

The influence of psychology on social work: Scope for alternative perspectives on attachment and spirituality in developing societies

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Abstract

Social work in industrialised countries has traditionally looked to psychology for theory. As the professions have evolved this dependence has remained strong. However, both professions increasingly recognise that the application of psychological theory in social work can be problematic, especially in certain contexts. For the purpose of illustration this paper firstly explores the dominance of Attachment Theory in social work despite its questionable deterministic assertions. Second, the lack of regard psychology has typically shown towards matters of spirituality and the consequential influence on social work is discussed. The potential implications for social work in developing societies of adopting similar outlooks on attachment issues and spirituality are considered. A collaborative international social work training initiative (Nigerian-United Kingdom) serves to contextualise these considerations. The paper concludes that social work in developing societies should be judicious when drawing on psychological theory and ensure due attention is paid to indigenous knowledge.

Keywords: social work, psychology, indigenous spirituality, attachment globalisation

Introduction

A worldwide revolution in information and communications technology is facilitating the rapid transfer of ideas around the world. This has allowed international colleagues to unite in the task of building stronger societies through the development of educational programmes (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016). An example, of this is the social work training programme at the University of Ilorin, Nigeria. The catalyst for the programme was a collaborative partnership between the University of Ilorin and Swansea University, United Kingdom (UK) which was made possible by an Association of Commonwealth Universities grant and supported by the Nigerian Universities Commission (Ogunade & Rees, 2010). Reciprocal visits and the exchange of ideas led to critical reflection on the applicability, in Nigeria, of theory that informs social work training programmes in the West.

Social work as a profession is still in its infancy and in Nigeria and many previous attempts to establish social work training programmes in Africa have run into major difficulties (Ugiagbe, 2015; Mwsansa, 2010; Anucha, 2008). Mwansa (2010) has argued that attempts by colonial powers to import Western social work education into Africa have resulted in training that has lacked relevance for the indigenous population.

Arguably, the increased ease of knowledge transfer has heightened risk of the inappropriate application of context dependent knowledge. Rees (2010) has pointed out that developing countries would do well to learn from the mistakes of industrialised countries in the area of social policy. The increasingly common practise of removing children from families at an earlier age (Rees, 2010; Narey, 2011) which is encouraged by a particular view of attachment and a failure to attend to the spiritual beliefs of the population are practices that developing countries may wish to avoid. The influence of psychology is implicated in both of these practices.

Within industrialised nations the recognition of psychology as a profession is relatively recent. In the UK, for example, although the British Psychology Society was founded in 1901 it was as recently as 2009 that the profession came under 'State' regulation through the Health and Care Professions Council. Similarly, it was not until 2005 that the title 'social worker' became a protected title in the UK. In contrast to psychologists, social workers exercise statutory power, consolidating the greater emphasis of social work on practice. Despite different training, titles and power psychology and social work share a common focus and goal; to understand human behaviour and improve the human condition. The International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW), for example, describes social work as a practice-based profession that promotes the liberation and empowerment of people (IFSW, 2014).

As allied professions working towards the same goal a natural 'division of labour' has occurred. 'Social work' has focused on its 'executive' role (Beckett, 2006); making things happen in a practical sense. In contrast psychology has laboured more on academic inquiries into human behaviour and the mind. Social work has looked almost exclusively to psychology for a theoretical foundation on which to build evidence-informed practice. Contemporary texts on social work theory confirms this dependence with core chapters on psychodynamic theory, developmental theory (Piagetian theory, social learning theory, Vygotskian theory, Attachment Theory), cognitive behavioural theory, and systems theory (Payne, 2014; Nicolson & Bayne, 2014; Miska & Unwin, 2018). Even Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory which is so widely used in social work has its roots in psychology as Urie Bronfenbrenner was a psychologist. Popular social work methods such as solution focused brief therapy have been developed by psychologists and psychotherapists (de Shazer, 2005).

While there is nothing inherently wrong in social work drawing on an allied profession for its own theoretical foundation, it is imperative that the limitations of the theories are acknowledged and their use 'informed'. The importance of ensuring interdisciplinary influence does not increase risk has been highlighted following the death of a child in the UK (Haringey LSCB, 2009). Social workers responsible for monitoring the child had been trained in the use of Solution Focussed Brief Therapy (SFBT). A serious case review into the death of the child concluded that the use of SFBT "...is not compatible with the authoritative approach to parents in the protective phase of enquiries... if children are to be protected" (Haringey LSCB, 2009, p.19). The review recommended "Haringey CYPS should immediately review the use of Solution Focused Brief Therapy in their work with families" (p.27).

