressing structural issues and global social disadvantage. These will be issues for the professional association to grapple with in terms of the overall social work curriculum but also the context of the field practicum.

A particular and specific issue that has emerged is about the requirement that students do not undertake more than one work based placement although there is some shift in this position in the most recent AASW guidelines (Australian Association of Social Workers 2008). It is a reality for Australian social work students that most students no longer have the luxury of studying without supporting themselves through employment. The experience in Singapore has been that this is an even more difficult challenge for students to balance studies and employment. Most of the students come from positions that are relatively low paid and they almost without exception have families unable to afford substantial financial support. Most of the students have struggled to obtain support from their employers to undertake the field placement and have had to make the difficult choice to forego employment, and therefore income, for the duration of the placement.

This scenario raises the question of whether students should be paid while undertaking placement, no doubt a complex issue that raises among other issues, who would meet the payment of the placement; the employer or the University or the

Government, for example. It also raises a question about the extent to which it is desirable and/or practical for students to routinely undertake two work based placements and how this could be arranged to ensure that they are exposed to different fields and models of practice.

As foreshadowed in Chapter 5, there is also need for review and analysis of the strategies deployed to prepare students for field practicum. This emerged as a significant issue in respect of the first field practicum and it also appears that there is need to place greater emphasis on the emotional aspects of practicum preparation rather than continuing to emphasise the procedures and requirements of the practicum. What is needed are strategies concerned to draw out how the students are feeling in advance of the first field practicum in order to identify their anxieties and help them to address and normalise these.

6.3.3 The ways in which the curriculum may need to be re-developed to meet dual responsibilities towards international and domestic students

In late 2008, the Department of Social Work at Monash University commenced a process of curriculum re-development in the context of moving towards the development of a Master of Social Work (Qualifying) degree⁶⁴. This move has potential to represent an opportunity to consider the ways in which the curriculum could be re-developed so as to offer a more global perspective to all students undertaking their studies. To some extent this has already been discussed, earlier in this chapter, in terms of the applicability of Australian models of social work to the offshore context.

Specifically the curriculum needs to be developed to enable advocacy and the promotion of social justice to be taught in a way that allows the realisation of these

practitioners is beyond the scope of this research to explore.

⁶⁴ The reasons underpinning the decision to offer social work education at this level, as opposed to the undergraduate level are varied and complex. One factor has been the move of other Universities to offer social work education at this level and the need of Monash University to, therefore, remain competitive. Other reasons are that many applicants to the Monash BSW have already completed undergraduate degrees in relevant disciplines. A comprehensive discussion of the move towards social work education being offered at the Masters level to people seeking to become social work

professional values in a wide range of contexts including where there are higher levels of social control than is the reality in Australia. This needs to be developed to address contexts where the promotion of social justice and the pursuit of advocacy on behalf of the marginalised may be seen less as legitimate professional activity and more as civil disobedience and dissidence, for which the wrath of the state may be felt.

Concern about potential consequences for so-called activism is by no means limited to, or unique in, the Singapore context and there is no intent to imply this. There are many repressive regimes across the globe; nor is social activism an easy pathway to pursue in the Australian context where sanctions may be applied, or threatened, to agencies in receipt of government funds. Specifically the context has become less concerned with the relationships formed with clients and more concerned with the achievement of organisational goals (Dominelli & Hoogvelt 1996; Brown 2003; Baines 2006).

The issue is that models for advocacy, and therefore achieving change, cannot be premised solely on notions of confrontation. There needs to be models able to simultaneously promote the social justice agenda while not alienating authorities, as was suggested by one research respondent (KS1). It might be added that the view of that stakeholder was based on their direct experience of what actually worked in the Singapore context; the next step would be to research this experience in greater depth with a view to achieving the development of an indigenised advocacy model.

6.3.4 The contributions to the development of Australian internationalisation strategies in higher education

Internationalisation of curricula is a complex and challenging area which appears characterised more by rhetoric than actual activity. The observation that Australian international education remains essentially monocultural (Marginson 2002b) would seem at odds with efforts to incorporate internationalisation into the vision statements of Monash University (Monash University 2001 & 2005). As well, there are concerns that the internationalisation project fails to promote research (Marginson 2002b) and that the growth of international education has been limited only to a few programmes (Bradley *et al.* 2008).

Internationalisation involves transformations of people themselves (Joseph, Marginson & Yang 2005), meaning that academic staff as well as students need to undergo transformation in their worldviews in a bid to shift away from their own worldviews. Theoretically, internationalisation of education is the process of integrating international, intercultural and global dimensions into the purpose, functions and delivery of higher education (Clifford & Joseph 2005).

6.4 Some challenges from the research

From the outset of this research it has been intended that there would be specific outcomes sought that related to the delivery of international education. However, it became apparent that there were outcomes that were not originally conceptualised but which were of importance. In part they arose from the unanticipated findings of the research as detailed in Chapter 5, but they also derive from the literature review and the *lived experience* of the BSW Singapore.

As identified in Chapter 2 it would seem that, while the rhetoric about internationalisation of curriculum is strong, there lacks a clear conceptualisation of the desired nature, purpose and scope of the process (Schoorman 2000). This would certainly be the experience of the BSW Singapore and raises a number of important implications for the University. At this point it is important to indicate that there are also implications for the higher education sector in general with particular reference to the way in which higher education is funded by the Australian Government. To explore this issue in any depth is, however, beyond the scope of this research and its intended aims to review a specific educational programme within a single University.

6.4.1 Challenge 1: Clarity of underpinning philosophy

There is need for clear policy statements, developed at the organisational level of the University, regarding the philosophical framework required to guide the internationalisation project. This is particularly important in terms of views of the University outlined in Chapter 2 which conceptualise the University in terms of learning rather than revenue generation. These frameworks need to be transparent

and openly articulated. If the primary aim is to be revenue generation, for example, then it would appear reasonable to expect that this is clearly articulated in all mission statements and policies promulgated by the University and honestly communicated to primary stakeholders such as University staff, students and the wider local and international community. In simple terms, *the customer* needs to know what they are buying.

As well, the University needs to remain mindful of demand, including trends that indicate a softening of demand (Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee 2003; Australian Education International 2006f) as well as the reality that enrolments of international students tend to be limited to some disciplines and are not evenly spread across all disciplines (Bradley *et al.* 2008). This is not to suggest that there ought to be withdrawal from the international context, rather there needs to be reconceptualisation of students away from a paradigm that defines them in terms of revenue generation. There are many other advantages to be derived from international offerings and international students, the advantages arising for staff, all students, and the nature of educational programmes and longer term research opportunities as well as community service activities in a wide range of countries.

In the quest to become internationalised Australian Universities need to carefully consider the dominant discourses under which they offer education. The key challenge is to recognise the extent to which international students bring with them knowledge and experience, albeit from a range of diverse paradigms. That involves adopting a stance that acknowledges the reciprocal benefit introduced by international students that they can teach as well as learn and rests on a principle of reciprocity (Koehne 2006). This framework offers the best hope to truly develop internationalised curricula and educational offerings.

6.4.2 Challenge 2: The promotion of research

The BSW Singapore has emerged as a *work in progress*, as understanding of the context and the state of research already in existence in Singapore has only been revealed over time. As detailed in Chapter 5, an unanticipated outcome of the research

was both the identification of the lack of locally based social work research and difficulties in accessing research opportunities.

Thus there are challenges for the delivery of an offshore educational programme specifically, and for the delivery of a globally relevant or international curriculum in general. There is a need for research, and therefore for evidence, to underpin the approach to both social problems and to develop locally and culturally appropriate intervention strategies. Where the locally based evidence is absent there will be difficulties in curriculum design as well as raising the question of how this deficiency should be addressed and by whom.

This in turn presents a need for conscious choices about the strategy adopted in the move towards teaching students from non-Australian contexts. In the instance of the BSW Singapore there was a choice to deliver undergraduate social work education on the basis that the clear request from the Singapore Government was for an Australian social work degree. This means that the defining characteristic of the curriculum was that it remained primarily Australian in content and there were difficulties in adapting it to a more Singapore-centric perspective, the difficulties among other reasons being due to the limited Singapore based social work research. A message for Australian education is that there is need for greater clarity about the implications of delivery of education across different cultural contexts.

There are implications for the ways in which international partnerships are negotiated in the first instance, and the University should not assume that international partners share the commitment to research in general nor to critical scholarship about pressing social issues. There is a need to appreciate the political and historical contexts of international partner countries and agencies around the question of research and other matters.

6.4.3 Challenge 3: Internationalisation of curriculum

It is not enough to state that there ought to be an internationalised curriculum. The University needs to adopt an operational position that details the intended nature of an internationalised curriculum. This is much more than *adding in* a few non-local case

studies to existing units. It is a process in which both students and staff need considerable preparation, education, support and time to become familiar with.

A primary issue suggested here is that internationalisation of the curriculum is not dependent on international students enrolling in a study programme nor those same students grappling with an Australian orientated curriculum. That approach would be indicative of educational and professional imperialism that assumes internationalisation is a one dimensional process.

The more significant challenge is for Australian social work academics to actively embrace paradigms of difference, whereby they need to become accultured to other traditions and other worldviews. A significant consideration in such a challenge is the degree of willingness on the part of Australian social work academics to not only inform themselves of other frameworks but to also blend new information with existing understandings and then to develop appropriate teaching and learning strategies.

To no small extent, these processes have implications for University employers. The processes outlined here do not happen overnight. They take time, diligent research and reflection to allow understanding to unfold over time. This means that there are workload implications as day-to-day teaching and associated activities cannot be put on hold while these challenges are addressed. Whether the institutional structures and hierarchies are prepared to fully embrace the process of actively seeking internationalisation is beyond the scope of this discussion to consider although the researcher's experience to date suggests that there are unanswered questions on this matter.

