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# Social work education : critical imperatives for social change.

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**2013-07-23**
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# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Problem statement and rationale for the study

South Africa, far from having attained the ideal of €a rainbow nation, at peace with itself and the world• (Nelson Mandela, 1994) continues to struggle with structural oppression, racism, poverty and inequality. At the time of the finalisation of this thesis, the Marikana massacre took place, when 34 striking and protesting miners were gunned down and killed by the South African Police, and a further 270 injured, in a fashion reminiscent of Sharpeville in 1960 by the Apartheid state. This occurred at one of South Africa‚s platinum mines, Lonmin, an employer of some 28 000 mineworkers. This context of poverty and the highest level of inequality in the world also saw approximately 11 000 protest gatherings by poor communities in 2010/2011 (Mail and Guardian, 2012, p. 34). The €Marikana Statement• compiled and extensively supported by South African and other international social scientists is prefaced by the statement:

> €we aim to contribute to an examination of social structures, social processes and social context, making sense of these historically and with awareness that they have political significance.•

The statement continues by arguing that continuities with the apartheid past are exposed through the events of Marikana, and that these include:

> €massive inequalities that impact adversely on all aspects of the social life of people who are poorer; widespread prevalence of low wages;, increased levels of unemployment, especially among young people; a system of production based on private profit at the expense of people*ƒ*s needs; domination of the economy by the mining industry, and, with this, repatriation of profits by foreign investors; racism that is structural as well as interpersonal; growing violence, including hidden violence associated with poverty,• (Marikana Statement, 2012)

In this context, the helping professions, and specifically social work, attempt to participate in the project of building a better world. This ƒhelping, is however a complex and fraught endeavour, at risk of exacerbating oppression and inequality and merely maintaining the status quo. Given the history of the development of social work from its roots in the dual process of industrialisation and urbanisation in emerging capitalist societies of the 18th and 19th centuries (Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004), as well as the capitalist imperialist project of colonisation and racist oppression in South Africa, the struggle for social justice by human service professionals in South Africa must be linked to radical and critical social work approaches.

Social work knowledge and practice evolved in response to the consequences of the structural framework of capitalist relations of production and was characterised by discourses of charity, philanthropy, social control and the alleviation of human suffering. This human suffering is ironically a product of the very same system which produces these human service professions. It is therefore important to explore and uncover the role of ideology as both performative as well as reflective (Thompson, 1990; Eagleton, 1991) of social work practices. Historically, dominant social work discourses support and reflect the vicissitudes of the hegemonic state ideologies of the time, performing status quo maintenance and social control functions, thus tending to ignore transformation at the structural level and being complicit with the perpetuation of oppressive structural power relations. For social work to claim legitimacy as a social justice profession as expressed by the international definition of social work (International Association of Schools of Social Work, 2001), a critical exploration of such ideologies and discourses in its knowledge development, is necessary, for its aims of social justice and transformation to be achieved.

In South Africa, social workers participated in the state,s oppressive apartheid status quo by working with people within a residual, racist welfare sector, while leaving the system unchallenged, thus perpetuating oppression. In an analysis of the South African Welfare sector, Patel (1992) describes the Apartheid era formal South African welfare sector as undemocratic, authoritarian, unaccountable, entrenching white dominance and oblivious to the needs of the disadvantaged majorities.

Patel (2005) also describes the enormous social changes imposed on traditional societies by colonialism through the denigration of indigenous ways and the distortion of social welfare policies in favour of whites as the welfare elite.

However, during the apartheid era, alternative discourses did emerge (albeit minimally and generally absent from formal social work texts) through the resistance by some social workers especially within the informal welfare sector. This was especially evident during the Truth and Reconciliation process when social workers and representatives from NGOs shared their perceptions of experiences during the apartheid era (Patel, 2005). They had found themselves working within an oppressive and racist system, which dictated with whom (*f*white, only or *f*black, only), where and how they should work. There were also requirements to act as instruments of discrimination through the application of racially differentiated policies and laws.

Choices had to be made about the levels of participation and support of *f* the system,. Most social workers developed a narrow focus on the *f* hereand-now, of the individual with whom they were working, trying to alleviate whatever current problem of living had presented itself - often themselves guilty of racist and oppressive practices. Rather than acting in a radical, anti-oppressive manner, social workers seem at most to have been willing to adopt an *f* ethnic-sensitive approach, (Payne, 2005) and a stance of respect toward diverse groups, in order to resist the dictates of the repressive system in which they found themselves. Those exceptions where social workers did engage in subversive tactics, worked at conscientisation, organised and mobilised against the order of the day, and participated in *f* grassroots, community action towards liberation, were met with harsh repressive tactics by the state such as victimisation, intimidation, and detention without trial (Baldwin-Ragaven, de Gruchy and London, 1999).

Although institutionalised racism prior to and during Apartheid ended in the early 1990s, structural oppression, racism and internalised oppression continue to be a challenge (Fanon, 1967; Stevens, 2003; Duncan, 2003). As stated by Sewpaul and Holscher (2004, p.100), €the impact of oppression is such that oppressed people eventually turn societal oppression into self-oppression•. A more conscious choice

must be made by social workers „ that of facing not only a global system of oppression, but also skewed power relations, oppression and racism unique to the South African context „ at macro and micro level as well as within the helping relationship. Thus, in a manner similar to the argument about psychology and how it served to perpetuate oppression in many forms, by Duncan, Stevens and Bowman (2004, p. 361) that in the South African context, €a pre-eminent objective of critical psychology is the critique of how the knowledge, the practice and the organisational structure of psychology itself, came to perpetuate what must be South Africa‚s most characteristic form of power: racism•, there is a need for social work to examine and critique how knowledge, practice and organisational structure came to perpetuate oppression in various forms.

Social work practitioners seem to struggle with various dilemmas in the area of knowledge and practice in South Africa. Firstly, their professional identity is historically nurtured on western, predominantly North American and European systems of thought which also birthed the global system of capitalist imperialism and colonialism, the consequences of which these professionals seek to address. Secondly, these professionals are guided by knowledge systems and values, which are often not congruent with their own world-views and context, or of those of the people with whom they work.

The dialectical nature of the micro (individual) and macro (structural) levels of intervention and debates about agency versus structure as explanatory perspectives to social problems further exacerbates the difficulty of finding a professional identity and role which can facilitate transformative objectives. There is a need for the development of critical consciousness and radical and critical practice approaches. For social workers who find their subjective space in the South African context of ongoing class and ƒrace, based societyand who want to transcend their role as defenders of the status quo, there is a choice to be made. As stated by Bulhan (1985, p. 253):

> €for most persons, white or black, the bankrupt legacy infused with a Manichean psychology exacts its toll, directly or indirectly. That we are born into that legacy or socialised at a tender age in one or the other camp of the

> Manichean world is beyond our choice and responsibility. To live it uncritically and be outlived by that legacy without taking part in an effort to change it is however a matter of personal choice and responsibility.•

In order to change such a €legacy of Manichean psychology• and achieve social change and transformation, dominant hegemonic discourses and ideologies must be uncovered and resisted. Attention must therefore be paid to the limitations imposed by the conceptual determinants of the current order (Meszaros, 2010), ideological interpellations (Althusser, 1971; Therborn, 1980), the modes of operation of ideology (Thompson, 1990) as well as critical processes involved in these processes (Freire, 1972). Furthermore, various areas of ideological contestation determine how and which knowledge and practice constitutive of social change, becomes dominant. These contestations are found in debates around agency and structure, ƒrace, and racist discourses, power, privilege and oppression, hegemonic knowledge and ideologies, debates around politics of recognition or redistribution and debates around reform or revolutionary social change.

It is imperative therefore to revisit the explanatory power of traditional social work theories and develop critical discourses that serve the project of social change and transformation. Such critical discourse, in order to achieve social change goals, should need to be informed by post-colonial theory, utilize a structural analysis (which in the South African context includes the need for understanding of the entrenchment of racist capitalism during the apartheid era), will account for the reciprocity of agency and structure, and will explore and interrogate ideological positions which inform knowledge development and practice. Such discourse will also make explicit, relations of power, privilege and oppression and the way in which these relations are perpetuated through hegemony. Ideological interpellation into counter-hegemonic discourse for social change and transformation, will then be possible.

Twenty universities in South Africa educate social workers, through schools of social work. During professional formation, professional subjectification, the development of professional identity, knowledge systems, values and ethics and critical consciousness is facilitated. Although there are some examples of critical, social

justice oriented discourse (Bozalek, 2004; Patel, 2005; Sewpaul, 2004), social work knowledge is historically rooted in South African state intervention into the ƒpoor white problem,, in the eugenics and social hygiene movement, and in its role of buttressing the state,s racist and nationalist apartheid system. These ideologies predominate, while hegemonic frameworks are limited in their critical engagement with broader structural realities and the context of oppression and structural inequality. Furthermore, students as well as educators enter the training environment from a particular socio-historical context, often experiencing dissonance when critically reflecting on and trying to integrate their own lived experience with professional knowledge systems and practices.

Various international and local writers state that social work is at a critical juncture, facing changes and challenges in terms of its relevance and appropriateness (Lynn, 1999; Leonard, 2001; Gray and Allegritti, 2002; Finn and Jacobson, 2003; and Patel, 2005). There should be a critical engagement with the local context of indigenous knowledge systems and with past and present realities of social and structural relations of power, privilege, inequality and oppression, so that South African social workers may find ways to challenge rather than uphold the status quo. Remaining unconcerned with the original sources of problems in broader society and flaws in the system is described by Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005, p. 162) as amelioration (treating the victims of the system) rather than transformation (changing the system itself).

In spite of the tendency for social workers towards regulation and status quo maintenance, the current educational context of social work in South Africa, demands that all social work programmes achieve a particular set of learning outcomes. Among these, is the requirement to €develop critical consciousness about the structural forces of oppression, exclusion and disempowerment, and use such awareness to engage people as change agents• (Standards Generating Body, 2004). Furthermore, the internationally accepted Global Standards for social work training document describes the need for the development of the critically self-reflective practitioner and defines social work as promoting empowerment and liberation of people with principles of human rights and social justice being fundamental (Sewpaul and Jones, 2004). The expressed vision of social work as a

profession, through its international definition, as well the knowledge outcomes that are pursued, are therefore expressly social justice seeking and transformative. These intentions and aims seem therefore to be generally obfuscated by hegemonic discourses of knowledge and ideology.

Social work theory and its proponents have the responsibility of challenging this obfuscation and stimulating critical reflection and consciousness. As stated by McLaren, €Regardless of the personal, epistemological, ontological, and moral paths that we choose to take as educators, at some point we have to come face to face with the naked reality of capitalist social relations in local and global contexts. We cannot ignore these relations, and if we are to engage in a revolutionary educational praxis, we need to do more than rail against the suffering and tribulations of the oppressed…• (2001, p. 128).

Similar works around the role of social work in society generally and specifically in relation to social and structural change as these processes unfolded in specific contexts, has been conducted recently. These include works for example by Ioakimidis (2005) regarding the political construction of social work in Greece (2005), a collection of works edited by Lavalette and Iokimidis regarding social work in extreme situations (2011); work by Hinestroza and Iokimidis regarding emancipatory social work practice in contemporary Columbia (2011); the work of Teloni (2011) regarding contemporary social work practice in Greece, and work by Saracostti, Reininger and Parada (2012) regarding social work in Latin America.

In order for social work educators to respond to the challenges facing social work globally and in South Africa particularly, a more coherent framework for knowledge and practice constitutive of social change through critical and radical social work practice is required. There is thus a need for an exploration of the extent to which South African social work training is meeting social change and transformation imperatives and for the development of such a discourse and framework for social work practice. Specific attention needs to be paid to the unique historical and current South African context of class and *r*ace, oppression, structural inequality as well as contradictions of political liberation and socio-economic inequality.

## 1.2 Social work and the South African context

### 1.2.1 The South African socio -political context

The South African socio-political context is a complex matrix of contradictions with extreme wealth and extreme poverty existing side by side. Measures of inequality and human development consistently reflect that South Africa is one of the most unequal societies in the world (Bond, 2008). Historical realities of colonisation and Apartheid together with globalisation and ongoing neo-liberal economic policies have contributed to these current levels of inequality (Terreblanche, 2002; Bond, 2008), asymmetrical power relations and a race and class based society (Duncan, 2003; Stevens, 2003). Terreblanche (2002) indicates that in terms of income distribution, the ƒupper class, (16,6%of the population) receives 72% of the income, while the ƒvery poor, (50% of the population) receive 3,3% of the income. He speaksof South Africa as a society so deeply divided that it actually consists of two worlds with little interaction (Terreblanche, 2002, p. 425). Ohiorhenuan (2004, p. 102), in introductory remarks to the launch of the South African Human Development Report of 2003, commented that inequality had worsened within all racial classifications in South Africa, but comparatively less so within the €White• group, whose average income in 2001 was six times that of an African household.