Critical reflection on the history, common goals and interdisciplinary interdependence of psychology and social work in the Western world is useful (Adams, 2009; Dekel & Taubman-Ben-Ari, 2015) especially when contemplating new initiatives in developing societies. Such reflection can highlight the proven benefits as well as the potential drawbacks. This article now explores two examples of how the injudicious acceptance of psychological theory by social work may lead to ineffective practice. First, consideration is given to the common and unquestioning acceptance of Attachment Theory. Second, discussion of the disregard for matters of Spirituality/Religion (S&R) is offered.

Attachment Theory is a prime example of a psychological theory that is in widespread use in social work in industrialised nations (Smith, Cameron & Reimer, 2018). 'Attachment Theory' has assumed an unrivalled authority within children's social work despite diverse perspectives within developmental psychology on attachment. Authors describe. Professionals have been criticised within judicial inquiries for not being conversant with Attachment Theory (RCT CS, 2005, p.7). Almost without exception, contemporary social work literature speaks of 'Attachment Theory' as key to understanding the complexities of children lives (Blakely & Dziadosz, 2015).

The writings of the father of 'Attachment Theory' (Bowlby, 1951) are still considered to be the bedrock of the theory. Bowlby, studied medicine, but his 'first love' was psychology to which he returned. He was more of a clinician than a theorist and it was left to his 'followers' to explore and illustrate, often through laboratory experimentation, different aspects of the theory. Perhaps the most radical and controversial claim of 'Attachment Theory' is that the nature and strength of the 'attachment pattern or bond' between child and caregiver, are crucial to the future wellbeing of the individual. Attachment theorists believe early interaction creates an 'internal working model' in the child that governs behaviour, beliefs, language skills, learning and social relationships throughout life (Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986). When the caregiver is unstable and unpredictable internal working models that foster maladaptation, anxiety and volatile relationships are formed. The predictive claims of Attachment Theory are used to promote the policy of early intervention and removal of children from dysfunctional families (Narey, 2011).

Attachment Theory is not, however, without its critics (Smith et al., 2017). Belsky et al., (1996) questioned the validity of the techniques used to assess attachment patterns. Kagan (1998) argued that what is being observed in attachment experiments is more to do with inherited behavioural tendencies and is only influenced by parents to a limited degree. Lewis, Feiring, and Rosenthal (2000) have critically questioned the formative influence that early attachments are said to play. They assessed the attachment patterns of 84 children aged 12 months and interviewed them at 18 years of age. The results of the study showed no continuity in attachment classification and no relationship between infant attachment and adolescent 'maladjustment'.

Lewis (2014; 1997) is critical of what he sees as the organismic and deterministic perspective of 'Attachment Theory'. He favours what he describes as a model of 'contextualism'. Lewis holds that the pragmatics of current adaptation determines

behavioural outcomes. As conveyed by the title of one of his texts 'Altering fate: why the past does not predict the future' Lewis believes that the attachment that is formed between a mother and her child may influence an individual's life but does not govern it. It is not the case that 'Attachment Theory' has a monopoly of interest in early attachment. Smith et al. (2017) noting that many of the claims made for Attachment Theory are contestable go on to suggest that Honneth's theory of recognition (1995) which emphasises autonomy, interdependence and self-realisation may be an alternative approach that is worth considering.

The dominance of 'Attachment Theory' in social work is a real cause for concern as it may encourage practitioners to pathologise children and seek out 'treatment' interventions. Racusin, Maerlender, Sengupta, Isquith and Straus (2005) note the proliferation in a group of 'heterogeneous attachment therapies'. These therapies sometimes focus on identity development, past trauma and the mourning of lost attachments as well as physical contact (touching, holding, stroking and hugging). Minde (2003) expresses concern over 'privately operated attachment centres' in the United States of America and reminds readers that the deaths of some children have been attributed to holding therapy.

The use of 'Attachment Theory' by social workers to explain the behaviour of children and young people is commonplace and yet there clearly remain serious weaknesses in its methodology and validity. The empirical evidence to support the view taken by some that attachment pattern determines a rigid internal working model that will shape a person's whole life is limited. Some such as Smith et al. (2017, p.1619) are now beginning to openly express concern over the "overuse or misuse of attachment theory". It is essential that social workers and those seeking to establish social work education training programmes in developing societies recognise that Attachment Theory is only one theory of attachment.

A second area in which social work has been heavily influenced by psychology is in its approach to spirituality and religion (S&R). As reductive materialism, which claims that all mental states are physical states, underpins much of modern psychology it is plain to see why matters of S&R are so often slighted by academic psychologists. Psychology has desperately sought to offer an alternative perspective on the meaning of life and questions of eternity to those traditionally taught by religions. As Borrás et al. (2010) observe leading psychologists and psychiatrists of the early twentieth century were known for their personal rejection of religious values and for their construction of theories which construed religious attitudes as primitive and pathological. Freud's (1939) infamous attack on religious thinking as an attempt to gain control of the sensory world has, in turn, encouraged the rejection of religious practice in social work.