6.4.4 Challenge 4: Future development of international programmes

Whether the University maintains a commitment to offshore programmes into the future is also beyond the scope of this research to determine although it is likely that the commitment will continue in some form or another. What is pertinent is that this experience has shed light on the challenges of offering education for a professional discipline in an international context and many of these challenges would exist if, for

example, there was a decision to offer the programme at a Monash campus at a non-Australian location. Professional degrees that are accredited are faced with the challenge of meeting accreditation standards from not only Australia but from the recipient country, and the standards may be at different stages in development as well as possibly requiring different standards of education and different educational outcomes. Specifically, in our case, the AASW and the SASW have different standards for social work education, both of which must be met.

Clearly, reliance on a curriculum that is essentially monocultural in nature should no longer be an option. As well, there needs to be greater consideration of the nature of strategies adopted to pursue the internationalisation agenda. A possible strategy would be to recruit international postgraduate research students able to benefit from the research supervision experience and expertise of Monash academics while simultaneously directing the research projects towards local social issues and the identification of locally based and culturally appropriate models of response.

A focus on postgraduate studies would entail recruiting students who are more prepared for tertiary level studies as well as possessing sufficient professional experience and capacity to engage in the level of study and thinking required at this level. This approach to the delivery of international social work education would also have the advantage of not only developing indigenised practice models, but would also be consistent with social work professional values concerning self-determination, strengths based practice and client driven outcomes.

This is not to say that undergraduate social work education should be abandoned. There remains justification for engagement at this level if only as a pathway to postgraduate research. What is suggested is that there is a compelling need to develop comprehensive and strategic vision around international offerings. Further, that vision needs to concern itself not only with the education of social workers but with the wider social and political contexts in which social problems arise and the ways in which they can be addressed in wide ranging contexts.

6.4.5 Challenge 5: Conceptualising international students

The literature and research contains limited information about the student perspective on international education. The literature does suggest that students are largely conceptualised in terms of revenue generation given the conceptual shift of international education towards the construction of an export industry (Marginson 2002b; Bradley et al. 2008). As well, international students may be seen in negative terms on the basis of the perceived inadequacy of their English language skills and the ways in which they are forced upon academics that have no options but to teach them. The academics are concerned whether the students will like and accept their teachers (Devos 2003). The students also tend to be conceptualised as rote learners in need of particular forms of support and cultural resources (Koehne 2006), whereas research has demonstrated that Asian students are not passive learners and are deeply engaged in seeking understanding but need assistance to develop learning techniques applicable to the Australian teaching approach (Smith & Smith 1999; Samarawickrema 2005). At the same time, some of the so-called learning difficulties confronting international students have their origins in their wider contexts where they face family responsibilities and constraints well beyond those experienced by Australian students (Samarawickrema 2005).

This latter issue of the context confronting students is reflected in the experiences of the BSW Singapore. The students need a process of adjustment to the style and expectations of Australian teaching and have been found to face many family responsibilities including an expectation that they contribute to family household expenses, and that they are directly involved in family rituals concerning religion, chronic illness and death (Brydon & Liddell 2009b).

The demands on the students are not necessarily well-understood by academic staff if they are less familiar with the context and norms of the Asian family and the Asian collectivist society. At times there are challenges in ensuring that the policies and procedures of the University are rigorously adhered to in order to maintain academic standards, while at the same time allowing a degree of flexibility that responds to the constraints not experienced to the same degree by domestic students.

There are no easy answers to these challenges. They are challenges seen from the perspective of the individual student. The challenges are compounded by a cultural reluctance to share pressing problems which is not easily catered for by the macro perspective from which the University conceptualises international students.

6.5 Limitations of the research

To a significant extent this research has been ground-breaking as the research pertaining to social work education in an international context, specifically in the offshore context, is relatively sparse. The research, however, was not without its limitations as already detailed in Chapters 1 and 3.

The research drew on a sample size that was smaller than desirable and considered only a specific aspect of the overall social work education programme. As well, the research considered only the views of Singaporean stakeholders and did not seek the views of Australian stakeholders. The research design was developed on the basis of a number of pragmatic and achievable variables rather than considering a wider range of options that could have informed the research. Nevertheless, the research findings did give rise to rich data and point to areas that need further research.

6.6 Future research activities

This research concerned a two countries (Australia and Singapore) but only a single offshore location. A strong finding pointed to the lack of a well developed and robust tradition of social work research in Singapore. There is need for research into a wide range of social issues. The establishment of such a research agenda is obviously up to the Singapore Government and its Universities and agencies; it is not the province of Monash University to direct the research agenda for another sovereign nation although clearly there would be a capacity to contribute to the process of thinking about the nature of the research agenda.

Nevertheless, there is an important issue here. The Department of Social Work, Monash University, ought to be concerned with research in Singapore. The opportunities for this could relate primarily to increasing a focus on the development of postgraduate research programmes. The intent of such activities would be twofold. Firstly, to enhance the development of the research base in the offshore context, thus contributing to the social justice mission of social work. Secondly, to assist in the indigenisation of social work practice, for it would be presumptuous on the part of the Department of Social Work at Monash University to assume hegemony in understanding *what works* in contexts other than Australia. Ultimately, such activities would also have much to contribute to the critical scholarship needed to help further professional understanding of the nature of international social work.

In the light of the internationalisation mission of Monash University, there is also a need to undertake preliminary research prior to embarking on any future internationalisation projects. Specifically, there is a need to research with care, and in detail, the contexts within which the internationalisation project will occur. This moves well beyond negotiations at Government or organisational level to a position that the development of international programmes needs to be founded on understating of the political, cultural and religious contexts of the host country, along with detailed understanding of the nature of their contemporary social problems. Knowledge would also be required about indigenous models of practice already in place and the development of approaches that emphasise collaboration and partnership without the presumption that the Department of Social Work, Monash University, is in possession of the *expert knowledge*. This is, of course, consistent with practice models of social work casework that presume partnership with clients who are experts in their own lives and assumes that we will have a role in researching the context not only as academics but as researchers with social work backgrounds.

To achieve such an approach offers rich research opportunities but also demands consideration of funding, staffing and the provision of other resources. The experience of the researcher is that locating materials concerning Singapore was a laborious process and the building of relationships on the ground was slow although rewarding.

Finally, there is urgent need for more research regarding not only internationalisation of curriculum but also into the student perspective, models of teaching, models of curriculum development and models of staffing such projects. With regard to this latter point, it is neither reasonable, nor desirable, to undertake development and expansion of programmes within a resource neutral context. Thus there is rich opportunity for the Department of Social Work, Monash University, to think about the strategies that could be used to initiate and develop research agendas in a range of contexts.

Conclusion

That Monash University has embraced the internationalisation project represents opportunities for its reputation and its competitiveness. Internationalisation opens up potential fields of research, cross-cultural analyses and cross national collaborations as well as opportunities for academic staff to review and broaden their perspectives. This is not to say, however, that the internationalisation project to date has achieved such aims or fully realized the opportunities. There is much work to be done if the internationalisation project is to enable the transformation of people (Joseph, Marginson & Yang 2005), particularly with regard to social work education.

What has become evident from this research is the degree of complexity entailed in the internationalisation project and the need to transparently articulate the rationale and philosophy underpinning the internationalisation project. To a significant extent this means that the University needs to consider the ways in which it conceptualises itself; that is whether its primary mission, in pursing the internationalisation project, is about *wealth creation* (Bradley *et al.* 2008) or whether it is about a quest to expand knowledge (Newman 1927; Marginson 2004b; De Bary 2007). Although the analysis in this research has been concerned with a case study of Singapore, this does not mean that the findings are not applicable to the broader internationalisation project.

What is also evident is that a form of social work and social work education that is dominated by the discourse that has its origins in Judeo/Christian traditions is no longer desirable or sustainable. That international social work has developed across distinct phases as outlined in Chapter 2 appears agreed. The phase that it now faces is to move towards increased recognition of discourses that have their origins in the non-

Western world. The challenge for social work is to recognise that Western social work models are also indigenous models, not universal models, and that the task ahead is the integration of a wider range of worldviews and different discourses. The opportunities are that social work might achieve an international conceptualisation that has been previously missing from the debates surrounding international social work. In turn, social work education, and by definition social work academics, will need to make similar shifts, however difficult the task may be.

Specifically, academia needs to embrace a pathway that works towards the development of a curriculum that is less mono-cultural in its orientation and less Australian in its emphasis. This requires the development of a pathway that openly and explicitly acknowledges the diverse contexts in which social workers are expected to deliver their services. This position not only reflects the particular needs of our students in the BSW Singapore. It reflects the realities that Australian Universities, and their social work education programmes, have students enrolled from many countries and many backgrounds. It further reflects the reality that many Australian social work graduates will elect to work in non-Australian contexts and are, therefore, equally in need of social work education that is delivered within a local-national-global paradigm.

The final comment must be the researcher's own reflection given that involvement in the BSW Singapore has represented a significant journey as outlined in the opening remarks of Chapter 1. The process of day-to-day involvement in international programmes has not been without its challenges. The researcher's background was practice orientated, lacking experience in social work education. Between assuming the role of managing the pioneering international programme, and making the initial trip to Singapore, was a gap of less than two weeks. Since that time in mid 2004 there has been much learning. The dominant reflection is one of a *work in progress* in which the stakeholders in Singapore have been unfailingly helpful. Many practitioners across the social service sector in Singapore have openly engaged in dialogue around practice issues; the SASW has been particularly willing to engage in dialogue as have many other players; and a strong sense of collaboration and mutual problem solving has emerged with the offshore partner. These experiences led to the formation of the researcher's views outlined in Chapter 1 that Australian social work education must

adopt a more international focus that enables different ways of knowing, and understanding, the world to be legitimised and validated.