According to the Human Sciences Research Council (2004, p. 2), 57% of individuals in South Africa were living below the poverty line in 2001, a proportion unchanged from1996. However, according to the report, the poverty gap, which measures the required annual income that a poor household would require to bring them out of poverty, has grown, indicating that poor households have sunk deeper into poverty.

The 2011 report of the United Nations (UNDP, 2011), places South Africa at 123 out of 187 on the Human Development Index. This is in spite of the fact that South Africa is also considered to be the largest economy in Africa and rated 50 out of 142 countries in the World Economic Forum,s global competitiveness index (World Economic Forum, 2011). The extent of inequality, deprivation and vulnerability are of grave concern. Already in 2000, the South African Department of Social Development (2000, p. 8) warned that existing local inequalities and new emerging

forms of inequality due to globalisation may lead to unsustainable levels of marginalisation, vulnerability and poverty. This means that Social workers cannot remain indifferent to structural factors perpetuating these circumstances. Communities will be unable to achieve change without broader social and structural change.

Even regional attempts such as the New Partnership for Africa‚s Development (NEPAD), seem powerless to break the grip of poverty and to adopt alternatives to Western neo-liberal economic and social policies. Sewpaul and Holscher (2004, p. 4) maintain that there must be a call for a restructuring of existing rules for the contemporary global economic system. Sixty-five percent of Africans subsist on less than one US dollar a day, 40% do not attend primary school and 40% of wealth is held overseas (Tillen, 2003, cited in Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004, p. 4).

For South Africans living with these contradictions of political liberation and social and economic inequality, issues of oppression and racism are daily challenges. Although racism is a specific social dynamic of special significance to the South African context, a focus on racism according to Bulhan (1985, p. 13) runs the risk of de-emphasising the significance of other modes of oppression i.e. class oppression and sexism. However, as stated by Duncan, Stevens and Bowman (2004, p. 361), in South Africa, racism (€the most characteristic form of power), is €the particular form of social asymmetry that has come to condition virtually all aspects of social existence in our country•. In South Africa, with its particular history of colonisation and institutionalised racial oppression, the dynamics of oppression operate in a particularly lethal manner.

### 1.2.2 South African social work practice

The evolution and history of social work in South Africa unfolds within the framework of colonial and apartheid welfare policies (MacPherson and Midgely, 1987). Social work had furthermore also been shaped by historical Western discourses. In this regard it is criticised for struggling to retain relevance in so-called €third world societies• with its western, €first-world• principles and approaches (Mupedziswa, 1992). Patel (2005) argues that colonialism disrupted and denigrated most traditional

forms of social welfare and came into conflict with traditional modes of social provision.

South African social work practice, with its roots in capitalist, western paradigms (Ferguson, 2008), faces a challenge of appropriateness and relevance. The contradictions in attainment of levels of wealth and development globally and in the presence of extreme levels of poverty and inequality in South Africa specifically, social work is called to respond in a manner which seeks to achieve social change and is well placed to do so. As maintained by Sewpaul and Holscher (2004, p. 100), social work needs to refocus on its early pursuit of social justice and human rights. Both the Standards Generating Body for social work training in South Africa, as well as the Global Standards for social work training, describe the need for critical imperatives relating to the development of the critically self-reflective practitioner as well as relating to the need for engagement with structural forces of oppression, exclusion and disempowerment (Sewpaul and Jones, 2004).

There seem to be two main areas of critique of social work and the welfare system in South Africa. The first relates mainly to the racialised, white supremist goals of the apartheid era South African welfare system (Patel, 2005). The other, building on the first, offers a critique of a ƒnew right,,neoliberal and managerialist South African social welfare system. In this regard, Sewpaul and Holscher (2004, p. 94) argue that social work has remained true to its desire for recognition by those who hold hegemonic discursive power in society.

Apartheid social welfare was tied to the political and economic objectives of the time (Patel, 2005). The services were incapable of meeting the needs of the majority and were oriented towards social control and influencing people to adapt to an unjust social system (McKendrick, 1990). Patel (2005) however argues that community work, especially as it emerged in the alternative social development movements, did have a radical and transformative character in that it challenged apartheid social welfare (Patel, 2005, p. 79). According to her these alternative and progressive practices contributed to the evolution of a just social welfare system after 1994, when numerous welfare laws were amended or repealed. Specifically, the White Paper for Social Welfare (Department of Welfare, 1997) introduced a rights approach with

principles of democracy, equity, Ubuntu, non-discrimination and human rights. In order to embrace these principles, social workers need to depart radically from the indictments of the past as described above.

Sewpaul and Holscher (2004) then offer a further critique. During the 1980s, the South African government, as did other countries with more conservative governments such as those of Thatcher in Britain and Reagan in the United States, embarked on a process of change in the welfare system based on the logic of the market (Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004, p. 42). This change movement is referred to as ƒthe New Right‚, which it is argued (Ledwith, 2001; Mishra, 1999; Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004), cleverly diluted the more radical and state interventionist tradition (albeit in South Africa as it related to the ƒwhite, group), by transferring the responsibility of the welfare state to the individual, the family and the community. According to Patel (2005), privatisation would also prevent a post-apartheid South African government from adopting radical redistributive policies. Furthermore, the internalisation of ideologies of modernity and the imagery of the Industrialised North as the ultimate goal of development, continued to have an impact on welfare transformation (Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004).

### 1.2.3 Trends in South African social work training

The history of social work education in South Africa dates back to the 1930s. The curriculum content was strongly based on British and American models (Kotze, 1998), with a clinical approach focussing on case and group work. Its basis was predominantly that of the welfare system of the day „ which focussed on the preparation of practitioners for work in a therapeutic and restorative social welfare system (Lombard, 1998, p. 17).

The debate around indigenisation gained popularity around the early 1990s and still remains current (Gray, 2010). McKendrick (1990) argues that graduates had been nurtured on American theory, sometimes without any earnest consideration of the applicability of curriculum content to South Africa. Kuze (1997, p. 20) argues that the value base of social work must be adapted: €This means that first wœld theory which

lacks relevance to the South African situation needs adaptation and domestication, in terms of the cultural context of a specific community.•

After 1994, the political changes in South Africa brought about concomitant changes in the conceptualisation of social work training and practice. Community development, specifically as espoused in the White Paper for Social Welfare (Department of Welfare, 1997), became the urgent project of social work training institutions. At the Conference on the Transformation of Social Work Education in 1998, Lombard (1998, p.18) made a plea for a paradigm shift which would go beyond the casework„ community work dichotomy towards that of contextualisation within social development. This shift had been initiated successfully and tends to focus on the empowerment of people; non-remedial forms of intervention; concern with participation and people,s networks; and concern with economic development and independence (Gray and Simpson, 1998, cited by Noyoo, 1998, p. 46).

However, there is some evidence of a minority discourse, both internationally and in South Africa that acknowledges the destructive and oppressive nature of social work,s past. New voices were heard regarding the imperative for the development of a critical perspective for the appropriate preparation for practice generally. According to Ledwith (2001, p.171), in an argument for community work (in social work) to be seen as critical pedagogy, €the political nature of education either situates educators as agents of the state or as agents of transformative change: either perpetuating the status quo or creating the context to question.• In this regard, Patel (2005, p. 370) maintains that it is essential that new graduates are critical thinkers with reflexive competence in order to respond to new realities.  Theory and practice need to draw on universal as well as indigenous knowledge systems. Furthermore, constructivist learning theories inform social work teaching and learning, being learner centred, co-operative and collaborative.

Educators therefore commit themselves to a structural analysis and to the development of critical consciousness among social work students if they are to make a meaningful contribution in the South African context. They €…have the power of criticism, and must not, in the name of objectivity and science, distance themselves from the power relations that exclude, oppress, subjugate, exploit and

diminish other human beings• (Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004, p.100). Opportunities should be created to allow for the deconstruction of identities and for understanding the power of dominant social and political ideologies. As described in the writings of Freire (1972) and Gramsci (1935), this approach encourages the development of an internal, subjective awareness and critical consciousness in order to facilitate broader societal action and consequently, transformation.

The international definition of social work and the Global Standards for the education and training of the social work profession were adopted by the International Association of Schools of Social Work and the International Federation of Social Workers in Adelaide in 2004 (Sewpaul and Jones, 2004). The approach of these standards for education and training is that of €support of human rights, social justice and an essential commitment to caring for, and the empowerment of individuals, groups, organisations and communities …with an emphasis on the development of the critically self-reflective practitioner• (Sewpaul and Jones, 2004, p. 16).

The document provides the following definition of social work:

> €The social work profession promotes social change, problem solving in human relationships and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance wellbeing. Utilising theories of human behaviour and social systems, social work intervenes at the points where people interact with their environments. Principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work.• (Sewpaul and Jones, 2004)

During 2004 and 2005, South African social work education underwent an important assessment and realignment process towards a more appropriate preparation of social workers for the South African context (Standards Generating Body, 2004). Learning outcomes for social work training were collectively identified and their implementation agreed upon by the various tertiary education institutions offering social work training. Among these twenty seven learning outcomes, which include a broad range of categories which relate to intervention, research, policy and statutory processes, management and supervision and development, is a learning outcome,

which relates specifically to critical awareness and structural forces of oppression (exit level outcome 13):

> •Identify, select and implement various techniques, methods and means of raising awareness, developing critical consciousness about the structural forces of oppression, exclusion and disempowerment, and use such awareness to engage people as change agents• (Standards Generating Body, 2004)

Social work education is therefore required to meet the imperative of enabling students to develop critical consciousness about oppression and social change. However, given the historical formation of social work as a response to the consequences of the broad structural formations of class based inequality of the capitalist era, as well as the ideological underpinnings of social work discourse, such critical imperatives of social change are difficult to achieve. Heightened consciousness and transformative interventions for changing the structural forces of oppression, exclusion and disempowerment, is problematic in the absence of a critical engagement with discourse and ideology of social work knowledge and practice.

The socio-political context of South Africa therefore includes extreme contradictions of wealth and poverty. Historical realities of colonisation and Apartheid together with globalisation and ongoing neo-liberal economic policies have contributed to current levels of poverty and inequality. South African social work practice, with its roots in capitalist, western paradigms, faces a challenge of appropriateness and relevance.

The contradictions in attainment of levels of wealth and development globally, in the presence of extreme levels of poverty and inequality demand a response which seeks to achieve social change. Social work is well placed to pursue this project of social change in such a context of ongoing oppression and inequality. As maintained by Sewpaul and Holscher (2004, p. 100), social work needs to refocus on its original pursuit of social justice and human rights. Both the Standards Generating Body (SGB) for social work training in South Africa, as well as the Global Standards for social work training describes the need for critical imperatives, both in the

development of the critically self-reflective practitioner as well as the need for engagement in the structural forces of oppression, exclusion and disempowerment (Sewpaul and Jones, 2004).

If social work is to achieve social change and fulfil a critical role in challenging power relations, it is important that a critical practice stance be adopted. Furthermore, in order to fulfil the imperatives as described by the SGB and the Global Standards for social work training regarding social change and social justice, a critical theoretical basis is essential, with a concern around the relationship between knowledge and power, questions regarding truths and understanding how particular worldviews and interests come to dominate ƒcommon sense, (Finn and Jacobson, 2003, p. 65). The theoretical basis of social work training must therefore include a thorough critical engagement with issues of power, oppression, the interplay of human agency and structure as well as a commitment to the transformation of structures and practices rather than just a focus on social arrangements and relations (Finn and Jacobson, 2003). Radical and transformational social work knowledge and practice, constitutive of social change will need to engage with changes in epistemologies (through processes of critical consciousness development) as well as efforts at changing material conditions.

## 1.3 Aims

### 1.3.1 Main aim

The overall aim of the study was to explore the extent to which South African social work knowledge and education, as reflected in various formal and narrative discourses, meets critical imperatives for social change and transformation.

### 1.3.2 Subsidiary aims

The study furthermore aims to:

1) review extant critical social science theory to contribute to the development of a critical South African social work knowledge and practice framework, constitutive of

social change in the context of contradictions of liberation and inequality in post-apartheid South Africa

2) critically analyse the discursive development of social work knowledge and its ideological underpinnings, in relation to social change, as it unfolds in formal social work texts, particularly in a specific professional journal in South Africa

3) explore the views of social work educators about their own social work knowledge development in the light of the socio-political context in which they found themselves and the extent to which there is a facilitation of critical consciousness and transformative social work praxis in South Africa

4) to contribute to discourse around critical and radical social work practice, which responds to social change imperatives in South Africa.