Numerous writers have noted that although social work has generally forsaken S&R in recent times, the profession's heritage is derived from faith-based social reformers. In times past social work was very much the preserve of faith-based organisations (Canda & Furman, 2010). In the UK, for example, the establishment of democratic rule and the wording of the constitution can be traced back to the work of those of the Christian faith who were intent on securing social justice. To this day, the ruling Monarch holds

the title of Defender of the Faith, head of the Church of England. The established Church and other faith-based organisations have played a central role in meeting the needs of the most vulnerable within the society. The abolition of slavery came about because of the work of committed Christians such as William Wilberforce. Elizabeth Fry, a Quaker, championed reform of the UK's prison system. Many charitable organisations trace their genesis to the work of the faith community including Barnados, Samaritans, Salvation Army and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

The contribution which, S&R motivated individuals have made to meeting social needs within the UK is immense. Yet in recent decades social workers and others in the 'helping professions' have been increasingly discouraged from engaging with service users on S&R issues (Canda & Furman, 2010). The predominantly secular nature of social work practice is not only questionable given its own S&R heritage but because S&R issues are very real for service users. As Holloway and Moss (2010) have observed, large numbers of people attend to a spiritual dimension whose existential source is beyond the reach of standard psycho-social therapeutic techniques.

The UK's national census which is undertaken every ten years certainly supports this view. The census returns consistently show that a large majority of the population declare an S&R position with as many as 84 per cent naming a specific religion in 2010. These figures alone suggest that if social workers ignore S&R when working with service users they are unlikely to fully understand the situation. Ben-Asher (2001) offers examples of questions that service users sometimes ask which are clearly of an S&R nature. What was the meaning of my life? What does it mean that my life might end at any moment? Practitioners who are dismissive of S&R perspectives may find these questions particularly difficult to talk through with service users.

While the practice of social work within the UK remains predominantly secular (Holloway & Moss, 2010) there is emerging evidence that many within social work and psychology are beginning to question the exclusion of S&R from professional practice (Holloway and Moss, 2010; Borrás et al., 2010; Furness & Gilligan, 2010; Crisp, 2010). Indeed research into how individuals cope in times of crisis is consistently showing that S&R is a primary coping channel for many (Lahad, 1997; Van Dyke, Glenwick & Cecero, 2009). What has become clear even within industrialised nations is that S&R cannot be ignored.

Discussion

Across the world there are an estimated 160 million orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) (Victor, 2018). While there clearly are OVC in industrialized countries the vast majority reside in developing and transitional countries. For example, of the 69 million children living in Nigeria 12 million are reportedly OVC (Victor, 2018). If wider definitions of vulnerability, such as poverty are accepted the figures for Nigeria are even greater. Ogwumike and Ozughala (2018) cite National Bureau of Statistics data which indicates 23 per cent of children live in extreme poverty and 70.3 per cent live in overall poverty. While not belittling the undesirability of adverse childhood experiences, the implications of accepting a deterministic theory of attachment in Nigeria are immense; a very large proportion of the population would be expected to have lifelong psychological problems. Whereas industrialized nations may be able to

resource interventions aimed at alleviating the potential impact of disrupted attachments, this is simply unaffordable for developing societies. An alternative understanding of attachment which encourages hope, motivation and an expectation that adversity can be overcome is needed. This may be Lewis' model of contextualism or Honneth's theory of recognition or one yet to be born. Resilience research appears to be fertile ground, from which a new model of optimism may yet grow.

Combining knowledge of the deterministic underpinnings and limitations of Attachment Theory with indigenous knowledge of the lived experience within Nigeria led to careful consideration of how best to approach essential teaching on attachment within social work training programme established at the University of Ilorin. The approach taken is eclectic, allowing for consideration of several theories of attachment including Attachment Theory, but emphasis is placed on the scope for positive change and progress. This is considered to be far more in keeping with the IFSW's definition of social work.