The researcher's primary reflection, however, is about the students themselves for they have taught the researcher a great deal. It is the international students, in Singapore but also on-campus in Australia, who are positioned to make the most significant contribution to the internationalisation project. The University needs to be open to hearing the voice of its students in international programmes.

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APPENDICES

Pathways to the BSW (Singapore) Agreed June 2004 between Monash, SSTI, AASW & SASW

	EXISTING QUALIFICATION	ADDITIONAL QUALIFICATION TO BE	DEGREE ELIGIBILITY
		UNDERTAKEN	
1	Two years of a University		
	Social Science degree		
2	A completed University	No additional studies required	
	Social Science degree		
3	Two years of a University		
	degree in an area not		
	related to the social		
	sciences		
4	A completed University		
	degree in an areas not		
	related to the social		
	sciences	2x1 semester units in (a) an area related	ENTERN TO
5	Nanyang Polytechnic 3	to study of the individual and (b) an	ENTRY TO
	year diploma in	area related to the study of society	BSW AT
	Community Services		THIRD YEAR
	Management		LEVEL
6	Local Polytechnic 3 year		
	diploma in an area related		
	to the social sciences (i.e.		
	nursing, occupational		
	therapy, early childhood		
	development		
7	Local Polytechnic 3 year		
	diploma in an area		
	unrelated to the social		
	sciences (i.e. journalism,		
	business management)	4x1 semester units in (a) two units	
8	SSTI Specialist Diploma in	related to study of the individual and	
	Human Services	(b) two areas related to the study of	
	Management	society	
	AND		
	SSTI Diploma in		
	Disability Studies		

The interplay of global and domestic forces

SOURCE:

Gough, I (2001), Globalization and regional welfare regimes: the East Asian case, *Global Social Policy*, 1(2), p 166.

Source	Pressure	Consequences for Advanced Countries (examples)
External: globalisation	Trade competition	Deindustrialisation; loss of skilled jobs
	Capital mobility and integrated production	Tax competition; 'social dumping'; reducing bargaining power of states and labour
	Internationalised financial markets	Decline of states' macro economic policy autonomy
Internal: post industrialisation	Slow growing service sector productivity Ageing	The <i>trilemma</i> of employment, equity and budget stability
	Transformation of	Growing pension and health expenditure
	households	Smaller household sizes, more single parent households, more women working
	Maturing of social entitlements	Automatic growth of social expenditure

APPENDIX 3

Overview of ideal-typical welfare regimes SOURCE:

Aspalter, C (2006a), East Asian welfare regime, in NT Tan & S Vasoo (eds.), Challenge of social care in Asia, Singapore: Thomson. Pp 35 – 36.

	Social Democratic	Corporatist (Christian Democratic)	Liberal	Conservative (East Asian)
The underlying logic of welfare provision: social welfare is understood as representing	 Social rights based on citizenship (including social insurance, social services, and public employment) 	A right to social insurance, plus charity welfare provision	A limited right to charity welfare provision and social insurance provision	A right to public investment in social development, plus a moderate right to social security and/or public charity welfare provision
Leading instruments in social welfare policy	 Universal social security systems 	 Occupational social security systems 	 Means-tested welfare benefits 	 Occupational social security systems
	Public social servicesPublic employment	 Preferential treatment of special interest groups 	 Private savings and insurance 	 Preferential treatment of special interests groups
	 Social transfers 	 Corporatism in social serve provision (NGOs, Church) Social transfers 		 Employment-based welfare and social security programmes (including mandatory savings
Social welfare policies emphasise primarily	o The individual	The family	The individual	o The family
	o The state	o The state	o The market	o The market
Countries that belong to this ideal-typical regime type are for example:	 Sweden, Norway (partly also Finland and Denmark) 	 Germany, Austria, France, Italy 	 US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand (partly also the UK) 	 Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong

Selected articles from the Straits Times, 7 September 2006

Multi-Print Viewer

http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxv.lib.monash.edu.au/iw-search...



Any nation blocking globalisation will be sidelined

Straits Times, The (Singapore) - Thursday, September 7, 2006

Author: GOH CHIN LIAN

THE way Minister Mentor Lee Kuan Yew sees it, the march of globalisation is unavoidable.

And even if a country should block it, it will find itself sidelined after a while, he predicted.

As it is, every economy, in varying degrees, is exposed to globalisation and feeling its many unforeseen consequences.

The Americans, for example, are already unhappy. Outsourcing is hitting not just their white-collar jobs, but also high-level professional positions such as radiographers, accountants and software programmers.

Mr Lee was responding to a question on how he saw globalisation unfolding, during a dialogue with unionists to mark the NTUC's 45th anniversary.

He replied by referring to a comment by former World Bank economic adviser Joseph Stiglitz that whether a country benefits or loses from globalisation depends on how it positions itself.

The Nobel prize-winning economist also noted, he said, that one could not assume the developed countries would continue to support globalisation. They might grow reluctant as more of their top end, the white-collar professionals, lose their jobs.

Hence, the mood in the United States may change, and its leaders may not want any more free trade agreements so other economies will not grow so fast. In this way, they hope to protect their jobs.

Mr Lee said that while the US could afford to do that because of its size, Singapore could not take such a path. 'We will stagnate. We will perish.'

But he believes the US will still have to open up. 'My own gut instinct tells me in the end, it's unavoidable. If you don't do it in America, you don't outsource, then the British will, the Japanese will. You can block it for a while, but it then becomes too high-cost. Your economy is not productive.'

Singapore's approach has been to manage the effects of globalisation. There will be casualties along the way. It is the job of the Government to try and manage and redress the balance as best as we can... never make it equal, but we must try to alleviate the dislocation.'

Index Terms: Singapore

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Foreign talent: See whole picture, says MM - Country better off with wider pool; Govt will look after those facing difficulties

Straits Times, The (Singapore) - Thursday, September 7, 2006

Author: Peh Shing Huei

MINISTER Mentor Lee Kuan Yew yesterday urged Singaporeans to look at the total picture before they despair over the influx of foreigners.

They should recognise that the country will be better off with a larger pool of talent, he said, even as he acknowledged that some at the low end will suffer because of the more intense competition.

'These are problems which will arise at the micro level. At the macro level, the whole country is doing better,' he said yesterday, pledging that the Government will look after those who faced difficulties.

He painted a stark and gloomy picture - to 1,300 unionists, tripartite partners and students at the National Trades Union Congress (NTUC) 45th Anniversary Lecture - of what would happen if Singapore ignored opportunities and kept itself closed to competition.

'If we have no growth, you will have a Singapore which is going to go down, looks dowdy and scruffy, people will leave,' he warned.

'Not just foreign workers won't be here. Your own people will go outside. The people with education and the ability will go outside and create life.'

He was replying to a question from Mr Max Lim, general secretary of the Singapore Bank Employees' Union, who asked if Singaporeans' children eventually needed to go overseas to make a living if foreign talents took over all the jobs.

Mr Lee began his reply by noting that the well-educated actually had a choice to make a better living overseas, but not the less well-educated who would find it difficult to compete overseas.

'So it is our responsibility to make sure that they can make a decent life in Singapore.'

And the Government had done so, he said, citing figures which showed that locals took up most of the new jobs created over the years. And when there were retrenchments, foreign workers formed the majority, creating a buffer against unemployment for locals.

Last year, for example, 63,500 of the 113,300 jobs went to locals. In the first half of this year, they took 44,100 of the 81,500 positions that opened up.

Singaporeans can decide on the path to take by looking at the examples of other countries, said MM Lee.

In Europe, countries like France and Germany took a protectionist approach and are less welcoming of foreign workers, erecting barriers to prevent an easy flow of talent.

But in Britain and Ireland, foreign workers are welcomed, leading to a boom in their economies. Some 400,000 Poles have gone to Britain alone, with most heading to the capital London.

'So because French unions and German unions take this protectionist attitude, the total job expansion has gone elsewhere,' said Mr Lee.

Citing deputy labour chief Lim Swee Say's assessment of the situation, he noted that foreign talents

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can be divided into three pools even as they all contribute to Singapore's larger good.

In the first category are the foreign talents who help create new enterprises; grow existing enterprises into regional and global players like Neptune Orient Lines; and build up new economic sectors in the biomedical and new digital media areas. These people help create jobs and sustain economic growth.

The second group are the foreign professionals and skilled workers who help get foreign investments.

For example, the wafer fabrication plant needs hundreds of engineers, technicians and production specialists to work around the clock and there are not enough Singaporeans who are able and willing to take on these jobs.

The foreigners actually help Singapore attract these wafer fab plants here, creating jobs.

And in the last group are the foreign workers who take on jobs that Singaporeans are not keen to do, such as those in construction, marine and shipbuilding, grass-cutting and conservancy cleaning.

'We need them here,' he said, but added that the Government recognises that some of these jobs can be upgraded with better salaries to attract more locals and schemes like the Job Re-creation Programme have been started.

Only with foreign talent can Singapore progress.

He said: 'We must have security, high standards, good transportation, good health, good schools and opportunities. That's what we provide.'

shpeh@sph.com.sg

A HOLISTIC APPROACH

The Business Times quoted Infosys chairman (Narayana) Murthy a few weeks ago. He knows of no other country, no other government, as well run as Singapore. And he ought to know...That's a tribute to us. Because we approach our problems in a rational, total, holistic way. If we do this, the country will expand, will improve, will grow. Yes, there will be some displacement at the bottom, some friction, but we will sort them out. And that's what unions are for. That's what governments are for.'

MM LEE on welcoming foreigners to work here

Index Terms: Singapore

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A brief history of the development of education in Singapore

Source:

Kang, T (2005), *Creating educational dreams: the intersection of ethnicity, families and schools*, (Pp 171 - 188) Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic.