### 1.3.3 Research questions

The primary research questions include:

To what extent does social work knowledge and education in South Africa meet critical imperatives for social change, given the requirements of the South African standards for social work education and the international definition of social work?

What are the dominant discourses and the underlying ideologies in formal South African social work texts and in the narratives of social work educators as they relate to historical social change and transformation?

What is the nature of the counter-hegemonic discourses and ideologies found in formal South African social work texts and narratives of social work educators?

What are the views of social work educators about their own social work knowledge development in the light of the socio-political context in which they found themselves and the extent to which there is a facilitation of critical consciousness and transformative social work praxis in South Africa?

## 1.4 Research de sign and methodology

### 1.4.1 Research design

The research approach was qualitative, with various empirical processes. These processes interrelated and cohered with each other, to the extent that they were conducted concomitantly. The first of these were the development of a critical theoretical framework of social work knowledge and theory constitutive of social change, based on an exploration of extant local and international critical social science and social work theory. The other process was a critical and politically engaged discourse analysis (Hook and Harris, 2000, cited in MacLeod, 2004, p. 530) of social work discourse constitutive of social change, as reflected historically in social work texts generally and specifically in a particular local social work journal. The third process was an analysis of social work knowledge development and discourse among social work educators from South African Universities through reflective group conversations.

The research sought to have a liberatory stance, aiming to integrate critical theoretical and philosophical positions of the research process with the methods utilised (Macleod, 2004, p. 523). It thus offered a critique of dominant social science understandings, accounted for the politics of its investigative methods and acknowledged and reflected on the interpellation of the researcher in the social practices of research.

### 1.4.2 Research methodology

#### 1.4.2.1 Data collection

Data collection was conducted in various phases. The data collected during each phase informed the process and manner of data collection in the other phases. There was therefore a reciprocal process between the perusal of and selection of texts, the building of the theoretical framework and the collection of data from the group conversations. In this way, the social work knowledge and practice framework was developed prior to, concomitantly and after the data collection from the formal

social work texts and the group conversations with social work educators. The various data forms thus articulated with each other and contributed to the broader understandings that were developed during the process.

The process of the construction of a social work knowledge and theory framework constitutive of social change for South African social work was based on extant critical social science and social work theories such as the work of Fanon (1963; 1967), Freire (1972), Foucault (1979; 1980), Therborn (1980), Thompson (1998); Dominelli (1989; 1999), Fook (1999; 2002); Sewpaul (2002; 2004; 2005), Duncan (2001), Hook (2004), Patel (2005), Ferguson (2008; 2009), Meszaros (2011) as well as the training standards of the SACSSP (South African Council for Social Service Professions).

A selection was made of formal social work discourses, as found in thirty social work texts that relate to social change, covering various chronological periods of South African history and of the development of social work, from the 1930s to the present. All the titles from the start of publication in 1965, of a particular journal, Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, were perused and analysed for themes relating to theoretical and ideological themes. These themes informed the selection of the journal articles that would form part of the selection of formal texts.

Ten group discussions were facilitated with social work educators of eleven schools of social work at South African universities. These group conversations were of a participatory nature, incorporating aspects of reflective inter-group dialogue. Areas of inquiry included the understandings and meanings around content and pedagogical practices relating to critical consciousness and social change. The research process itself sought to be congruent with critical principles and therefore conscious of the dynamics associated with the perpetuation of unequal power relations. The study was therefore participatory and one of joint inquiry, itself seen as emancipatory and transformative. The group conversations were unstructured and the discussions broadly centred around the question about participants, own social work knowledge development and whether social work education achieves the outcome of enabling social workers to €identify, select and implement varɒus techniques, methods and means of raising awareness, developing critical consciousness about the structural

forces of oppression, exclusion and disempowerment, and use such awareness to engage people as change agents• (SGB, 2004).

#### 1.4.2.2 Data

##### 1.4.2.2.1 Formal social work texts

South African social work texts were scrutinised and a purposive selection was made of texts between the early 1900,s and the present. A specific accredited social work journal was selected for examination of articles reflective of thinking around social change, oppression, and critical knowledge constitutive of social change. A purposive selection was also made of these texts, based on historical South African socio-political stages. As an initial stage of data collection, all the titles of articles from the inception (1965) of the journal were examined. Articles were then selected based on the aims of the research study and the titles analysis. In this manner, a total of thirty texts from the journal and general social work texts were examined and analysed.

##### 1.4.2.2.2 Group conversation participants

The research participants were social work educators at South African universities, who themselves had experienced and continue to experience various levels of oppression and using various levels of reflexivity in their pedagogy. They were also differentially aware of or using processes of critical consciousness development. They had diverse subjectivities and social identities, were from diverse backgrounds, and occupied diverse social positions. There are approximately 20 universities that offer social work degrees in South Africa. Within these, there are approximately 150 social work educators. A total of 37 of these educators participated in the group conversations. Social work educators at all the South African Universities were approached by written invitation, to participate in the research study. The focus groups were held at each of the universities respectively.

#### 1.4.2.3 Data analysis

The history of the dominant discourses around social change, oppression and transformation in South African social work was explored through the examination and analysis of formal South African social work texts from the mid 1900,s and specifically from a particular social work journal from 1965. Of particular interest was the way in which social work discourse had been constrained and informed by the socio-political contexts and ideologies of the times. The discourse analysis was done by questioning how the texts reproduced or contested existing power and professional relations, and how various professional interests were served (Janks, 2006).

Using ideas from critical discourse analysis (CDA) which stems from a critical theory of language as a form of social practice in specific historical contexts (Nelson and Prilleltensky, 2005; Van Dijk, 1995), it was assumed that discourse and ideology would be the means through which existing social relations are reproduced, contested and through which different interests are served. This approach was used to analyse both the social work texts as well as the group conversations.

As an initial step, a thematic analysis was done of all the titles of the social work journal that had appeared in the journal since its inception in 1965. A critical discursive analysis was then done of the content, discourse and ideologies evident in the titles. By exploring, identifying and analysing the themes that emerged in the titles regarding theoretical orientation and content, the formal discourse in social work in relation to the socio-political context in each of the historical periods could be explored.

The formal social work texts, comprising of thirty selected documents and articles were then analysed using a blended approach of critical and thematic content analysis. The theoretical framework that had been developed around ideology and social work knowledge constitutive of social change was used to analyse the data from the texts as well as the group conversations. The data was analysed in order to uncover various themes and meanings, evident in the discourse around social work knowledge, the socio-political context of the times, critical, social work practice as

well as their understandings of what constitutes social change, critical conscientisation, oppression, and inequality. The two main empirical processes, namely the textual analysis and the group conversations analysis, were therefore conducted utilising the same critical thematic analysis approach. In this way a reciprocal process was followed to explore themes that emerged from the textual analysis as well as from the group conversations.

A reflective journal was kept during the research process, consisting of unstructured and idiosyncratic writing about personal impressions and shifts in knowledge development during the research process, thus enabling reflexivity.

#### 1.4.2.4 Preparation

As an initial exploratory exercise, a group conversation was held with colleagues from the university at which the researcher works. In this way the content to be explored and the process to be followed during the planned group conversations was explored. Feedback from the group was used to modify the planned facilitation strategies and techniques and allowed the researcher to become more sensitive to the dynamics and group processes that would possibly arise. This preparation phase also allowed for the practical considerations around recording, logistics and planning to be anticipated

## 1.5 Trustworthiness

In qualitative research, trustworthiness is of significant importance . There are various ways of enhancing trustworthiness (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000) such as the researcher,s prolonged engagement in the field and in academia as a social work practitioner and educator; the keeping of a reflexive journal; the examination of conflicting theories in the construction of the conceptual framework; and the purposive selection of participants. Furthermore, rather than attempting ƒneutrality,, the criterion was that of ƒconfirmability,. High levels of self awareness and introspection by the researcher were maintained in order that bias could be accounted for and ƒbracketed,. Consistencywas demonstrated by ƒdependability, of

the findings, through the repetitiveness of the group conversations, the same questions being asked and a dense description of the methodology being given.

## 1.6 Limitations of the research design and methodology

One of the limitations of the research design was that the vast amount of data that was generated necessitated selectiveness about the analysis of the data.

The qualitative nature of the study meant that the reliability and validity of the data could be questioned by some. However, the participatory research approach followed with the participants offered the opportunity for participants themselves to validate findings as part of the cyclical research process, through the use of dialogue, discussion and argument towards consensus.

The findings of the study are not generalisable to all South African social work educators. However, the purpose of the research is not to generalise, but to develop understanding about social work education and knowledge development regarding social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change, oppression, critical conscientisation and liberation/inequality contradictions in South Africa. Extensive notes were made, not only about the content of discussions but also about ways in which the data supported or contradicted the theoretical ideas of the researcher as well as the participants (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p. 275).

## 1.7 Ethical considerations

### 1.7.1 Introduction

Clearance was received from the Humanities, Ethics Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand to conduct the study (Protocol number H060324). Various important ethical considerations were taken into account.

### 1.7.2 Voluntary participation and informed consent by participants

Participation by schools of social work as well as by individual social work educators was entirely voluntary. A subject information sheet was provided for all prospective participants (see attached Appendix: Subject Information Sheet and consent form Educators). Those participants that agreed to participate were requested to sign a consent form as well as a form consenting to the audio-recording of the conversation. The information sheet stated that participation and giving consent was voluntary, and a decision not to participate would in no way lead to any prejudice or negative consequences. The group sessions would be recorded by audio cassette for purposes of transcription. Participants could refuse to comment or respond to a specific question or discussion, and request that a particular response not be used in the research report. Participants could choose to withdraw from the group series at any stage and this would not lead to any negative consequences. The researcher was also available for verbal discussion of the research project on an ad hoc basis. If schools of social work or specific social work educators wished to know more about the research in order to make a decision about participating, they were able to consult with the researcher telephonically or electronically.

### 1.7.3 Confident iality

Although confidentiality within the group could not be guaranteed, the researcher guaranteed that no names of educators or universities would be disclosed or that it would be possible to link specific responses to specific group members in the research report. All data (including recordings, notes, transcripts and identifying details of participants) was kept in a locked cabinet in the researcher,s office. Only the researcher and the research supervisor of the PhD project had access to this data. Recordings of the group sessions will be destroyed five years after the awarding of the PhD degree. All electronic data kept on computer is protected by a password, which is only known by the researcher.

### 1.7.4 Non-maleficence and beneficence

The research project held no direct risks of harm for the participants. The participants also had no direct benefit from participating in the research. However, there may have been some indirect benefit to participants through the time taken to scrutinise their own knowledge development processes and their views about issues of social change and critical, anti-oppressive and emancipatory social work practice. Indirectly, the participants may also benefit through the building of social work knowledge about critical consciousness, anti-oppressive and emancipatory social work practice education.

## 1.8 Time frame

The time frame for the duration and completion of the research project was from January 2007 until June 2012.

## 1.9 Brief description of chapters

Chapter one provides an introduction which describes the problem statement and rationale for the study. It briefly describes the current South African socio-political context, social work practice and trends in social work training, the aim and subsidiary aims, the research questions, a brief description of the research design and methodology, as well as ethical considerations and limitations of the study. It also provides an overview of the chapters that follow.

Chapter two, an historical overview of social change and social work in South Africa, provides a description of interconnecting events and wider forces that shaped social work within the system of racist capitalism of the South African context. Such a dialectical-historical investigation counters the purely chronological historical description of events and explores how the dynamics of this system and its resultant conditions, formed social work and how social work impacted on the developing societal context. This chapter provides a background to the chapter on social work theory and to the chapter on the theoretical framework. It also explores the socio-

political context which formed the background to discourses of formal social work texts and to the knowledge development of social work educators in South Africa.

Chapter three describes perspectives and approaches of social work knowledge and theory. Various categorisations and frameworks for analyzing theories and perspectives used by social workers have been developed and these compete with one another in accordance with varying ideological positions and socio-political contexts. Given social work,s emergence as a response to the social conditions arising from 20$^{th}$ century capitalism, such hegemonic discourses need to be critically re-examined. This chapter therefore explores some of these specifically social work categorisations and frameworks, as a background to the following chapter on the theoretical framework for the study.