Despite the sustained influence of secular psychology S&R remains a live issue in the West. In fact, acknowledgement within research literature of the interest in S&R even within psychology is now readily found (Williamson & Ahmad, 2019). In many developing societies including much of Africa the relevance of S&R to service users is arguably far more evident. Idowu (1996) has observed that Africans are religious in everything and matters of S&R permeate all aspects of life. The widespread belief that everything emerges from the spiritual realm shapes everyday life (Idowu, 1996; Awolalu & Dopamu, 2005; Ogunade, 2006). The population of Nigeria is overly religious. Approximately, 50 per cent of the population follow Christianity and most of the remainder Islam, but the make-up is very complex with over 250 ethno-linguistic groups. The Yoruba are an ethnic group who make up around 21 per cent of the population. Their beliefs serve as a good example of the way in which daily life is bound up with belief. They hold the view that difficulties in life and its circumstances can stem from a range of sources including violation of spiritual or divine laws and disobedience to divine injunctions. The consequence of such actions are said to extend beyond the offender, sometimes to the entire family and the unborn. Secret acts of malice are said to attract the wrath of divine agents, the custodians of the human community. Rituals and sometimes religious ceremonies may be required to amend the damage.

The Yoruba believe Olodumare (God) is in everything and that as the apex of creation humans are to care for each other. Their belief that the watchful eye of the ancestors is on them at all times compels them to treat others with dignity and respect. Similarly, the Yoruba's belief that inhumane acts are seen and can lead to serious consequences influences behaviour. Of particular interest to social workers is the Yoruba belief that communal well-being is based on personhood (ara), family (ebi), and kinship (obakan) and that no individual can exist without the help of others. Hence, caring, helping, loving, friendship, sense of belonging, looking after each other, have always been key to safety, welfare and the flourishing of a typical Yoruba community. This belief is not peculiar to the Yoruba it can be seen in many communities within Africa (Sacco, 1996).

The Yoruba's stance on S&R also impacts on their decision making when caring for self and others. In many cases S&R options are prioritised over other forms of intervention resulting in prolonged disease and suffering. Psychological problems such as anxiety, insomnia and depression are common. For these difficulties and other social ills such as poverty and crime the Yoruba would consult Orunmila, their oracle, wisdom deity, and "eleri ipin" (eyewitness of human destiny) who is said to be able to render assistance when the cause of the problem is spiritual (Ogunade, 2017). They believe that this is crucial in attempting to solve any issue that undermines human well-being, because he was present at the point destiny was determined and can prescribe what is to return the situation back to its original state (Ogunade, 2017).

To practise social work among the Yoruba, or any other community in Nigeria, without being fully cognisant of deeply engrained beliefs would be futile. The core beliefs of the Yoruba concerning the origin of life, destiny and suffering as well as the route to recovery will inevitably govern their willingness to engage with social work interventions. Although, the religion of the Yoruba people can be characterised as a primarily vertical belief system (one which is built on a perceived relationship with Deity), it also stresses the importance of relationships with fellow humans and the natural environment which is in keeping with horizontal spirituality (interconnectedness of self and community). Irrespective of the nature of the spirituality or religion being practised, it is evident that disregard for these matters on the part of social workers, whether that be due to the influence of an atheistic psychology or personal outlook will be likely to create a barrier with the service user. Attending carefully to indigenous S&R issues is a vital ingredient of any proposed social work training programme.

Conclusion

This article has sought to reflect on aspects of the relationship between psychology and social work. It has suggested that these relatively young professions share a common goal; the alleviation of human distress and the promotion of the wellbeing of all within society. The professions have quite understandably, approached this shared goal in different ways and there has been a natural division of labour. There has, however, been an over-reliance within social work on psychological theory and the unquestioning application of psychological theory by social workers is generating some concern. The determinism of Attachment Theory is of particular concern. Further, the disinterest of many psychologists in matters of S&R has promoted a secular approach to social work in recent times which, when considered in the context of the stated beliefs of the indigenous people in industrialised countries, suggests an ideologically blinkered approach has been adopted. The increased recognition within psychology, in recent times, of the cathartic value of personal beliefs systems is causing many to question whether the exclusion of S&R issues from professional practice amongst the caring professions was a serious error.

Furthermore, as globalisation accelerates many developing and transitional countries are looking towards industrialised nations for assistance in formulating social policies and, in particular, helping in the education of a new generation of social workers. In Africa, previous attempts have failed as the 'West' has sought to import culturally inappropriate training programmes into Africa without any meaningful awareness of

indigenous culture and practices. With the benefit of critical reflection there is an opportunity to ensure that the establishment of new training programmes and practices in social work in Africa avoid some of the complications that social work in industrialised countries such as the UK has experienced. The initiative within Nigeria referred to in this article has been informed by critical reflection. It is based on a partnership of professionals who have an appreciation of the strengths and limitations of psychological theory as well as indigenous knowledge. Whilst this article has highlighted some of the complications that have arisen in the relationship between psychology and social work the authors are keen to emphasise the importance of the contribution made by each profession to the achievement of the shared goal. The challenges that are faced by individuals, societies and the global community require the expertise and input of all.

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