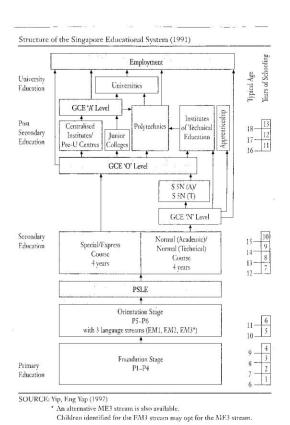
PERIOD/YEAR	EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS
1819	Foundation of modern Singapore with the establishment of a colony by
	Raffles. At this stage there were only about 150 indigenous inhabitants
	but by 1827 a multi-ethnic population was growing and the Chinese
	community dominated. From the early days the attitude of the Colonial
	Government was to minimise interference in 'native affairs' and to
	develop segregation among the ethnic groups according to occupational
	specialisation and residential location.
1819 – 1867	These years marked the foundation of formal education in Singapore;
	the initiative was not led by the Colonial Government but by the private
	efforts of Christian missionaries and local communities. Colonial
	authorities did offer some education to the Malays but the intent was
	more concerned with protecting the Malays, the indigenous people, from
	the corrupting influences of modernisation, placing the emphasis in
	education largely on rural arts and crafts such as gardening and
	weaving. Malays generally avoided secular education on religious
	grounds.
1874	A small grant-in-aid system was established but this support favoured
	English- medium schools over vernacular schools.
1884	Working class Chinese, who were the majority of the Chinese
	population, were not educated at English language schools. By this time
	there were 81 Chinese-language schools in Singapore, mainly funded by
	community leaders
1889	The Queens Scholarship was established and this favoured students
1001	receiving English-medium education.
1891	The Cambridge Examination was adopted in Singapore, again favouring
1000 1010	those students receiving English-medium education.
1900 – 1910	In the first decade of the century there were efforts made by the Chinese
	Government (of China) to integrate overseas Chinese (in this instance
	from Singapore) into the mainstream of Chinese education in China as
1010 1010	well as to emphasise Chinese cultural identity and Chinese nationalism.
1912 – 1919	At least 19 Chinese modern schools were opened in Singapore and
	Malaya. These schools raised their own finds and offered curricula
1020	similar to that offered in China.
1930s	The growth of Chinese schools continued. When Chinese secondary
	schools were introduced this made Chinese education increasingly
	attractive compared to English education for parents seeking higher
	education for their children. This development in the education system
	also served to highlight the ways in which the education system acted as
	socially divisive, separating the English-educated and the vernacular-
1042 1045	educated, widening the gaps between the various communities.
1942 – 1945	Singapore was under Japanese occupation and education was offered in Japanese only.
1945	1
1743	The British resumed power but there was recognition that the pre-war colonial system could not be recreated and there was a need to prepare
	for independence. One aspect of this was the need re-shape many

	aspects of Singapore, including the education system and there were moves towards the development of multiracial schools as agents of integration. This emphasis, along with the promotion of English as a common language, sparked fears that the intention of the British was to close down Chinese schools.
1950s – 1960s	During these decades literacy was relatively low in Singapore, as was access to education. The goals of education were primarily concerned with the provision of elementary education with a view to provide labour for the economy that focussed on labour-intensive and low value-added production.
1955	Singapore achieved limited self-government.
1956	The All-Party Report on Chinese Education adopted a principle of equality of treatment. Specifically, this included equality of treatment of four languages, namely Tamil, English, Mandarin and Malay.
	Nanyang University was established as a Chinese language medium university designed to cater for students from Chinese schools. The colonial administration did not support the extension of Chinese medium education being concerned about possible political activism in the schools and were also concerned that the promotion of Chinese language and culture would undermine the colony.
1959	The PAP Government came to power in an independent Singapore. Among many issues confronting the government, there was concern to heal the sharp ethnic and language rifts expressed through the education system.
	By late 1959, integrated schools utilising two or more language streams in a school were in operation.
1965	The Republic of Singapore was proclaimed as Singapore was ousted from the Malay Union. A key aim of the Government of Singapore was concerned with survival and building a nation. Among many actions taken there was a need to pledge support to Singapore and each day before lessons students, regardless of ethnicity, had to sing the national anthem and recite the national pledge.
1970s	Singapore had reached an improved stage of economic development and needed to alter its economic base away from labour-intensive and low value-added production. To achieve this aim there was a need to develop the educational system.
1979	The <i>Goh Education Report</i> introduced a number of changes but had a primary concern with educational wastage. Specifically, the concerns were related to the differing abilities of students which led to concerns such as low literacy rates, high drop out rates and a high rate of grade repetition.
1980	In response to the <i>Goh Report</i> the New Education Streaming Policy was introduced, a policy that affected all students from primary three and sought to ensure that only those students who had proved themselves to be educationally talented would be eligible for junior colleges and ultimately for universities.
1990s	There was an expansion of tertiary education with the establishment of two new Polytechnics and one new University.
1991	The <i>Improving Primary School Education Report</i> reviewed and modified some aspects of the streaming policy.

The current educational system in Singapore

Source:

Kang, T (2005) *Creating educational dreams: the intersection of ethnicity, families and schools,* (P 195) Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic.



A brief history of the development of education in Australia

Source:

Australian Education International (2006b) *Country profile: Australia*, Canberra: Australian Government. (Pp 3 – 10) <u>www.aei.gov.au</u>. Accessed 18 September 2006.

PERIOD/YEAR	DEVELOPMENTS	
1788	Founding of Australia as a British Colony. The first schools were set	
	by private individuals and Church organisations.	
1848	This marked the beginning of the establishment of a dual system of	
	education whereby Church schools were supported by government	
	funding and there was also the establishment of government-controlled	
	national schools.	
1850	The University of New South Wales was established as the first	
	Australian University.	
1853	The University of Melbourne was established.	
1872 - 1895	All Australian colonies passed laws related to education. These	
	established government primary schools controlled by a Department of	
	Education and at the same time funding was withdrawn from	
1001	denominational schools.	
1901	The Commonwealth of Australia came into being. School education	
1012	remained a state responsibility.	
1912	A University had been established in each state by this time.	
1939	Schooling was compulsory in each state between the ages of six and	
	fifteen years. The majority of students only received two or three years	
1050s and 1060s	of secondary education.	
1950s and 1960s	Secondary education began to expand rapidly and the post war period	
1964	also witnessed substantial expansion in higher education.	
1904	The Australian Government passed legislation authorising financial	
Current decade	 assistance to non-government schools. Across the states and Territories there are similar educational 	
Current decade	structures divided into primary, secondary and post secondary	
	education.	
	There is a national Vocational and Technical Education (VTE)	
	programme.	
	 The VTE and higher education sectors remain largely separate. 	
	 Private and/or non-government education exists in parallel with 	
	the government sector.	
	The language of instruction in Australian education remains	
	English-language and there are few bi-lingual schools. The	
	Australian Government does offer funds for projects to support	
	the learning of some languages.	
	All States and Territories offer distance or external education	
	programmes.	
	All States and Territories offer programmes for students with	
	special educational needs.	
	Quality assurance mechanisms operate at all levels of the	
	education sector.	
	Administration and financing of the education system is shared	
	between the Australian Government and the States and	

Territories.

 There is a trend towards an international focus and Australia is an active member of the international education and training community. Within this context there are many international students studying in Australia and these students undertake the same study programmes as Australian students.

Milestones for social work in Singapore

YEAR	MILESTONE ⁶⁵
1948	Social Work is introduced into Singapore with the appointment of an
	expatriate hospital almoner. The first Chief Almoner, Daisy Vaithilingam,
	was appointed in 1955.
1950s	The first fostering scheme is initiated by social worker Daisy Vaithilingam. It
	assigns abandoned children to hospital attendants and guardians, known
	affectionately as <i>ah ma's</i> , for care, with a small support payment, after attempts to find parents failed.
1952	The Singapore Children's Society is formed by a group of civic minded
1932	citizens and expatriates. It has since helped many children, young people and
	their families.
	The first professional social work qualification is offered by the University of
	Malaya (Singapore). With the two-year Diploma if social studies, social work
1052	comes into its own as a profession.
1953	The compilation of a register for the blind, deaf and mentally retarded people
	begins, followed shortly after with one for the blind and deaf, marking the start of a systematic approach to helping disabled people.
	start of a systematic approach to helping disabled people.
	The movement for a professional social; work profession begins when a group
	of almoners first considered the formation of a formal organisation. 66
1956	The Boarding Out Scheme is formed by the adoption sub-committee of the
	Singapore Children's Society to meet the needs of babies waiting to be
	adopted.
	The Singapore/Malaya Association of Almoners is formed followed by the
	Association of Social Workers. The two associations merged after
	independence in 1965.
1961	The Chin-Pu Centre, the first day care centre for children with mental
	retardation is opened.
1969	The Samaritans of Singapore (SOS) hotline is set up by Reverend Gunnar J.
	Teilman, head of the Counselling and Care Centre in Singapore. Troubled
	Singaporeans have since been turning to these friendly "Samaritans" for
1971	advice and a listening ear. The Association of Professional Social Workers (APSW) and the Singapore
19/1	Association of Medical Social Workers merge to become the Singapore
	Association of Nedical Social Workers herge to become the Singapore Association of Social Workers. SASW later becomes a member of the
	1 1550 clation of 50 clar 11 offices. 57 15 11 fater becomes a member of the

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⁶⁵ The impetus for developing this appendix came from the media coverage of *Social Work Day*, appearing in the *Straits Times* of 20 January 2007. As well it has been informed by input from Ms Catherine Briscoe, Mrs Ann Wee, Mrs Jean Marshall and Ms Daisy Vaithilingam, all social work practitioners involved in the development of social work in Singapore. A more detailed timeline is contained in Brydon & Liddell (2009a).

contained in Brydon & Liddell (2009a).