Chapter four, deals with the theoretical framework of the study. It explores explanatory frameworks that relate to critical theory, social change, ideologies, ideological processes, dynamics of oppression and specifically racism as a form of oppression of the South African context, discourse, conceptual limitations of the current era of structural dynamics and contested areas of knowledge. It also proposes a framework for analysis of social work theory and practice constitutive of social change, which is developed from the discussion of the explanatory frameworks in the earlier part of the chapter.

Chapter five, deals with the research design and methodology. It describes the overall nature of the study as having a qualitative and critical approach, which is seen as a transformative endeavor and an attempt to confront injustice in a particular society. The chapter describes the empirical processes namely the development of a critical theoretical framework for social work, a textual study comprising the exploration of social work discourse and knowledge development as reflected historically in various social work texts, as well as the analysis of narrative data from ten group conversations with educators from South African universities. It describes the use of a depth hermeneutic approach, utilizing critical thematic content analysis.

Chapters six, seven and eight deal with the presentation and analysis of data. The first chapter deals with an overview and content analysis of titles of all articles from

one of two South African social work journals from its first date of publication in 1965. This serves as a precursor to chapter seven which consists of a more depth analysis of thirty various social work texts including articles selected from among the titles analysed in chapter six. The chapter deals with the analysis of these texts identified and selected for closer scrutiny considering the historiography of South African social work. Chapter eight presents the analysis of the narratives of group conversations conducted at ten various South African universities, with social work educators.

Chapter nine consists of the summary of the main findings, conclusions and recommendations.

# CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA

## 2.1 Introduction

The task of examining the origins and development of social work in South Africa and internationally, is fraught with competing histories and narratives, as well as lacunae and discontinuities. Individualist, liberal, colonial, masculine and white hegemonic discourses generally prevail (Gebhard, 1991; Marks, 1987; Tsotsi, 2000; Worden, 2008). Foregrounding counter-hegemonic discourse and finding parallel and unwritten narratives, become nearly impossible unless a constantly critical and skeptical gaze is adopted.

The version of history used in the process of developing a narrative furthermore determines the clarity and holism with which occurrences are understood. It would be simple to provide a chronological listing of ƒwell known, personalities, or welfare and political laws passed, or personal stories of ordinary people. However, these approaches neglect the impact of the interconnection of events and wider forces that shape people‚s lives (Harman, 2008) and institutions or even disciplines. Events and moments in history may be more fully understood when they are viewed as being related to choices made about how livelihoods (ƒforces of production‚) are made and how these choices are fought out in social conflicts, which result in changes in wider societal relationships (ƒrelations of production‚). Such an historical materialist perspective is of importance in the historiography of social work, as the very origins of social work are found in the dynamics of the capitalist system and the resultant conditions of poverty and social conflict.

Dialectical-historical investigation, as a perspective to counter the fiction of a purely historical record of ƒprogress, and freedom of choice, devoid of any contextual interpretation, allows for probing the impact of these conflicts and forces on the development and shaping of social work (Hill, 2009). Hill (2009, p.612) maintains that:

> €The universal, transhistorical principles of rights and justice that were associated with the individualistic portrait of mankind that capitalism promoted, suggested a degree of freedom that was wholly incommensurate with the strictures ultimately imposed upon its „freely ƒcontracting subjects.•

Retrodictive analyses of social work knowledge development also reveals dual means of forming this knowledge. Gramsci (1935) argued in this regard that any system is maintained in two ways. The more obvious is the political realm, or €the state,• which controls through force and laws. This is complemented by subtle but essential system-maintenance performed by €civil society,• or the private realm, which produces consent without the threat of force (Roelofs, 2007, p. 479). According to this perspective the creation and maintenance of social work knowledge as a system, in the case of South African social work, became internalized and consented-to, through the hegemonic discourses prevalent in reports of Commissions and formal teaching and writing activities of the various epochs. According to Hill (2009, p. 616), Gramsci calls for a ƒcounter-history, in order to displace ƒgiven thought, and release ƒcommon understandings, from their privileged location in the uninspected realm of the consciousness. An examination of social work‚s history, therefore requires that these ƒcommon understandings, be deliberately challenged and alternative narratives foregrounded.

In this way, it is the ƒcounter history, of the significant role of imperatives of capital industrialization and exploitative relations of production rather than only Afrikaner nationalism which must displace the ƒuninspected realm of common understandings, of liberal discourse. As maintained by Althusser (1971) it is in the interpellation during the process of education that subjects (e.g. social workers) are constituted as such. However, without a process of recognition of real relations of conflict and exploitation in society and recognition of the imagined freedoms of choice and progressions (Boswell, Kiser and Baker, 1999, p.361), social work is at risk of remaining a fixture of exploitative state apparatus and unable to achieve social change.

This chapter is an attempt to provide a description of socio-political contexts and developments at various stages of history (both internationally and South African),

which elucidate the various relations of conflict and progressions, which in turn create the nature of the discipline of social work and social work education.

## 2.2 Perspectives, t hemes and chronology in South African history

The various competing discourses found in South African historical analysis seem to centre around Marxist, liberal and nationalist ideologies. The different conceptions of the structural processes underlying and shaping South Africa,s social development are linked to ƒ varying perceptions of the motivation of actors involved in social change and the way societies operate in general, (Lester, 1996, p.1).

The Marxist, revisionist and ƒ black, radical revisionist paradigm, largely reflected in the works of H.J. and R.E. Simons, M. Legassik, S. Marks, S. Trapido, S. Johnson, C. Bundy, P. Bonner, I.B. Tabata, D. Taylor, H. Jaffe, M.W. Tsotsi, was a radical €reinterpretation of South Africa,s past• (Visser, 2004, p. 10). In this paradigm, Apartheid is described not as the irrational racism of a pre-industrial colonial frontier, but as the direct product of South Africa,s unique process of industrialization. Segregation was developed to nurture early industry such as mining and capitalist agriculture (Worden, 2008, p.3). Poverty and deprivation as well as cheap labour, were seen as integral to the maintenance of the industrial system „ segregation and apartheid resulted from the class domination of capitalists rather than purely race domination. The central issue is that of the relationship between capitalism as a mode of production and apartheid,s racial structures (Lester, 1996).

Liberal historians such as M.W. MacMillan, C. W. De Kiewiet, E. Walker, T. R. H. Davenport (Cell, 1989; Visser, 2004), who were €part of the wider community of liberal economists, anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists, came into prominence between the two world wars and had intellectual foundations in classical liberalism•(Visser, 2004). They tend to trace the origins of segregation to the Afrikaner, frontier tradition of racism (Cell, 1989) and explored issues of the economic and social background to segregation and apartheid. South Africa was viewed as a ƒ dua-economy, with two distinct societies „ a white urban and capitalist agrarian system on the one hand and a rural impoverished and stagnating African sector on the other (Worden, 2008, p.2).

From this perspective, developments in South Africa and Apartheid itself are explained by the virulent white Afrikaner racism arising at the frontier of the Cape Colony and later the Great Trek. Early structural consequences of exploitative relations of production which happened to utilize both race and class as a convenient stratifying force, are downplayed.

The nationalist perspective found for example in the works of J.A. Wiid, G.D. Scholtz, F.A. Van Jaarsveld, H.B. Thom (Visser, 2004), described and viewed South African development in terms of the building of the Afrikaner ƒherrenvolk, nation state. It stresses the unified experience of the Afrikaner ƒvolk, (Worden, 2008, p.96) although this ignores the diversity of Afrikaner experience from various regions. In this regard, Apartheid became an important means by which political identity was forged out of Afrikaner diversity.

However, some additional perspectives have developed, including a more ƒnuanced version, incorporating individual and community experiences through oral history, a growing recognition of the importance of gender; and more postmodern historiographical trends (Worden, 2008, p.3). Furthermore, a post-colonial understanding offers further explanation, highlighting the importance of the general dynamics of colonialism and imperialism in the formation of identity €through the exercise of power through culture• (Lester, 1996, p.13). The emergence of white supremacy and the power structures of the white/black master-servant relationships is described by Tsotsi (2000) as being the necessary result of imperialist exploitation, colonial conquest, white domination and capitalist exploitation.

Institutional and disciplinary development cannot be ascribed to random covariation with socio-political events and social change. Various socio-political phases relating to social change and state policy in South Africa and internationally may be described (Bundy, 1992; Lester, 1996; Worden, 2008) and the following phases are used for the purposes of this particular description of historical and socio-political context of social work and its knowledge development: Pre-colonial era and colonial conquest; Industrialisation and mining revolution 1870s „ 1920s; 1920s until Apartheid and 1948; the Post-Apartheid era

## 2.3 Historical eras and historiography of social work

### 2.3.1 Pre-colonial era and c olonial conquest

| | |
|---|---|
| 1658 | First slaves brought to the Cape |
| 1686 | Legislation prohibiting marriage of ƒfull colour, freed slaves and Europeans |
| 1790s | Wars of conquest on Eastern frontier |
| 1795 | Formation of London Missionary Society |
| 1799 | Rebellion by Khoi and San servants lasting four years |
| 1806 | British control over colony |
| 1820 | European settlement schemes |
| 1820s | Mfecane, expansion of Zulu kingdom |
| 1834 | Slave emancipation |
| 1830s | Emergence of capitalized farming gentry |
| 1856 | Xhosa cattle slaughtering |

Describing colonialism for what it was, is important in any account of unfolding social and political processes. Poverty and inequality existed in the pre-colonial era but their effects were muted by mechanisms of kinship, reciprocity and institutionalised forms of welfare (Bundy, 1992). Earlier African societies were both ante-capitalist and anti-capitalist (Cesaire, 1955), however, colonialism brought about a new order. The colonial conquest is described by Cesaire:

> €It is not evangelization, nor a philanthropic enterprise, nor a desire to push back the frontiers of ignorance, disease, and tyranny, nor a project undertaken for the greater glory of God, nor an attempt to extend the rule of law. To admit once and for all, without flinching at the consequences, that the decisive actors here are the adventurer and the pirate, the wholesale grocer and the ship owner, the gold digger and the merchant, appetite and force, and behind them, the baleful projected shadow of a form of civilization which, at a certain point in its history, finds itself obliged, for internal reasons, to extend to a world scale the competition of its antagonistic economies.• (Cesaire, 1955, p. 33)

The colonial conquest by the mercantile Dutch East India Company and the British resulted in €racism, slavery, attempted genocide, the expropriation of land of indigenous people and the exploitation of their labour as forced labour. Here lie the roots of national oppression• (Legassik, 2008, p. 441). Massive structural inequalities were introduced. €Two new and unambiguous forms• of inequality were slavery (slaves numbered almost 40% of the total population of the Cape at the time of emancipation in 1834) and the €reduction of the Khoikhoi to landless labourers• (Bundy, 1992, p. 27). The ƒwars of conquest, of the late 1700,s, in the form of the frontier wars, annexations and alienation of Xhosa land brought further inequality, transferring property ownership and creating new relations of production (Bundy, 1992, p. 28).

Colonisation enabled the European to construct an inferior African ƒother, which could become objectivised as the necessary and cheap source of labour. The psychology of the process of inferiorisation in the colonial context is described by Fanon (1963) as dehumanising and a ƒcolonisation of the mind,. This process of inferiorisation enabled the later powerful forces relating to industrialised capitalism to take an even more potent hold on South African society. The importance of early racism in the colony is contested, as both the dynamics of colonial racism and capitalist motives of accumulation may be seen as the basis for the structuring of South African society.

Colonial racism in South Africa is described by Tsotsi (2000, p. 6) as the story of how Europeans defeated, robbed and ruled the ƒblacks, for the enrichment of the ƒwhites,. Massive inequality was structured along racial lines from the early colonial days. Racist policies began to be entrenched from as early as 1686, when the first colour discriminatory law was passed to prohibit Europeans from marrying freed slaves of full colour, although they were still able to marry freed slaves of mixed blood (Tsotsi, 2000, p. 25). Slavery served as a basis for accumulation and ƒhelped toingrain racially coded relations of coercion and subordination in colonial culture, (Bundy, 1992, p. 27).

The role of philanthropic and liberal organisations such as the London Missionary Society (which sent missionaries to South Africa in 1799) centred on converting the ƒheathen, to Christianity and spreading ƒcivilisation,. However, beyond the Christian liberal discourse and missionary zeal, was a motive relating to capitalist imperialism. For example, William Wilberforce, leader of the London Missionary Society, received strong support from the ƒClapham sect, representing the industrial and mercantile class, was a supporter of the ƒCorn Laws,, a tax to protect farmers and keep bread prices high and supported the ƒCombination Laws,, which made trade unions illegal (Tomkins, 2007; Majeke, 1953).

Wilberforce wrote that Christianity teaches the poor to be diligent, humble, patient and obedient, and to accept their lowly position in life. This made the inequalities between themselves and the rich appear to be less galling (Majeke, 1953). A central tenet of missionary ideology was the expansion of industrial capitalism and the empire. Philip, the representative of the London Missionary Society in South Africa states:

> €While our missionaries are everywhere scattering the seeds of civilisation, they are extending the British empire , Wherever the missionary places his standard among a savage tribe, their prejudices against the colonial government give way, their dependence upon the colony is increased by the creation of artificial wants,Industry, trade and agriculture spring up,and every genuine convert becomes the friend and ally of the colonial government• (Philip, 1821) cited by Bundy (1979, p. 39).

Social work and the era of colonial conquest

In South Africa, the history of social work cannot be separated from that of colonisation and imperialist exploitation. The evolution of its practice occurred not only within the framework of existent social welfare policies, but was also driven and shaped by the earlier social and political context. Colonialism disrupted and denigrated traditional forms of social relations, and how social work which grew from this context was characterised by paternalism and welfare policies that favoured whites as the welfare elite (Patel, 2005).

It is clear that the liberal as well as the Afrikaner nationalist agenda characterised the development of social work in South Africa. Even seminal social work texts (McKendrick, 1990), which describe early colonial relations use a liberal hegemonic discourse of the benevolent European who, due to a flourishing trade merely found it ƒdesirable to have a fresh source of supplies, at mid-voyage. McKendrick (1991, p. 6) maintains that although initial contacts between whites and the Khoi were friendly, ƒstock thefts committed by the Khoi led to a war followed by an attempt by the whites to define a boundary to the land which they occupied,. No analysis is given of the reduction of the Khoisan to a servile labouring class under the control of colonists (Lester, 1996). Furthermore, the mention of ƒstock-thefts, by the Khoi (McKendrick, 1990), is not described as being the result of the loss of the traditional grazing land in the Cape Peninsula and thus the loss of independent means of subsistence. After the conquest of the Khoi, they were incorporated into the colonial agricultural economy. These material relations formed the basis for later ƒsystems of segregation and apartheid, (Lester, 1996, p. 25).

As in Europe, early formalised welfare developments centred around children and juveniles, with the establishment by the Dutch Reformed Church of an orphanage in 1814. Demonstrating how social work arose from the structural class based relations of the time, the philanthropic, liberal movement in Britain through Mary Carpenter established a ƒworking and visiting society, in 1825, and a reformatory in 1852. One of her essays of 1851 was titled: Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes and for Juvenile Offenders (Smith, 2002).

The philanthropic movement overlapped with liberal-utilitarian projects around the reform and incarceration of ƒdeviants, incolonial prisons, lunatic asylums and hospitals (Sen, 2005). These were seen as ƒenclaves of disciplinary power, Scholarship generally emphasized the €utility of deviance in the extension of the state into the uncolonised spaces of native society• (Sen, 2005, p. 8).

In India, as in South Africa, the development of social work activities is also located within the framework of juvenile reform and colonial capitalism. Satadru Sen (2005) describes the gathering of career jailers, bureaucrats, native authority figures,

women social workers, capitalists and religious colonizers around the project of juvenile reform: €a genre of formidable social workers and colonial child-savers• and include Florence Nightingale, Mary Carpenter, Emily Hobhouse, Elizabeth Fry and Jane Addams. They were seen as €women driven by middle class anxieties about urbanity and colonialism…Armed with great religious and cultural confidence, and expansive notion of ƒwomen,s work, and a wfllingness to take on entrenched bastions of male authority in assorted bureaucracies• (Sen, 2005, p. 18). They were also seen as €reactionary in their attitude to the poor, the foreign, the heathen and the non-white and subversive in their willingness to critique the institutions and practices of their own social milieu• (Sen, 2005, p. 19).

### 2.3.2 Industrialisation and m ining revolution 1870 € 1920

| | |
|---|---|
| 1867 | Discovery of diamonds in South Africa |
| 1877 | First American Charity Organisation Society |
| 1884/85 | Berlin conference to formalize ƒscramble for Africa, |
| 1894 | South African Glen Gray Act |
| 1898 | New York School of Philanthropy established as first school for social workers |
| 1900 | South African War 1900 |
| 1900 | Emily Hobhouse, British social worker, forms Relief Fund for South African women and children |
| 1902 | Charlotte Maxeke, first South African social worker |
| 1908 | First Child Welfare Society in South Africa |
| 1910 | Formation of the Union of South Africa |
| 1912 | Formation of African National Congress |
| 1913 | South African Natives Land Act |
| 1914 | First World War |
| 1918 | Status Quo Act fixing job colour bar in favour of ƒwhite, miners |

Rapid transformation of the South African economy due to diamond and gold mining intensified social inequalities through the newly created demand for labour (Bundy, 1979, p. 28). The structuring of South African society was therefore greatly affected

by the economic interests and imperatives of mining capital after the 1870,s (Legassik, 2008; Lester, 1996). Legassik (2008, p. 441), maintains that €the real impact of capitalism came only with the discovery of gold and diamonds• as mines required cheap labour and used the pre-existing structures of segregation to achieve this. Segregation and apartheid thus served the interests of capitalism rather than merely being an ideology of Afrikaner nationalism. Racial domination had already occurred in early South African history, and these stratifications were exacerbated by the processes of mining capitalization which relied on racially oppressive and exploitative policies (Legassik, 2008).

Laws around relations of dominance had already been forged in the colonial conquest and the Native Affairs Commission of 1905 with its territorial and political segregation between ƒblack, and ƒwhite, laidhe further basis for the future racialised policy for the country. The gold mines also established patterns of hierarchy and inequality in labour with deep divisions along race and skill lines, reserving certain tasks for white, better paid miners (1911 Mine Works Act) (Bundy, 1979).

The reserves in the rural areas fulfilled the role of social reproduction of the labour force, supplying cheap labour to the mines, which also led to underdevelopment of these reserves. An example of such coercion of migration from rural areas to supply labour needs was the Glen Gray Act 25 of 1894 (Thompson and Nicholls, 1993, p. 58), on land tenure and labour extraction. It eliminated communal tenure of land and provided for the allocation of no more than one single plot to ƒblack, heads of households. According to Ncapayi (2005, p. 24) the introduction of the Glen Grey Act in the Cape in 1894, aimed to force Africans off the land and make them wage workers.

The emergence of a labouring class for the mines through the operation of the market alone would have taken too long. Extra-economic methods were needed, such as the "the legislative power of the state and the creation of monopolistic recruiting organisations." (Webster, 1978 cited by Thompson and Nicholls, 1993, p. 59). Other such legislation included the Squatters Law (1895); the Pass Law (1896) and the Land Act (1913), which reserved less than 10% of the land for Africans (Patel, 2005, p. 67).

Increased levels of poverty among white Afrikaners, cattle losses during the ƒrinderpest, epidemic of the 1890s and the destruction of boer farms during the South African War, made a €mass phenomenon of Afrikaner proletarianisation• (Bundy, 1979, p. 30). This led to the movement of thousands of ƒpoor white, Afrikaners from the rural areas to the cities. It was primarily with this group that state welfare and social work services would later be directed. This white migration to urban areas and the threat it posed to black workers then led to various black worker resistance and militancy between 1915 and 1917 (Worden, 2008).

Explanations for South African socio-political developments in the motivations of Afrikaner Nationalism also prevail. Lowe (1988, p. 22), writing about the development of social work in South Africa, maintains that Apartheid as a social and political ideology, developed from Afrikaner Nationalism and arose as €a reaction initially to British Imperialism, and later to internal racial/ethnic forces• as well as religion, specifically Calvinism (Lowe, 1988, p. 24). Both Afrikaner Nationalists and liberal writers operated within the paradigm of racial pluralism, assuming race groups to be real categories and discrete entities, while generally neglecting economic interests. Generally, the spread of capitalist social relations was obscured by attention to racial categories and pluralism (Lipton, 2007, p. 9).

Liberal analysis, together with the political and social structuring of Afrikaner Nationalist state policies, produced discourses of ƒprotectionist, segregation (Worden, 2008). These developments were significant for the later development of social work, as the resultant structuring of society, ideologies and hegemonic racist discourses of the following era, together with international liberal and philanthropic influences, produced a form of social work which is indefensible.

Early development of social work prior to 1920

The history of formal social work internationally unfolded in an interdependent manner. In many areas of the world, similar narratives of the development of social work exist, most claiming the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century as

the beginning era. The evolution of the profession of social work arose from philanthropic, religious and gender struggles, related to the contexts of the times.

In the late 1860s, British social work tended to mirror the concerns, fears, and prejudices of the Victorian middle and upper classes as they related to the ƒproblem of the poor,, which was seen as threatening the social fabric of British cities (Ferguson and Woodward, 2009). According to Harman (2008), the middle class of the mid-nineteenth century had been willing to tolerate the poor living in overcrowded squalor and dying of disease and hunger. However, by the late nineteenth century they understood how diseases could spread from poor to rich neighbourhoods, and pushed for the building of sewage systems, the clearing of overcrowded city centres, the supply of clean water, and the provision of gas to light streets and warm homes. Groups of capitalists set out to profit from such services and employed new groups of workers to supply them (Harman, 2008, p. 380).

The origins of social work in Britain are in the Charity Organisation Societies (COS), founded in 1869 by Octavia Hill, with ƒfriendly visiting, carried out by COS volunteers to assess the circumstances of potential recipients of services. Dominated by an ideology of individualism, explanations for poverty were sought in the character of the individual client, rather than in social and economic structures. Typical attitudes included that €the poor need to be coerced into behaving morally•, often through the medium of a ƒfriendly visitor, (Ferguson, 2008, p.40). €When an applicant is truly starving he may be given a piece of bread if he eats it in the presence of the giver• (Lewis, 1995, cited by Ferguson, 2008, p. 90). The dominant explanations for the spread of poverty and unrest were found in moralistic discourses around ƒmisguided interference in the market forces which would undermine family responsibility,; a perceived negative impact of charity which would ƒundermine character,,and then concerns around charity being wasted on the ƒundeserving poor, rather than on the ƒdeserving poor,. This argument wasbased on social Darwinism and eugenics that maintained that some people were beyond help due to their weak genetic inheritance (Ferguson and Woodward, 2009, p. 18). As will emerge later, eugenics and its strongly racist discourse would form an important base for the development of social work in South Africa during the 1920s and 1930s.

McKendrick (1990, p. 10) describes the markedly different ways in which poverty between ƒblack, and ƒwhite, groups were dealt with in South Africa in the early 1900s. ƒWhite, poverty became the primary welfare and social work focus of the state, and specifically through programmes of the Dutch Reformed Church and women‚s organisations, who viewed the pool of ƒpoor whites as degenerate‚. However, concerns around health and wellbeing of communities also occurred along racist lines. Early concerns around the wellbeing of white communities developed around ƒsanitation syndrome‚ concerns that ƒblack, inhabitants spread infection, which led to removals and racial segregation (Worden, 2008, p. 47).

During this era the first voluntary Child Welfare Society organisations were formed, namely the Cape Town Child Welfare Society in 1908, and the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society in 1909 (Beukes and Gannon, 1999).

Various narratives of social work history of the early1900s in South Africa exist. One of these relate to the presence of Emily Hobhouse, a British welfare campaigner, in the boer concentration camps during the South African Wars between 1896 and 1900. She is commonly credited for being the ƒfirst social worker in South Africa‚. She was opposed to the Boer War and denounced the activities of the British government. In 1900, she formed the Relief Fund for South African Women and Children, to feed, clothe, harbour and save women and children left destitute as a result of military operations (Spartacus Educational, 2010).

However, other discourses remain hidden. Little is written about the welfare and social work activities of the early 1900s which emerge when archival sources are explored. These include the work of Charlotte Maxeke (1874 „ 1839), a campaigner for women‚s and workers, rights, as a ƒnative welfare officer, injuvenile welfare at the Johannesburg Magisterial Courts. Berger (2001, p.554) refers to A.B. Xuma‚s pamphlet on her life: Charlotte Manye (Mrs. Maxeke) or What an Educated African Girl Can Do. The pamphlet includes a brief foreword by W. E. B. Du Bois, Maxeke‚s teacher and friend at Wilberforce University.

Social work activities remained in the religious, philanthropic, ƒwelfare, realm of social control, rehabilitation and work with the indigent, although a more radical social work

developed in the realm of social resistance movements, social action and political organisation. There was no formal social work training and most of social workers, practised as such due to their leadership skills, social commitment, liberal ideals and educational advantage. It is however the first, liberal and philanthropic, status quo maintenance form of social work which became formalised in the South African context, especially as the state later gained control of such activities and training institutions, dictating and structuring the form and content of the unfolding profession.