66 Extracted from the Singapore Association of Social Workers website www.sasw.org.sg. Accessed 20 September 2005. This was also the source of information regarding the formal established of the SASW in February 1971.

	International Association of Social Workers.
1972	Social Dimensions, a quarterly newsletter with social work related articles and news is launched. Other publications of the same genre are published,
	allowing Singaporeans greater access to the various social services.
1973	The Prison Welfare Scheme is introduced by the first President of the Singapore Association of Social Workers K.V. Veloo, providing help and support to the families of prisoners.
1974	The first Community Helpline for the elderly is started by social worker and politician S. Vasoo.
1976	The first Family Service Centre (FSC) – which offers help services in the Heartlands – is set up by the Ministry of Community Development in the MacPherson Estate. The FSC would later become an important component in the social work field of Singapore, as more centres, either independent or run by existing agencies, began opening around the island.
1978	The Home Tuition scheme is introduced, through which volunteers provide academic aid to children of poor families.
1983	The Community Chest of Singapore is initiated by Dr S. Vasoo. The financial arm of the National Council of Social Service, it is pivotal in the raising of funds required to finance social and community projects.
1984	Tinkle Friend, the national helpline for children in distress, begins operation.
1985	The Parent Education Programme, which teaches parents good parenting skills, is launched.
1988	The As Saalam PPIS Family Support Centre is set up to cater to a growing group of Malay single parents.
1992	The Family Resource Training Centre is established to improve the skills of social workers in Singapore. This marks a significant step in raising the level of proficiency of the local social service.
1994	The Help Every Lone Parent (HELP) hotline for single parents in introduced. Nearly 3,500 people call the hotline in the first year. The number has trebled 10 years on.
2001	The Primary School Leaving Examination hotline is introduced to help Primary six students and their parents manage and reduce stress.
2003	The SARS crisis brings out the best in local social work, as medical social workers provided mental and psychological care and guidance to those affected.
2004	SASW introduces registration of social workers. It adopts a voluntary registration system with the stated aims being to increase professionalism and to offer reassurance to employers that a registered social worker has met stringent requirements in terms of qualification, experience and continuing professional education. ⁶⁷ Commencement of Monash BSW in Singapore, the first students having undertaken bridging subjects in 2003 – 2004.
2007	In an effort to prevent truancy, the Singapore Children's Society comes up with a scheme to monitor children's attendance at school. UniSIM, Singapore's first private University, offers a Social Work degree.

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⁶⁷ In part this information has been extracted from the SASW website as previously detailed. It has also been informed by direct discussion and personal correspondence with social work practitioners in Singapore and discussions with members of the SASW.

Phases in International Social Work Exchange

Sources

Mayadas, N & Elliott, D (1997), Lessons from international social work: policies and practices, in M Reisch & E Gambril (eds.), Social work in the 21st century, (Pp 175 – 185) Thousand Oaks CA: Pine Forge Press.

Ferguson, K (2005), Beyond indigenization and reconceptualization: towards a global, multidirectional model of technology transfer, *International Social Work*, 48(5), 519 – 535.

Date	Predominant direction of exchange	Values	Model of services
Phase 1 Early pioneers 1880s – 1940s	Europe to America	Paternalism Ethnocentrism Protectionism	Charity Philanthropy Social control
Phase 2 Professional imperialism 1940s – 1970s	America to the rest of the world Centrifugal	Paternalism Ethnocentrism Colonialism	Social control Remedial Medical Crisis-orientated
Phase 3 Reconceptualisation and indigenisation 1970s – 1990s	Within regions Worldwide Centripetal	Regionalisation Polarisation Separation Localisation	Developmental in developing countries Remedial in western countries
Phase 4 International social development, 21st century	International networking	Globalisation Transculturalism Multiculturalism Democracy, diversity Social, cultural and ethnic exchange	Developmental in rural and urban areas worldwide

Letter of support from the SASW



30th April 2008

Ms Kerry Brydon Department of Social Work Monash University PO Box 197 Caulfield East 3145 Australia

Ref: Request for support and assistance in the facilitation of your PhD Programme

Dear Kerry

We refer to your letter dated 5th March 2008 and our subsequent meeting with the Chair of our Ethics Committee, Dr Elena Lui, our Executive Director, Mrs Lynette Balota and myself, on 16th April on the above matter.

I am pleased to report that the SASW Ex-Co has agreed to offer our support to your request as follow:

- We will send via email an invitation flyer to SASW members to take part in the interviews or focus group discussions. There will be no need for the Association to coordinate the responses.
- 2) You can also conduct the focus group sessions at SASW premises.
- The administrative details of costs and scheduling will be separately communicated with you by our Executive Director and her administrative team.

We share your belief that the outcomes of this research will have valuable messages for the social work profession and for social work in Singapore. We look forward to your sharing of your research findings with the Association after the data collection and analyzes stage.

We wish you every success in your undertakings and we wish to also express our appreciation for your input and contribution to the development of social work training in Singapore.



Blk 324, Clementi Avenue 5, #01-209, Singapore 120324 > Tel : 6775 4776 / 6778 7922 > Fax : 6778 0609 > Web : www.sasw.org.sg

Ethics approval MONASH University

Standing Committee on Ethics in Research Involving Humans (SCERH) Research Office

Human Ethics Certificate of Approval

Date: 24 July 2008

Project Number: CF08/1273 - 2008000616

Project Title: A changing face for social work: globalisation, internationalisation and the

Monash BSW in Singapore 2004-2006

Chief Investigator: Assoc Prof Max Liddell

Approved: From: 24 July 2008 to 24 July 2013

Terms of approval

- 1. The Chief investigator is responsible for ensuring that permission letters are obtained and a copy forwarded to SCERH before any data collection can occur at the specified organisation. Failure to provide permission letters to SCERH before data collection commences is in breach of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research and the Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research.
- Approval is only valid whilst you hold a position at Monash University.
- It is the responsibility of the Chief Investigator to ensure that all investigators are aware of the terms of approval and to ensure the project is conducted as approved by SCERH.
- You should notify SCERH immediately of any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events affecting the ethical acceptability of the project.
- The Explanatory Statement must be on Monash University letterhead and the Monash University complaints clause must contain your project number.
- Amendments to the approved project: Requires the submission of a Request for Amendment form to SCERH and must not begin without written approval from SCERH. Substantial variations may require a new application.
- Future correspondence: Please quote the project number and project title above in any further correspondence.
- Annual reports: Continued approval of this project is dependent on the submission of an Annual Report. This is determined by the date of your letter of approval.
- Final report: A Final Report should be provided at the conclusion of the project. SCERH should be notified if the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.
- 10. Monitoring: Projects may be subject to an audit or any other form of monitoring by SCERH at any time.
 11. Retention and storage of data: The Chief Investigator is responsible for the storage and retention of original data pertaining to a project for a minimum period of five years.

Professor Ben Canny Chair, SCERH

Cc: Kerry Brydon

Postal - Monash University, Vic 3800, Australia Building 3E, Room 111, Clayton Campus, Wellington Road, Clayton Telephone +61 3 9905 5490 Facsimile +61 3 9905 1420 Email seerh@adm.monash.edu.monash.edu/research/ethics/human/index/html ABN 12 377 614 012 CRICOS Provider #00008C

Information to participants



Kerry Brydon
Department of Social Work
Monash University
PO Box 197
Caulfield East 3145
Australia
61 3 9903.1043
Kerry.brydon@med.monash.edu.au

REF: PhD programme

DATE:

Dear Sir/Madam,

I write to introduce myself. I am a lecturer in the Department of Social Work at Monash University in Australia. I am currently undertaking a PhD study programme and my main academic supervisor is Associate Professor Max Liddell, Director of Australian Programmes, Department of Social Work, Monash University.

My research is titled:

A Changing Face for Social Work: Globalisation, Internationalisation and the Monash B.S.W. in Singapore 2004 - 2006.

The focus of this investigation is to gain insights into the key research questions of the study:

- 1. What do the major human service providers/stakeholders in Singapore consider to be:
 - c. The significant social issues confronting them; and
 - d. What they need from qualified social work professionals in terms of skills and knowledge for practice.
- 2. What are the experiences of our social work students in terms of our ability to deliver what they need to enter professional practice?
- 3. What are the experiences of our students and graduates in terms of:
 - a. Their ability to apply their theoretical skills and knowledge to fieldwork placements; and
 - b. To apply their theoretical skills and knowledge to professional practice after graduation.
- 4. What are the experiences of our field supervisors in terms of:
 - a. The ability of our students to apply their skills and knowledge to placement; and
 - b. The ability of our students to apply their skills and knowledge to professional practice after graduation.

The research falls into two parts. Firstly there will be a thorough literature review and collation of statistics from the public domain that highlight key trends in education provision in both Singapore and Australia as well as internationally.

Secondly, there will be discussions with three key stakeholder groups from Singapore. The first of these groups will be individuals who hold key positions in organizations directly concerned with social welfare issues.

The second stakeholder group will be the leading practitioners who are field supervisors and/or tutors for the BSW Singapore programme. This group will be invited to participate in focus groups convened for field supervisors from the BSW Singapore programme as well as for tutors. Tutors who supervised a student on placement will be offered an individual interview on the basis of their detailed knowledge of the programme from the perspective of both the curriculum as well as offering field placements.

The third group will be students who studied the BSW programme in the period 2004 - 2006 (inclusive) and completed their studies by 31 December 2007. Former students will be invited to participate in focus groups according to the year of entry into their studies – this is 2004, 2005 and 2006. Students may elect to also participate in an individual interview if they believe they have information they would like to present in this fashion. In such instances there should be direct negotiation with the researcher to arrange a mutually agreeable time, date and location.

This letter is therefore an invitation for you to participate in the data collection component of the research.

The notion of cross-national higher education as well as the nature of international social work is important areas for consideration in contemporary society. Your participation in this research process is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from participation at any time. This includes during the actual interview or focus group.

The researcher is well aware of issues surrounding confidentiality. The research is solely concerned with the identification of themes and characteristics that may emerge from the discussions. All material will be securely maintained and in any written work resulting from the research coding will be used to ensure the anonymity of participants.

Participants agreeing to participate will be asked to sign a letter of informed consent signifying their agreement to be involved in the research. For those involved in both a focus group and an individual interview, there will be a request to sign a letter of consent for each activity. This is a requirement of the University and the Ethics Committee.

Participants should be aware that if, having decided to participate in the research, they decide at a later stage they do not wish to have their data included their decision will be respected. This will apply where the data has not already been processed and will apply to individual interviews only. With regard to individual interviews, information obtained from interview will be returned to the participant and not used as part of the research data. However, with regard to focus group participation it will not be possible to withdraw the data as it will be part of a wider group discussion making it impractical to extract your individual views.

Individual interviews will take about one hour to complete while focus groups may take up to three hours to complete. Unless requested otherwise, all interviews and focus groups will be audio taped and later transcribed. The purpose of audio taping is to ensure that the information is recorded accurately and will assist with later collation of the material. The tapes will be numbered and will not record the specific identity of the participant. All tapes will be kept securely in a locked filing cabinet in the researcher's office. The researcher, and

her research assistant, will be the only people able to access these tapes although there may be some consultation with the academic supervisor.

Transcripts of both interviews and focus group discussions will be developed on the basis of notes taken at the time of the discussion and from the audio tapes. All raw data (tapes, notes and transcripts) will be maintained for seven years following the completion of the research and then destroyed.

All individual interviews will be arranged at a mutually convenient office location, time and date in Singapore. Focus groups will be held at the offices of the Singapore Association of Social Workers, Blk 324 Clementi Ave 5#01-209 Singapore 120324, in the evenings during August/September 2008. Upon your consideration of this material and, if you make a decision to participate, you are invited to contact the researcher by email, at the address outlined in this letter, to confirm your participation. You will then be provided with specific details of times and dates for the focus groups. All individual interviews will be arranged at mutually convenient times, dates and locations in Singapore.

Participants are also welcome to access the final findings should they wish to do so and may request this directly from the researcher.

Should there be any queries about this proposed research and your participation please do not hesitate to e-mail me on kerry.brydon@med.monash.edu.au. Otherwise I will look forward to receiving your response and to being involved in discussion with you.

Yours sincerely,

KERRY BRYDON

Attachments:

- 1. Informed consent form(s).
- 2. Interview and focus group schedule.

Any queries or complaints about your participation in this research may be directed to the Secretary, Monash University Research Ethics Committee, PO Box 3A, Monash University, Australia 3800 or via email scerh@adm.monash.edu.au. You should cite Ref No:CF08/1273

Interview and focus group guides



INTERVIEW GUIDE: SENIOR DECISION MAKERS

- 1. What, in your view, are the significant social issues confronting Singapore right now and into the foreseeable future?
 - a. What do you see as the preferred way to respond to these issues?
 - b. What do you see as the challenges and tensions for Singapore in meeting these needs?
 - c. What do you see as the role for communities, families and individuals in responding to these?
- 2. What do you believe you need from qualified social work professionals in terms of skills and knowledge for practice?
 - a. What interpersonal skills ought they to possess.
 - b. What policy development skills ought they to posses?
 - c. What community development skills ought they to possess.
 - d. What advocacy skills and/or promotion of social justice skills ought they to posses?
- 3. There is extensive literature about the implications of globalization for each nation. This literature also suggests a widening gap between the 'haves and have nots'. What do you see as some of the implications of globalisation for Singapore in terms of:
 - a. The nature of future social problems.
 - b. The implications for what will be required of social workers.
- 4. Singapore has elected not to have a western style welfare state although the provision of basic services in terms of housing, education and medical care is impressive. Some local (Singaporean) commentators have begun to question whether there is a need to move towards the provision of some elements of the welfare state, notably the provision of social security rather than reliance on CPF. Do you have any views or comments as to the viability and/or likelihood of this?
- 5. Are there any other issues or comments you would like to address?



FOCUS GROUP & INTERVIEW GUIDE: LEADING PRACTITIONERS

- 1. How would you rate the general preparedness of the Monash BSW students to:
 - a. Undertake placement.
 - b. Undertake professional practice upon graduation.
- 2. What are your experiences of the Monash BSW students in terms of:
 - a. Their ability to apply theoretical skills and knowledge on first placement.
 - b. Their ability to apply theoretical skills and knowledge on second placement.
 - c. Their ability to apply theoretical skills and knowledge on entering the field as a new graduate.
- 3. Based on your knowledge of the Monash BSW curriculum what factors do you believe:
 - a. Enhanced the ability of students to successfully undertake placement.
 - b. Diminished the ability of students to successfully undertake placement.
- 4. Based on your knowledge of the Monash BSW curriculum, how well do you believe:
 - a. It meets the needs of the local (Singapore) context.
 - b. It meets the need of internationalized education.
 - c. It meets the needs of social work practice in a global world.
- 5. What has been your experience of the ability of the students and new graduates to:
 - a. Promote the social work ethic of social justice.
 - b. Engage in critical review and development of local (Singapore) policy.
 - c. Engage in ethical practice in accordance with the Code of Ethics of the SASW and/or the AASW.
- 6. Any other issues or comments you would like to raise.



FOCUS GROUP GUIDE: STUDENTS

- 1. What were your feelings about embarking on study of social work at the higher education level?
 - a. What were the feelings of excitement?
 - b. What were the feelings of apprehension?
- 2. Based on your experience of the BSW how well do you believe the curriculum:
 - a. Met the need for practice in the local (Singapore) context.
 - b. Met the need for social work practice in a global world.
- 3. How well do you believe the Monash BSW equipped you to enter professional social work practice?
 - a. What subjects/aspects of the study programme were useful for equipping your for practice.
 - b. What subjects/aspects of the study programme were not useful for equipping your for practice.
- 4. What were your experiences in terms of:
 - a. Your ability to apply theoretical skills and knowledge on first placement;
 - b. Your ability to apply theoretical skills and knowledge on second placement;
 - c. Your ability to apply theoretical skills and knowledge on entering the field as a new graduate.
- 5. How confident did you feel about beginning professional practice at the point of graduation?
 - a. What factors from your BSW study programme enhanced your feelings of confidence.
 - b. What factors from your BSW study programme diminished your feelings of confidence.
- 6. How well do you believe you were able to apply your professional knowledge and skills to professional practice after graduation?
 - a. During the first year of practice.
 - b. After the first year of practice (if appropriate).
- 7. Any other issues or comments that you would like to raise.

Please note: Any student wishing to contribute additional comments via a 1:1 interview should make arrangements directly with me at the conclusion of this session to schedule this. The reasons for wishing to have an individual interview may include your feeling unable to get your point across in the focus group, or perhaps you would feel more comfortable in contributing your views in a more individualised setting. Regardless of the reason for the request I am most happy to sort out a mutually convenient arrangement.

Informed consent - interviews



RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS: Individual Interviews

Please note: This form is a requirement of Monash University Ethics Committee.

DEPARTMENT: Social Work

FACULTY: Medicine, Nursing and Health Sciences

This is the prescribed consent form for persons participating in research projects involving interviews, questionnaires or disclosure of personal information.

Project Title:

A Changing Face for Social Work: Globalisation, Internationalisation and the Monash B.S.W. in Singapore 2004 - 2006.

NAME OF RESEARCHER: Kerry Brydon

Ph 61 3 9903.1043

Kerry.brydon@med.monash.edu.au

PRIMARY ACADEMIC SUPERVISOR: Associate Professor Max Liddell

Department of Social Work,

Monash University Caulfield Campus Ph 61 3 9903.1131

Max.liddell@med.monash.edu.au

- 1. I consent to participate in the above project, the particulars of which, including the details of interviews and focus groups, have been explained to me and are appended;
- 2. I authorise the researcher to interview me;
- 3. I acknowledge that:
 - a. I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and to withdraw any unprocessed data previously supplied from individual interview;
 - b. The project is for the purpose of research only;
 - c. I have read and retained a copy of the Plain Language Statement, and agree to the general purpose, methods and demands of the study;
 - d. The project may not be of direct benefit to me;
 - e. My involvement will be negotiated and will involve participation in an individual interview and/or participation in a focus group. The individual interview will take approximately one hour and the individual focus group

- may take up to three hours. Upon completion of my participation I may request a transcript of the interview to ensure accuracy of my views;
- My anonymity is assured and any direct quotes used in the thesis will be presented in de-identified form. The results will be published in de-identified form and no identifying information about individuals will be included;
- g. The data will be kept secure at all times and will be kept for a period of five years. After the five year period the data will be destroyed;
- The researcher, the research assistant and the academic supervisor will be the only persons able to have access to my details and the information supplied;
- Research data collated during the study will be collected into a Monash

University PhD thesis and made available to Monash University. Copies of this study may also be made available to the Singapore Association of Social Workers and the Social Service Training Institute in Singapore. Any data, which may identify me, will not be contained in this thesis; j. I also consent for data collected from this research to be used in de-identified form in future research projects. YES \(\sqrt{NO} \sqrt{NO} \sqrt{\sqrt{NO}} \)
NAME OF PARTICIPANT:
SIGNATURE:
DATE:
The researcher has explained the she wishes to audio tape the interview for the purpose of ensuring accuracy in recording of the information and to assist in the analysis and write up of findings. I understand that my details will not be identified on the tape in any way and will remain confidential to the researcher, the research assistant and the academic supervisor.
I do/do not consent to the discussion being recorded on audio tape.