### 2.3.3 1920•s until 1948

| | |
|---|---|
| 1920 | African mineworkers strike and co-option of radicalised skilled workers |
| 1922 | Trade union militancy and general strike of white, workers (Rand Revolt) |
| 1924 | Pact government of General Hertzog |
| 1924 | First diploma course in social work, University of Cape Town |
| 1929 | Formation of South African Institute of Race Relations |
| 1930 | Formation of Race Welfare Society |
| 1930-38 | Great Depression |
| 1932 | Report of Carnegie Commission of Inquiry into the poor white, problem |
| 1932 | Stellenbosch University offers first degree course in social work |
| 1933 | Verwoerd becomes Chair of the Department of Sociology and Social Work at the University of Stellenbosch |
| 1934 | South African Party (Smuts) and National Party (Hertzog), form fusion, government |
| 1937 | Establishment of Department of Welfare |
| 1939 | Beginning of WWII |
| 1943 | Founding of the Non-European Unity Movement, |
| 1944 | Post-war Planning of social welfare |

White workers fought to maintain their positions by opposing the appointment of cheap black migrant workers, labour through increasing white labour militancy which led to the ƒRand Revolt, in 1922 (Worden, 2008). These events led to a new drive towards racial segregation. It was only after the coming into power of the ƒPact, government of General Hertzog in 1924, that specific attention was turned to the problem of white indigence (McKendrick, 1990, p. 10).

A related development was the pre-occupation of welfarist groups from the 1920,s with sex and social hygiene, relating to eugenics and social Darwinism (Glaser, 2005). Mass female urbanization had implications for urban planning, public health, social services and juvenile delinquency and state and private welfare organisations worked closely to find strategies for dealing with the perceived €problems of uncontrolled sexuality• (Glaser, 2005, p. 302). The drive for this preoccupation included population growth and management of social resources; premarital sex and pregnancy which damaged the stability of the urban family; spread of venereal disease major public health issue; ƒcross-racial, sex which challenged ƒracial, boundaries; and young aggressive male sexuality which posed a potential security threat to women (Glaser, 2005).

The Race Welfare Society, founded in 1930 and led by H.B. Fantham (who had been the Dean of Science of the University of the Witwatersrand from 1923 to 1926), used theories of eugenics to limit the fertility of the ƒpoor whites,, cultivate a healthy and productive white population and avoid white race ƒdegeneration, (Legassik,1976).By the 1930s the state was increasingly concerned about unemployed African women in the city. The formation of the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1929 was a further example of the liberal effort which supported the government,s segregationist policy.

Leading South African liberals such as Alfred Hoernle (Professor and presenter of the Phelps-Stokes lectures of 1939) and Winifred Hoernle (an Anthropology lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand and ƒexperienced in welfare services for blacks,) (Dubow, 1995) became involved in the Race Welfare society in 1935 after it changed its focus to all of the ƒrace, groups. This wasin reaction to the rapid growth in the urban African population and visible problem of ƒblack, poverty with the motive

in part to limit African population growth (Dubow, 1995, p. 178). It then changed its name to the National Council for Maternal and Family Welfare (Glaser, 2005, p. 317).

By 1933, after the Race Welfare Society had expanded services to include ƒ African, people, it had become attractive for liberals to join these organisations to help Africans, while simultaneously adhering to the government‚s segregationist policies (Dubow, 2000). A further example of such welfare activity was the establishment of the Joint Committee for Non-European work, formed under the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society (JCWS), to co-ordinate welfare work among ƒ non-whites‚. Wilfred Hoernle later became president of the JCWS in 1951. Much welfare activity also continued to centre around work with young people, such as the establishment of youth movements „ boy scouts and girl guides and ƒ special forms of organisations‚to allow for the admission of non-European children (wayfarers and pathfinders). Hoernle also appears in the report of the Post War Planning conference held at the University of the Witwatersrand (1944, p. 125) as a discussion chairperson of a session on €social research in the planning of social welfare work•.

The liberal support for segregationist policies is evidenced by the statement of Hoernle (1939, cited by Legassick, 1979, p. 231):

> €The great task of South African development was to guide the ' gradual transformation of the mass of natives into the class of wage-earning labourers, wisely on such lines that the creation of a corrupt, discontented, and dangerous industrial proletariat is avoided.•

And so it was, that social work, within the framework of state policy and legislation, comfortably embraced liberal ƒ status quo maintenance, activities.McKendrick (1990, p. 12) uses a liberal perspective in ascribing this state of affairs to ƒ the long-ingrained racial attitudes of white persons, reflected in discriminatory state-sponsored social welfare and social assistance programmes‚.

The Report of the Carnegie Commission of Inquiry of 1932 into the causes of white poverty, played an important role in solidifying white Afrikaner political and economic

dominance. The role of the Carnegie Commission of Inquiry is of great importance in understanding the development of social welfare and social work in South Africa, in terms of policy, the development of ideology and the discipline of social work and its institutions. Such foundations are described as

> €prime constructors of hegemony, by promoting consent and discouraging dissent against capitalist democracy...Their influence is exerted in many ways, among them: creating ideology and the common wisdom,and supporting those institutions by which policies are initiated and implemented• (Roelofs, 2007, p. 480).

The ƒPoor White Study, of the Carnegie Commission was widely recognized as an important factor leading to the rise of the National Party, whose slogan in the 1948 general elections it won was, €The white man must remain master.• (Carnegie corporation of New York, 2004). Following its recommendations, the Department of Social Welfare was established in 1937. This signalled a conscious state decision to become more involved in welfare programmes, directed primarily towards whites (McKendrik, 1990, p. 12).

In 1926, an important ideological perspective was put forward by the Pact government and its Economic and Wages Commission, which used a structural approach to poverty, acknowledging the role of circumstances rather than psychological factors or personal responsibility in the causes of poverty. However, the Carnegie Report was a ƒbacklash, against this project of welfare state building, emphasising psychological traits and ƒretarded adjustment, (in Seekings, 2008, p. 520). This shift is of relevance to the forming of social work in South Africa as it related to its formalising and professionalization. €The poor needed to be rehabilitated through developing new personal and psychological qualities• (in Seekings, 2008, p. 521). This laid the grounds for social work,s remedial and pathologising nature as well as the initial curricula focussing on the individual and rehabilitation.

Non-profit organisations and churches, in many cases funded by the state, played an important part in building institutional and infrastructural capacity in schools. The

Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), by way of its many subsidiary bodies, such as the ACVV or Afrikaanse Christelike Vroueverenigingen (Afrikaans Christian Women,s Association) built and managed the many industrial and agricultural schools (Fourie, 2007, p. 1288) and, strengthened through government support, provided programmes for young women from rural areas, such as poor relief, hostels for work-seeking young women and services for unmarried mothers.

Social work,s collaboration with racist segregationist and later apartheid policies and its liberal character may be seen within the context of the liberal efforts of the early 1930s. Support for policies which advanced white interests and ƒprotected, the Africans, seemed to fit well with liberal ideologies and policies of the time to structure and create a separate ƒnative world, based on the religion and ethics of the white ruling minority. Legassick (1976, p. 235) quotes from the 1936 report of the Native Affairs Commission:

> €There can be a Bantu nation in South Africa, every member of which can be proud to be a South African, The ideal is to recreate a Bantu world which shall be enlightened by our religion and ethics, and instructed by our economic experience, whether that world lives and works in European areas or whether it is separate from the Europeans as in the Native Reserves; a world in which the interests of each in its own sphere shall be paramount, without detriment to the other. All our legislation aims at doing this.•

Liberalism acted ideologically and institutionally to reproduce the particular differentiated structures of South African racialised capitalism (Legassick, 1979). Given the liberal and philanthropic history of social work, justifying participation in these activities would have been easy.

Social work between 1920 - 1948

The Carnegie Report had recommended the formalised training of social welfare professionals (Seekings, 2008). The history of social work education in South Africa dates back to the 1920s. The first University training was founded at the University of

Cape Town in 1924. Professor Bateson of the University of Cape Town (representing liberalism) and Professor Verwoerd of the University of Stellenbosch (representing Afrikaner nationalism) were considered to be founding figures in social work education. Other Universities and training institutions followed, such as the institutions of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Minnie Hofmeyr College for ƒcoloured, women and the Huguenot College for ƒwhite, women (previously Friedenheim College) (1931), the Transvaal University College in 1929 (the University of Pretoria), the University of the Witwatersrand (1937) Jan Hofmeyr College for ƒblack, social workers (1941), DeColigny Training Institution (Dutch Reformed Church Seminary in Transkei), and the Strydom College Training School (Ntusi, 1997; Van der Merwe, 2011).

The curriculum content, according to Kotze (1998), was strongly based on British and American models, with a clinical approach focussing on case and group work (which inhered with the philosophy of personal responsibility). The basis for social work training, although this training varied across schools of social work in the country, was predominantly that of the welfare system of the day and focussed on the preparation of practitioners for work in a therapeutic and restorative social welfare system (Lombard, 1998, p. 17). The role of the hegemonic discourse of the Carnegie Commission Report around psychological factors and personal responsibility cannot however be underestimated, and still tends to have an impact on current social work thinking.

The Race Relations Report (1936) on a social work conference in Johannesburg in September-October of 1936, attended by social workers of all ƒraces,, but predominantly ƒEuropean,, described the €remarkable extent to which non-europeans had benefitted from the development of social welfare activities•. Social Work education generally developed in accordance with the trends of the time, and often succumbed to the dictates of policies such as separate higher education institutions and prescriptions of services according to racial categorisation (cited in the Social Welfare Post War Planning Conference Proceedings, 1944, p. ). As such, African social workers were trained at separate colleges and training institutions. McKendrick (1990, p. 182), however maintains that €early moves were largely stimulated by a genuine desire to train black social workers to work with the

problems experienced by black people•. Such statements may be interpreted as evidence of the alluded to (liberal) Gramscian ƒcommon understandings, which have a privileged location in the uninspected realm of the consciousness (Hill, 2009).

An example of a prominent institution among these, was the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work in Johannesburg which was opened in 1941 by Ray Phillips and supported by among others, Job Richard Rathebe (trained as a social worker in the USA and member of the South African Institute of Race Relations) and A.B. Xuma (President of the ANC in 1940) (Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work pamphlet, 1940). However, it closed in 1959 when the state enacted legislation that resulted in tertiary education institutions falling under its control. Some well known graduates from the college included Ellen Kuzwayo; Joshua Nkomo; Winnie Mandela; and Gibson Kente. Funders included the Union government; Transvaal Chamber of Mines; the Phelps Stokes Fund and the Carnegie Corporation (Phillips, News, 1943), all well established institutions with clear liberal ideological positions. In a newspaper article about the School, the evidence of hegemonic liberal discourse and the misrecognition of relations of conflict and exploitation are evident:

> €The need for such a school has long been felt. The impact of Western civilisation upon us has uprooted us from the anchor of the ancient life of our race, and thus has created social problems that can only be dealt with by trained men and women,It is becoming clearer and clearer to many Europeans that the welfare of their race in this country is bound up with that of the African race. They realise that as corn and tare [an undesirable weed] cannot grow side by side without the one overwhelming the other. So civilisation and barbarism cannot be allowed to grow side by side.• (Bantu World, 1940)

In spite of such racist and imperialist discourse, the Hofmeyr college later seemed to pose a threat to the state,s ideology and policies. It was taken over in 1950 by the Government and later closed down due to the undesirability of admission of ƒalien, black students from outside South Africa; claims by government officials that the educational level was unnecessarily high and the Extension of Universities Education Act in 1959 which forced students to attend institutions established for

their group (Lowe, 1988, p. 27). At the post-war planning conference of 1944, hosted by the Social Work Department of the University of the Witwatersrand, it was resolved that social work training should occur in the form of a three-year degree course (Post-War Planning for Social Welfare, 1944), however, ƒblack, social work training was to be at diploma-level (McKendrick, 1990, p. 182).

### 2.3.4 Apartheid Era from 1948

| | |
|---|---|
| 1950 | Population Registration Act; Immorality Act; Group Areas Act; Suppression of Communism Act |
| 1952 | Launch of defiance campaign |
| 1955 | Congress of the People in Kliptown and adoption of the Freedom Charter |
| 1956 | Mass demonstrations of women against Pass Laws |
| 1956-1961 | Rivonia treason trial |
| 1959 | Formation of Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) |
| 1959 | Extension of University Education Act |
| 1960 | Sharpeville shootings and bannings of ANC, SACP and PAC |
| 1969 | Formation of South African Students Organisation led by Steve Biko |
| 1976 | Student protests in Soweto |
| 1977 | Murder of Steve Biko and banning of Black consciousness organisation |
| 1983 | Formation of United Democratic Front |

The development of Afrikaner nationalism and Afrikaner ethnic identity transcended economic concerns and was not only connected to the material realm of capitalism, it was €firmly planted in a worldview determined by ethnicity• (Lester, 1996, p. 98). There were three objectives to Apartheid: to preserve Afrikaner identity; the securing of white supremacy and economic privilege from African urbanisation and social advancement; and to elevate the Afrikaner community into a position of equality and/or dominance over the English (Lester, 1996).

The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 made local chiefs responsible for tax collection and ƒbetterment schemes, in agriculture, which led to the undermining of their authority (Worden, 2008). Rural uprisings occurred, and links were made with urban protests such as defiance and pass laws campaigns. However, these struggles failed to realise fully their potential in challenging the state. It is argued that the ANC were ƒuneasy in a proletarian alliance, (Worden, 2008, p. 113). The Non-European Unity Movement played an important role in advocating for tactics of boycott and non-collaboration, focussing on the interests of the working class and refusing to recognise race as a valid category of political organisation (Worden, 2008, p. 115). The Freedom Charter of 1955 and the subsequent charterist ideology, united the various groupings, including the Communist Party, which had accepted the principle that a national-democratic stage of revolution had to precede socialist transformation (Hudson, 1988, cited by Worden, 2008).

Apartheid‚s ƒsecond phase, of separate development, enforced segregation and determined application of ƒinflux control‚, overtook the earlier economic motives of segregationist policies (Worden, 2008, p. 121). The promulgation of the Extension of University Education Act of 1959 had an important impact on social work training institutions, formally providing for separate educational institutions along racial lines and placing restrictions on the admission of other-than-white-students to ƒnon-racial‚ universities such as in Cape Town, Natal and the Witwatersrand. The black University Colleges became independent Universities in 1969 (McKendrick, 1991, p. 185).

In the midst of entrenchment of white supremacy and severely repressive state activity, in welfare circles, concern mounted in the 1950s about the visible ƒwhite‚ working class youth gang subculture. Blame for white delinquency was put on inadequate parenting in particular on the part of working and single mothers, to which churches and other service organisations responded by developing youth movements and programmes on health, family and marriage life (Glaser, 2005, p. 323). At the same time, youth gangs developed in the African townships, ƒasserting a particularly aggressive form of masculinity, (Glaser, 2005, p. 323). The environment of poverty, overcrowding, shebeens and pass law raids led to African adaptation in the form of popular culture called ƒmarabi‚, which helped to deal with these difficulties

of existence (Lester, 1996, p. 89). By 1964, birth control among Africans was placed high on the state,s agenda, with a memorandum to cabinet stating that it was in the long-term interest of the state to reduce the size of ƒnon-white families,.

The emergence of black consciousness originating among university students and led by Steve Biko, was a powerful new strategy to act as the Hegelian anti-thesis to the thesis of white racism (Biko, 1978). This movement became known too for its commitment to social development among rural black communities.

Social work until the State of emergency in 1985

When considering the scale of oppression, hardship and suffering of the majority of the population through Apartheid measures, and the absence of an appropriate social work response, the nature of social work as an instrument of the state becomes evident. It was only on the marginal fringe of ƒalternative welfare structures and social movements, that a social work of resistance and opposition to the status quo, was practiced.

Gradually therefore, after 1948, various welfare alliances among those in the welfare network splintered. And so, by 1960, €welfare became synonymous with white welfare under Nationalist rule. As ƒwhite, families stabilised and poverty declined, government welfare services could cope with the small numbers who fell through the cracks.• (Glaser, 2005, p. 327). The provision of welfare services among African people was greatly neglected and in keeping with the overall violations of human rights and precepts of social justice.

Apartheid social welfare was tied to the political and economic objectives of the time (Patel, 2005). The services were incapable of meeting the needs of the majority and were oriented towards social control and influencing people to adapt to an unjust social system (McKendrick, 1990). However, although social work is indicted with having supported the status quo in South Africa, community work, especially as it emerged in the alternative social development movements, did have a radical and transformative character in that it challenged apartheid social welfare (Patel, 2005, p. 79). These alternative and progressive practices contributed to the evolution of a

just social welfare system after 1994 as well as to fundamental shifts in South African society.

An example of participation in the struggle for social justice is that of the South African Black Social Workers Association (SABSWA), which played an important role in the resistance against Apartheid. For example, in 1977, the Black People's Convention (BPC) convened a consultative meeting with various organisations at Hammanskraal, to work out strategies on frustrating the pending "independence" of Bophuthatswana from the Republic of South Africa. Present were among others, SABSWA (Mpotseng, 1978).

Returning to the narrative of ƒwhite, social welfare and social work, 1978 saw the promulgation of three laws which were enacted simultaneously. These were the National Welfare Act 100/1978, which established the National Welfare Council; the Social and Associated Workers Act 110/1978, which granted full professional status to social workers, although this was seen as a measure of control of specifically political activities (Patel, 2005, p. 73), and the Fundraising Act 107/1978, which imposed regulatory measures on fundraising by welfare organisations (Greater Johannesburg Welfare, Social Service and Development Forum, 1999). Social workers rendered services only to their ƒown group, and salaries were differentiated. In mainstream social work little recognition occurred regarding the conflicts of class and exploitation, consciousness of which was subsumed by the liberal narrative which interpreted those conflicts as being of race and Afrikaner nationalism.

### 2.3.5 Transition 1983 -1994

| | |
|---|---|
| 1985 | Declaration of state of emergency and time of most violent repression by the apartheid state |
| 1986 | Repeal of Pass Laws |
| 1987 | ƒWashington consensus, as the start of the neoliberal era of global capitalism |
| 1988 | F W De Klerk replaces P W Botha as president of South Africa |
| 1989 | Launch of ANC civil disobedience campaign |

| | |
|---|---|
| 1990 | Unbanning of ANC, PAC and Communist Party |
| 1993 | Negotiations and interim constitution |
| 1994 | Democratically elected Government of National Unity |

According to Lund (2008), during the 1980s, the ideological shifts in policies of the North and the economic crises of the South undermined many social policies in both rich and poor countries: €Social policy was given a residual role of coping with the consequences of socially blind macroeconomics• (Lund, 2006, p.vii). Global neo-liberal capitalism, defined and clarified at the Washington consensus of 1987, also had profound effects on South Africa and its welfare policies.

Social work between 1986 and the 1994 transition

Prior to the 1994 transition, social work resistance to the Apartheid regime occurred in various sporadic ways, often in social workers, activities within the political resistance movements. However, in a more formalised way, €progressive social workers of various persuasions• in the late 1980s, also began to question their own roles in human service delivery (Ntebe, 1994, p.41). Ntebe (1994) describes various conferences facilitated by social work educational institutions: €University of the Western Cape ƒSocial Welfare at the Watershed,, 1987; University of the Witwatersrand ƒTowards a Democratic Welfare System -Options and Strategies,, 1989; Maputo ƒHealth and Welfare in Transition,, 1990; and the University of the Western Cape ƒPeople,s Health and Social Services,, 1991, along with numerous other seminars, workshops, discussions, protest pickets•. Progressive social workers, were thus in search of a unitary, non-racist, democratic welfare system, best enacted through a radical social work approach, as proposed by Ntebe (1994, p. 43).

Social work as a profession in apartheid South Africa had been €understood to be inherently linked with, and in its execution inherently dependent upon, a system of racial segregation and the institutionalisation of white supremacy. This was irrespective of whether individual welfare organisations or professionals practiced racial discrimination or not.• (Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004, p. 76).

Social work and the welfare system in South Africa may therefore be criticised for being complicit with the white supremist goals of the apartheid era South Africa (Patel, 2005). Furthermore, Sewpaul and Holscher (2004, p. 94) argue that social work had also remained true to its desire for recognition by those who hold hegemonic discursive power in society namely a ƒnew right,, neoliberal and managerialist South African social welfare system operating on discourses of modernity.

During the 1980s, the South African government, as did other countries with more conservative governments such as those of Thatcher in Britain and Reagan in the United States, embarked on a process of change in the welfare system based on the logic of the market (Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004, p. 42). This change movement is referred to as ƒthe New Right,, which it is argued by various authors (Ledwith, 2001; Mishra, 1999; Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004), cleverly diluted the more radical tradition. In South Africa, the socio-political context seems to have played a further contributing role to these changes. According to Patel (2005, p. 77), critical observers believed that the South African government came to realise that political change was inevitable and that privatisation (of welfare) would prevent a post-apartheid government from adopting radical redistributive policies.

### 2.3.6 Post 1994

1996 Adoption of the South African Constitution
1996 GEAR economic policy adopted
1999 Thabo Mbeki elected as second president of SA
2002 Government HIV/AIDS anti-retroviral rollout plan announced
2005 Rise of formalised resistance through social movements such as Abahlali Basemjondolo (shack dwellers movement)
2012 Marikana Massacre

The transition to democracy and the elections of 1994 was characterised by hope and commitment to social justice and transformation of society which had suffered the consequences of a long history of colonialism and apartheid. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission contributed to the attempts at bringing about healing for

a nation which had suffered not only decades, but centuries of oppression and injustice. The South African constitution, adopted in 1996, is considered to be one of the most progressive in the world, ensuring protection of Human Rights for all.

However, during the decades of the 1980s and 1990s pressures by global economic institutions and the background context of the ƒWashington consensus, which ushered in the global neo-liberal economic shift towards an unfettered free market, fiscal discipline and privatisation, led to the adoption by the South African government of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution programme (GEAR) in 1996 (Noyoo, 2003 p. 37). This was a shift from the Redistribution and Development Programme (RDP) with its direct government responsibility for meeting basic human needs and its redistributive focus (Adato, Carter and May, 2006). Only a few of the protective aspects of social policy were retained, and emphasis was placed on ƒthe deserving poor,, to mitigate against the worst effects of structural adjustments (Lund, 2008). This shift in 1996 was the South African government‚s response to pressures of Bretton Wood financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and its renewed commitment to rampant capitalism and the belief in the logic of the market as the solution to the world‚s problems. The changes hoped for during the 1994 democratic transition, have therefore occurred politically but not in terms of socio-economic justice. Socio-economic transformation is said to have failed due to the choices made by government which €strengthened the minerals-energy complex (MEC), introduced financialisation and allowed capital flight, hastened deindustrialisation and amplified poverty, unemployment and inequality.• (Bond, 2012).

Although significant political transformation had occurred through the movement for democratic change leading up to the 1994 elections, the levels of poverty and social injustices experienced by mostly ƒblack, communities, led to the mobilization of social movements such as Abahlali Basemjondolo (shack dwellers movement); the Landless Peoples Movement; the Anti-eviction Campaign; and the Anti-privatisation Forum. These social movements as well as the rising swell of outrage at conditions of suffering and injustice, point to challenges to the structural conditions of unequal power relations and class conflict resulting from ƒrampant capitalism,. The democracy attained in 1994 is still to be realised in terms of changed realities for the majority of

South Africans. Rather than representing the dissident few, social mobilization in South Africa seems to have become €a conventional vehicle for the attainment of democratic rights for ever increasing numbers of citizens.• (Tapscott, 2010, p. 275). The social injustices of the past seem to have been aggravated by neo-liberal economic strategies of the present government and demonstrate a transition from race to class apartheid.

The most recent critically significant moment in South African history is the Marikana massacre of 16 August 2012, whereby 34 striking miners were killed by the South African police in what seemed to have been a deliberate ambush of the striking workers. While South Africa is said to be the wealthiest country in the world in terms of its mineral resources (Amandla, 2012), the paradox of the levels of exploitation and social injustice associated with mineworkers and the majority of South Africans is clear. Analysing the conditions which lie behind the massacre, Kassrils (2012, p. 7) states: €much lies behind the catastrophe: chiefly the exploitative mine owners and the horrendous conditions under which our country allows mineworkers to toil and their communities to fester•.

Understanding the role of neo-liberalism in the political economy of South Africa is critical for the analysis of current realities in South Africa. There are concerns that the state,s views of ongoing transition to a national democratic society still remain within the confines of neo-liberalism (Satgar, 2012). Formulations of the current ANC government are €shot through with a narrow liberal understanding of freedom and representative democracy, a conception of social capital emptied of an understanding of power relations, a state that hovers above class contradictions to regulate class conflict and a productivist conception of economic change; more growth and industrial jobs.• (Satgar, 2012, p. 5).