SIGNATURE:

DATE:

Informed consent – focus groups



RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS: Focus Groups

Please note: This form is a requirement of Monash University Ethics Committee.

DEPARTMENT: Social Work

FACULTY: Medicine, Nursing and Health Sciences

This is the prescribed consent form for persons participating in research projects involving interviews, questionnaires or disclosure of personal information.

Project Title:

A Changing Face for Social Work: Globalisation, Internationalisation and the Monash B.S.W. in Singapore 2004 – 2006.

NAME OF RESEARCHER: Kerry Brydon

Ph 61 3 9903.1043

Kerry.brydon@med.monash.edu.au

PRIMARY ACADEMIC SUPERVISOR: Associate Professor Max Liddell

Department of Social Work,

Monash University Caulfield Campus Ph 61 3 9903.1131

Max.liddell@med.monash.edu.au

- 1. I consent to participate in the above project, the particulars of which, including the details of interviews and focus groups, have been explained to me and are appended;
- 2. I authorise the researcher include me in a focus group;
- 3. I acknowledge that:
 - a. I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time;
 - b. The project is for the purpose of research only;
 - c. I have read and retained a copy of the Plain Language Statement, and agree to the general purpose, methods and demands of the study;
 - d. The project may not be of direct benefit to me;
 - e. My involvement will be negotiated and will involve participation in a focus group. The individual focus group may take up to three hours. Upon completion of my participation I may request a transcript of the focus group to ensure accuracy of my views;
 - f. My anonymity is assured and any direct quotes used in the thesis will be presented in de-identified form. The results will be published in de-identified form and no identifying information about individuals will be included;

- The data will be kept secure at all times and will be kept for a period of seven years. After the seven year period the data will be destroyed;
- The researcher, the research assistant and the academic supervisor will be the only persons able to have access to my details and the information supplied;
- Research data collated during the study will be collected into a Monash University PhD thesis and made available to Monash University. Copies of S

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J.					to be used iii	de-identified
	form in future	research pro	iects YES	NO		

tl ir tl j. I	ins study may also be made available to Monash University. Copies of also study may also be made available to the Social Service Training Institute a Singapore. Any data, which may identify me, will not be contained in this nesis; also consent for data collected from this research to be used in de-identified orm in future research projects. YES \Boxed NO \Boxed
NAME OF PART	TICIPANT:
SIGNATURE:	
DATE:	
ensuring accuracy findings. I unders	is explained the she wishes to audio tape the focus group for the purpose of in recording of the information and to assist in the analysis and write up of tand that my details will not be identified on the tape in any way and will all to the researcher, the research assistant and the academic supervisor.
I do/do not conser	nt to the discussion being recorded on audio tape.
SIGNATURE:	
DATE:	

The educational position of the Malays of Singapore

Source:

Rahim, L (1998), *The Singapore dilemma: the political and educational marginality of the Malay community*, (Pp 184 – 210) New York: University Press.

The Singapore Government has a long standing concern regarding the level of achievement by Malays in the educational system. This issue has been contentious and there have been various efforts made to explain the situation. The following Table seeks to highlight some of the factors under consideration and to place them in some context, accepting that appreciation of a range of historical, class, ethnic and institutional factors is necessary in order to grasp the complexity of Malay educational achievements (Rahim 1998, p. 184).

IDENTIFIED ISSUE	CONTRIBUTING FACTORS
Biological determinist explanations	These explanations were introduced during the nineteenth century and sought to attribute <i>innate deficiencies</i> among certain classes, ethnic groups and individuals. In the post World War II era these theories came under increasing challenge on the basis that theorists drew links between educational performance and social context and began to question the credibility of IQ tests. Despite this cultural deficit approach not being supported by evidence, the cultural deficit position has continued to be, at least in part, relied upon in Singapore. This reliance on cultural deficits has had the effect of moving the locus of the problem to the Malay community and diminishing government responsibility for addressing the structural issues associated
Colonial educational policies	with the problem. As outlined in Appendix 5, the Colonial Administration made minimal provision for Malay education. When education was made available for the Malays the emphasis was placed on seeking to preserve the traditional cultural lifestyle of the Malays and, therefore, the standard of education provided was low. It has been argued that the adoption of a <i>one size fits all</i> approach, and the lower standard of education offered to the largely rural Malay population, both failed to equip them to reside in what became an urban-based community and did not provide the resources necessary to effectively participate in a competitive society that came to characterise Singapore.
Parental responsibility	It has been held by the PAP Government that poor parental supervision and the large size of Malay families contribute to the poor performance of Malay students. This aspect is then often linked to a view that large families <i>cause</i> poverty although empirical evidence indicates that larger families are often the consequence of poverty and poor education.
Political expedience	Despite a view concerning cultural deficits as contributing the Malay educational outcomes, in the period 1959 – 1965

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	the PAP Government found it expedient to pursue certain policies relevant to Malay educational achievement. While promises were made to increase funding and to promote the Malay language, these commitments were not matched by the necessary infrastructure and institutional supports necessary for the achievement of a high standard of teaching. Malay schools experienced a severe shortage of appropriately qualified teachers and there were no tertiary-level Malay institutions available for students to further their studies.
	In the period after 1965 there was a decline in the level of government support for Malay education and more stringent criteria for students to be recognised as Malay and, therefore, eligible for free education.
Educational under-	In 1970 a Ministry of Education study identified that Malay
achievement	school children were under-nourished and suffered from vitamin deficiency both of which contributed to poor concentration in the classroom, and, ultimately to poor educational outcomes. As well, a range of other social
	problems were identified as afflicting the Malay community including a higher proportion of one-parent families, higher drug addiction and divorce rates within the community and, a general lack of financial assistance available from both public and private welfare agencies. In many single parent Malay families the mother was the breadwinner, working long and irregular hours which reduced the time available to
	their children. Seen in a historical context of neglect of Malay education, this also meant that children were from homes lacking in both cultural (English proficiency) and economic resources and also faced limited academic assistance and intellectual stimulation from their parents.
Student responses	By being sensitive to the internal cultural dynamics of class, ethnicity and gender, it is theoretically possible to advocate that socially disadvantaged groups demonstrate resistance within the educational system. This, when combined with a context that stigmatises them as culturally inferior and academically lacking, may lead some students to construct schoolwork as tedious as they have clear messages that their future lies in menial employment. Constructed in this fashion, young people often become alienated and disillusioned with the educational system and may respond by <i>acting out</i> their labels as a self-fulfilling prophecy. Malay students demonstrated a higher drop out rate from school, often seeking paid employment (in part to save on school expenses) or to become caregivers for younger siblings.
Perceptions of bias	There is evidence from other studies that suggests some teachers are likely to operate from a position of negative ethnic stereotyping. Under such conditions, teachers are likely to construct ethnic minority students as disruptive and underrate their academic ability. When teachers do pay

	attention to students from such ethnic minorities, it is often in the form of discipline and/or punishment ⁶⁸ . While there have been few studies of this issue in Singapore, the available studies indicate that some Malay students believe themselves to be treated differently on the basis of their ethnicity. Whether such views are real or perceived does little to alter the impact on the student's sense of self-esteem and self-worth.
The position since the 1980s	The Malays tended to fare poorly with the introduction of the Schools Streaming Policy, becoming over-represented in the non-academic streams and poorly represented in the fast track, or elite, streams. While there was an expansion in the availability of tertiary institutions during the 1980s, Malays were under-represented in the student cohort. During the 1990s, Malay students did make gains in terms of representation of successful achievement of the Primary School Leaving Examination for example, as a cohort they still lagged behind their Chinese and Indian counterparts.

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⁶⁸ It is important to state that Rahim (1998) was careful to move from a position of blame towards the teachers, citing a number of factors that impact on teachers including the generally stressful nature of the teaching profession, relatively poor working conditions, heavy workloads and poor promotion prosects largely associated with the feminization of the teaching profession (p. 206)

Selected newspaper cuttings from the *Straits Times*: 'Standard Operating Procedure'

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Statement soon on civil service pay

Straits Times, The (Singapore) - Saturday, November 22, 2008

THE Public Service Division (PSD) will make an announcement soon about year-end bonuses and salaries for civil servants, Finance Minister Tharman Shanmugaratnam said yesterday.

'The principles underpinning civil service pay as well as the pay of political leaders...are well known and you can just wait for the announcement before long on that,' he told reporters at a press conference held to announce measures to help businesses and workers.

A panel of ministers was asked if senior officers and leaders in the public sector would lead by example and take pay cuts in difficult times. 'We're not here to grandstand,' Mr Tharman said.

The response from labour chief Lim Swee Say, also a Minister in the Prime Minister's Office, suggested a wage cut might be in the offing: 'From the labour movement, I think we will not be surprised (if) the public sector sees a wage cut because with the GDP declining, that must factor into the flexible component of wages.'

A significant part of the annual pay for a senior civil servant or minister takes the form of a GDP Bonus, which is linked to growth in the gross domestic product. The bonus is paid in March each year, with the amount linked to GDP growth in the preceding year. Started in 2000, it was revised last year to form 20 per cent of the annual pay of top officials. It comes to three months if the economy grows by 5 per cent, and can go up to eight months if growth hits 10 per cent or more. It is not paid if growth is 2 per cent or less.

The civil service is also expected to make a related announcement on the third phase of previously disclosed salary adjustments for top civil servants and ministers. This concerns raising pay packages from the current 77 per cent of a salary benchmark to 88 per cent. The benchmark is set at two-thirds of the median pay of the top eight earners in each of six sectors.

Mr Lim said yesterday the labour movement has long advocated the adoption of a flexible wage system. Under the system, senior management would take more of its pay in the form of a variable component than lower-ranking staff would. Over the years, more organisations have heeded the call to switch over, he said.

'In the private sector, we expect to see many in senior management take a bigger cut in total wages than rank-and-file workers. In the public sector, likewise, I think flexibility has been enhanced over the years.'

LI XUEYING

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Training comes to the fore as business slows down

Straits Times, The (Singapore) - Saturday, November 22, 2008

AS SINGAPOREANS trim their holiday budgets and business slows, travel agency Chan Brothers has shifted into training mode.

Human resource (HR) manager Jessica Chang plans to send about 50 of its 200 employees for courses in tourism and travel services next year.

In doing so, it can draw on higher government funding from Dec 1, which firms say will help cover the cost of sending employees for training during a downturn.

The Singapore National Employers Federation has found that training is often a casualty when companies look at costcutting measures.

But the Government's funding initiative for training fixes that.

For each employee that Chan Brothers sends on a 140-hour certificate course in tour and travel services, for example, it will receive \$840 to \$952 from the Government, depending on the worker's age.

This accounts for 70 per cent to 80 per cent of an employee's pay, assuming he earns \$1,200 a month.

'It will help defray our manpower costs,' said Ms Chang, 46. 'The staff need not be forced to take leave and can upgrade their skills at the same time.'

The travel industry expects business to dip by 20 per cent next year. And Chan Brothers has taken the first cost-cutting step: recruitment has been frozen.

Precision engineering firm Interplex Singapore, another employer facing a slowdown in orders, will also tap on the availability of higher funding for training.

This means 90 per cent funding for courses for rank-and-file workers; and 80 per cent for courses for professionals, managers, executives and technicians.

Manager Leong Soon Peng, 45, expects to ramp up training in the coming months.

But she also hopes that higher funding can be applied not just to nationally certified courses at approved training institutions, but to in-house training as well.

Business has plunged by 30 per cent to 40 per cent since the start of the year and she expects it to drop further next year.

'We've activated more in-house training programmes. We can't wait for the Government,' she said.

All 50 employees attended a fortnightly course on environmental management earlier this year. They now meet weekly to learn about quality management.

Ms Annie Yap, chief executive officer of recruitment agency The GMP Group, said the funding programme will make it easier for companies to upgrade workers' skills and keep them on the payroll.

This will put companies and employees in a better position when the economy recovers, she said.

This was case for Chan Brothers following the 2003 Sars crisis, recalls Ms Chang.

Besides having employees go on shorter work weeks and take unpaid leave, the company also sent them for training.

Said Ms Chang: 'When business was recovering, we didn't need to retrain staff because they were still with us and we had no need for new staff. So we recovered faster.'

GOH CHIN LIAN

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\$600m for retraining workers - Employers to get subsidies of up to 90% of course fees Number of training places to be increased More money to cover pay of workers sent for training

Straits Times, The (Singapore) - Saturday, November 22, 2008

Author: Sue-Ann Chia, Senior Political Correspondent

TO STAVE off retrenchments and help workers stay employable in the current downturn, the Government will give employers more money to send their workers for training.

Employers will get higher subsidies, up to 90 per cent of course fees, for workers who attend programmes at any Continuing Education and Training (CET) centre.

They will also receive more money to cover the salaries of workers they send for training.

The two-tiered 'absentee payroll', a form of salary subsidy, goes up from the current \$4 and \$4.50 an hour to \$6 and \$6.80 an hour, depending on the age and educational qualifications of the worker.

The current pool of 64,500 jobless Singaporeans is also not forgotten. For the first time, the low-skilled will be paid \$4 for every hour that they are on course.

The higher-skilled can get up to \$1,000 a month while on training.

These measures come under a new two-year training scheme, called Skills Programme for Upgrading and Resilience or Spur, which starts on Dec 1.

The cost: \$600 million

Half the amount will go to ramping up the number of training places, which will double from 110,000 to 220,000 by next year.

The rest will be paid out to employers, workers, and jobless Singaporeans on course.

Announcing the details yesterday, Acting Manpower Minister Gan Kim Yong said: 'Not only can Spur help employers reduce manpower costs and save jobs, it will also help to upskill our labour force and strengthen our capabilities in preparation for the economic upturn.'

He did not want to commit to a number when asked how many jobs can be saved with Spur.

'The simple answer is, we try to save as many as we can,' he said.

'While we save jobs, we also want to upgrade them, give them skills that are relevant to the new growing industries, so that when the economy eventually recovers, these workers will be ready for the new jobs.'

Labour chief Lim Swee Say, who was part of the panel of four ministers announcing help schemes for businesses and workers, pointed out that if the measures could help just 1 per cent of the workforce of 1.8 million, that would mean 18,000.

'If our objective is to prevent a rapid rise in unemployment, for every 18,000 workers we're able to help - either save their job, or ...enable them to go back to work...we'll be able to reduce unemployment by 1 per cent,' he said.

Both Mr Gan and Mr Lim were tight-lipped about unemployment and retrenchment projections for next year.

'Right now any forecast...will be just pure speculation. Nobody can say with a sufficiently high level of confidence what's going to happen to the global economy,' said Mr Lim, who is also Minister in the Prime Minister's Office.

But he revealed that more unionised companies have approached the labour movement to discuss retrenchment and other options, such as shorter work weeks and pay cuts.

Analysts predict that unemployment could hit 4.5 per cent next year, up from the current 2.2 per cent.

That is higher than the 4 per cent experienced in 2003, when more than 90,000 people were without jobs.

Layoffs are likely to hover at 10,000 this year, but next year, analysts say, it could surpass the high of 30,000 in 1998. Then, as now, the Government had a host of measures, including expanding training schemes, to stem the tide of layoffs.

Yesterday, Mr Gan and Mr Lim called on employers not to cut jobs at the first sign of trouble.

'Companies should not think only of cutting cost in the short term but also how to retain the best workers whom they will find harder to recruit when the economy recovers,' said Mr Gan.

Employers yesterday welcomed the measures.

'This will help our SMEs (small and medium-sized enterprises) save costs and try not to cut jobs to tide over this difficult period,' said a spokesman for the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

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'Do we cut jobs to save costs, or cut costs to save jobs?' - Labour chief poses the critical question for a win-win outcome

Straits Times, The (Singapore) - Saturday, November 22, 2008

Author: Goh Chin Lian

WITH difficult times lying ahead, labour chief Lim Swee Say says the critical question that bosses, unions and the Government must ask is this:

'Do we focus our minds and efforts on cutting jobs to save costs, or cutting costs to save jobs?'

He is clear about what the answer must be - a uniquely Singapore solution:

In Singapore, instead of focusing on cutting jobs to save costs, we focus our energy, our efforts on cutting costs to save jobs.

'This is the way to ensure that we will be able to achieve not only the right outcome for businesses, but at the same time, a good outcome for workers.

'And this is a win-win outcome - one that will strengthen trust, not weaken trust; one that will strengthen tripartism, not weaken tripartism.'

Mr Lim, who is secretary-general of the National Trades Union Congress, and a Minister in the Prime Minister's Office, said declining global demand meant that companies and industries were or would be operating under capacity.

There would be downsizing and some companies might not even survive - which would result in retrenchments and an increase in unemployment.

'From the labour movement's point of view, we are realistic. We are realistic that we'll not see another year of low retrenchments in 2009. We'll not see another year of full employment in 2009... 'said Mr Lim.

'For us, the top priority must be one of guarding against massive retrenchments and preventing a rapid rise in unemployment.'

But he warned against taking the approach of cutting jobs to cut costs. That would translate into 'massive retrenchments ... (and) a massive rise in unemployment'. Such an approach might achieve the right outcome for businesses, but the wrong one for Singapore workers, he stressed.

'This would be a win-lose situation: a win for businesses, a lose for the workers. This win-lose situation would eventually turn into a lose-lose situation,' he said.

'Trust would be weakened and eventually cooperation would turn into confrontation. This is not what we want to see happening in Singapore.'

To Mr Lim, the uniquely Singapore approach of cutting costs to save jobs is a win-win solution.

He said the desire to forge a win-win outcome is also why the labour movement welcomed the broad shape of the upcoming Budget - which will focus on helping businesses lower their costs - as well as the new measures announced yesterday to help companies with financing and to fund training.

Mr Lim's call for companies and employees to rally together was echoed by Singapore National Employers Federation (SNEF) vice-president Bob Tan.

Mr Tan said he expects most companies to observe the guidelines issued on Wednesday by the Manpower Ministry, NTUC and SNEF regarding how to manage excess manpower.

The guidelines urge bosses to save jobs through steps such as reducing variable wages, sending staff for training or having shorter work-weeks - and to consider retrenchment only as a last resort.

'Many companies have realised that as far as possible, they'd like to retain their workforce, their talent,' said Mr Tan.

'It's an investment. You don't just throw those investments out of the window at the earliest opportunity.'

SNEF members have been asking about the guidelines, he added, which suggests they are looking at ways to cut costs first, rather than cutting jobs.

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Mr Lim noted that some companies are already taking steps in this direction.

Referring to e-mailed updates he received on Thursday from unionists in the electronics and chemical sectors, he said that one firm had introduced wage cuts of 5 per cent to 20 per cent - and that senior management was taking the deeper cuts. Although he did not name the company, The Straits Times understands it is Chartered Semiconductor.

Another company had redeployed its excess workers to other projects it is undertaking, and was also looking at tapping the larger training grants that have been announced.

Mr Lim also disclosed that two other companies had decided not to renew the work permits of their foreign workers when they expire.

Although the guidelines are not legally binding, Mr Lim, like Mr Tan, believes that employers will abide by them because it is the right thing to do.

Recalling the stance taken by his professor at a business ethics course he attended 18 years ago, Mr Lim, 54, said the class was told that as they rose up the ranks, they would discover that doing 'what is legal and what is good for business' is the easy thing to do.

'He said every good chief executive officer is able to do that. But he said the bigger challenge is to do things that are ethical and that are socially responsible.'

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