Social work after 1994

It is within these neo-liberal developments that South African social work found itself evolving after 1994. Between 1994 and 2001, approximately 27 laws administered by the Department of Social Development were amended or repealed, and new laws were adopted by the National Assembly and Provincial legislatures (Patel, 2005).

Specifically, the White Paper for Social Welfare (Department of Welfare, 1997) signalled the changes in South African social welfare policy as it outlined broad policy guidelines for welfare in South Africa based on a human rights approach. The principles of the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) include democracy, equity, Ubuntu, non-discrimination, human rights, people-centredness, human capital, sustainability, partnership, inter-sectoral collaboration, decentralisation of services, transparency, accountability, accessibility and appropriateness. In order to embrace these principles, social workers were required to depart radically from the forms of intervention and service provision of the previous Apartheid era.

However, neoliberalism also impacted the nature of social work. The nature of social work changed with the formation of a *f*social work business,discourse in which the culture of capitalism had €colonized the public sector as business thinking and practices crossed the public„ private sector divide and were transplanted into activities such as social work• (Harris, 2002, p. 5). As a result, social work shifted to operating in accordance with a *f*quasi-business discourse, within which the explicit or implicit assumption was that social work should, as far as possible, function as if it were a commercial business concerned with making profits. This seemed to be a trend internationally. For example, in Britain, a similar crisis emerged in the early 2000s which led to the drafting of the Social Work Manifesto which is a statement of the commitment of social work to social justice, renewed radical efforts at working towards a better and equal society and resistance against neo-liberal and managerialist discourses (Ferguson, 2008).

In South Africa after 1994, developmental discourse gained dominance, often presented from a neo-liberal, status-quo maintenance perspective. Social development became the totalising approach for social work in the fifteen years since the democratic transition. In itself, social development clearly pursues important social justice ideals, however, when these are transposed onto a neo-liberal capitalist agenda, social development becomes co-opted for the maintenance of the corporatist and capitalist system. The social justice aims of social development include, to:

- promote social and economic development;

- facilitate the participation of the socially excluded in developmental efforts
- achieve tangible improvements in the quality of life of people
- build human capabilities;
- promote social integration through the delivery of equitable and appropriate developmental welfare services for populations at risk of marginalisation and oppression and for people with special needs; and promote human rights (Patel, 2005; Midgely, 1995; Patel and Midgely, 2004, cited by Patel, Hochfeld, Graham and Selipsky, 2008, p. 4).

Social work seemed to be willing to do self-reflection. Gradual acknowledgement of the destructive and oppressive nature of some of South African social work,s past has occurred. New voices were heard regarding the imperative for the development of a critical perspective for appropriate preparation for practice. Ledwith (2001, p. 171) argues that community work (in social work) should be seen as critical pedagogy, as the political nature of education either situates educators as agents of the state or as agents of transformative change, either perpetuating the status quo or creating a context to question it.

The social work Standards Generating Body (SGB) process of developing standards for the education of social workers during the early 2000,s, identified learning outcomes for social work training. The following is stated as learning outcome 13 of the 27:

> Identify, select and implement various techniques, methods and means of raising awareness, developing critical consciousness about the structural forces of oppression, exclusion and disempowerment, and use such awareness to engage people as change agents•

After 1994, the political changes in South Africa therefore brought about concomitant changes in the conceptualisation of social work training and practice. As in general social work practice, community development, as espoused in the White Paper for Social Welfare (Department of Welfare, 1997), also became the urgent project of social work education institutions. At the conference on the transformation of social work education in 1998, Lombard (1998, p. 18) made a plea for a paradigm shift

which goes beyond the casework „ community work dichotomy towards that of contextualisation within social development. This shift had been initiated successfully and tended to focus on the empowerment of people; non-remedial forms of intervention; concern with participation and people,s networks; and concern with economic development and independence (Gray and Simpson, 1998). These shifts however seem situated (now) in the neo-liberal global capitalist discourse still reminiscent of the early days of social work formation. Not much seems to have changed.

## 2.4 Conclusion

The historiography of social work and the interconnection of events and wider forces in history that shape people,s lives, institutions and even disciplines (Harman, 2008) may be more fully understood from an historical-materialist perspective. The origins of social work in South Africa may be found in these dynamics, being founded on the consequences of the racist capitalist system and the resultant conditions of social conflict and unequal power relations. South African social work has been formed and shaped by the hegemonic ideologies of the various eras, from its early formation during the 1900s and even from the early colonial and imperialist origins. Social work on the other hand has also played a role in forming and shaping society in which it has an input.

During the 1930s social work gained legitimacy through the recommendations of the Carnegie Commission of enquiry as a profession directed at the project of alleviating ƒwhite, poverty and ƒwhite nation building, in South Africa. Social work knowledge and practice then characteristically reflected the hegemonic ideologies of the day, with the counter-hegemonic knowledge remaining excluded from formal social work discourse. As social work developed as a profession in South Africa, it centered around the maintenance of the racist status quo and the capitalist mode of production, as well as individualist and liberal ideologies, freedom of choice and personal responsibility. Only minimal counter-hegemonic discourse is found in formal social work texts, in keeping with state ideologies of the relevant eras. Avoiding a purely historical or chronological record of ƒprogress, in various socioөpolitical time periods is avoided by using a dialectical-historical perspective, as this allows for

these dynamics to be understood as formative of societal conditions and of the development of social work.

The system is maintained both through the political realm, or €the state,• through force and laws, and through the system-maintenance performed by €civil society,• or the private realm. The creation and maintenance of social work knowledge as a system, in the case of South African social work, thus occurred through the hegemonic discourses prevalent in reports of Commissions, formal teaching and writing activities of the various epochs. This chapter has thus attempted to provide a description of socio-political contexts and developments at various stages of South African history and thus elucidate the various ways in which social work knowledge and practice has been formed.

Recently, debates about the role of social work educators have emerged that call for even more critical reflection. It has become clear that educators of social work must commit themselves to the development of critical consciousness among students if they are to make a meaningful contribution as social workers in the South African context. They must €…have the power of criticism, and must not, in the name of objectivity and science, distance themselves from the power relations that exclude, oppress, subjugate, exploit and diminish other human beings• (Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004, p. 100). The call for an engagement with critical theory which challenges hegemonic discourse and foregrounds alternative explanations, bringing to consciousness those (mis)recognitions of relations of conflict and exploitation, is one which may allow for a greater understanding of socio-political contexts which shape the nature and form of social work on an ongoing basis.

It is such critical consciousness that will allow social work never to contemplate moments like the Marikana massacre and other forms of oppression and brutalisation, in a disengaged manner. Rather, it demands that social work engage with the full complexity of events such as the Marikana massacre, as emerging from the class and race based antagonisms of South African society. These crises and conflicts may be seen to herald a transformational and revolutionary moment in history „ so that social work may respond by playing a role in such history as well as being shaped by it.

# CHAPTER THREE: SOCIAL WORK KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICE: PERSPECTIVES AND APPROACHES

## 3.1 Introduction

The context of failing global capitalism, neo-liberalism, inequality, social exclusion and marginalisation and increasing concentration of capital in the hands of the few demands that social work re-examine predominant theories that were formulated €alongside the professionȩs emergence as a critic of, palliative for, and some would contend, servant to 20th-century capitalism• (Finn and Jacobson, 2003, p. 57). This chapter explores views around social work theories, social work perspectives and approaches as well as frameworks used to understand such theory, in order to develop a framework for social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change.

Social work perspectives and approaches, in terms of their theoretical underpinnings, gain dominance or shift in various social and historical contexts. Similarly, the discourse within social work is debated and shifts in accordance with the conditions of the context in which social workers find themselves (Payne, 2005). Social work knowledge and practice are often contested domains as these relate to both theoretical and ideological considerations. Practice decisions depend on knowledge, constraints of professional training, workplace demands, legal or bureaucratic responsibilities or structural conditions (Payne, 2005). Although the social work knowledge base is often claimed as the origin of many such decisions, it may have much more to do with other political or resource processes (Payne, 2001). On the other hand, prevailing ideological hegemony may impact on the shifts in knowledge development.

Professional knowledge may also be seen as ideological interpellation (Therborn, 1980) into professional identities or even a social process of construction of biases within a wider knowledge base. The role of knowledge within social sciences is more of a process of social construction than the establishment of irrefutable and universal laws of social behaviour (Payne, 2005, p. 145). Practice and realities of context also contribute significantly to the knowledge base of social workers. Hegemonic

discourses in social work theory tend to be Eurocentric and western. It is therefore impossible to disentangle theory and ideology. Graves (1998) maintains that the false opposition of "theory" and "political practice" should be dismantled, as the two are mutually reciprocal. Theory, an instrument of ideology, narrates and in so doing creates "political" circumstances. However, theory and a particular knowledge base may serve to produce specific political conditions while these political conditions, through a process of conscientisation become untenable. It is then that the whole theoretical and knowledge base must be reviewed and possibly challenged as an internal process of renewal and redefinition.

## 3.2 Nature of social work approaches

The historical origins of social work lead to it being described as a means of social control. Woodroofe (1962) maintains that poverty entailed moral degradation and a danger to peace and so €social work played a dual role of social sedative and regenerator. As a social sedative it served to damp down the social discontent by stressing the duties which the rich owed to the poor - while denying the fact that the poor had the social rights of a citizen. By making its concessions to the alleviation of poverty it helped . . . to eliminate the danger of social revolution• (in Philp, 1979, p. 94).

Typically conservative descriptions were therefore rooted in the societal mandate of working amongst the poor, giving assistance to individuals in difficulty, programmes of care for those needing succor and the *f* deserving poor, (Ferguson, 2008; Smalley, 1968, Witmer, 1942). These approaches focused on equipping the individual to cope in society and tended to overlook societal dysfunction and structural dimensions (Pritchard and Taylor, 1978). Social work became €excited by psychoanalytic theory, ego psychology, behavioural and cognitive psychology, and humanistic approaches• (Howe, 2009, p. 17). Later, attempts were made to incorporate a more social basis for human problems which led to the person-in-environment or psychosocial perspectives.

Various theoretical approaches have gained popularity in social work in recent years (Finn and Jacobson, 2003) and may be unconsciously adopted for their seeming

successful, utilisation as demonstrated in evidence based practice, or empirical practice, (Sheldon and MacDonald, 2009). Such dominant social work theoretical approaches include the strengths perspectives (Glicken, 2004, Saleeby, 2002, Seligman, 2002), systems theory and the ecosystemic perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, Germain and Gitterman, 1996, Mattaini, Lowery and Meyer, 2002), the empowerment approach (Lee, 2001), anti-oppressive practice (Dalrymple and Burke, 2006, Dominelli, 2002), anti-discriminatory practice and ethnic-sensitive practice (Devore and Schlesinger, 1999, Thompson, 2003), assets-based approaches (McKnight and Kretzman, 1996, Nel and Roestenberg, 2004) , critical social work with a postmodernist perspectives (Allan, Pease and Briskman, 2003, Pease and Fook, 1999) and social development approaches (Midgley, 1998, 2001, Midgley and Conley, 2001, Patel, 2005).

## 3.3 Frameworks for the analysis of social work theories

### 3.3.1 Introduction

Attempts have been made to categorise and develop frameworks for anlaysing theoretical perspectives and approaches utilised by social workers (Pritchard and Taylor, 1978; Philp, 1979; Burrel and Morgan, 1979; Midgley, 2001; Payne, 2005; Adams, Dominelli and Payne, 2009) and which enable greater consciousness and reflexivity about theory and practice. However, in the light of the claims of social work that it is a social justice profession, and being concerned with social change, such frameworks must be critically considered for their explanatory power in the achievement of such aims. Furthermore, given increased levels of inequality and mass poverty (Wilkinson and Picket, 2009), and revolutionary movements for social change, social work must also interrogate the ideological bases of its theories around social change as well as its knowledge and practice perspectives constitutive of social change.

Such varying social work theories therefore find their bases in varying ideological positions. Many of these approaches may be described as the individualist-reformist or reflexive-therapeutic perspectives (Payne, 2005). In spite of some of them being directed at collective levels of intervention, they generally situate problems as being

the personal responsibility of the individual, focus on the human agency aspect of the agency structure dichotomy, adopt the reformist view and accept that change is possible without broader structural and social change. These approaches also generally adopt a liberal ideology, liberal- rationalist economic perspective, incorporate a relativist postmodernist view and generally support and maintain the status quo of social reality, assisting individuals to cope and survive within its class antagonisms and conflicts. Various critiques have been levelled against some of these approaches, such as that of Finn and Jacobson (2003, p. 60) who maintain that approaches such as eco systems and systems approaches €offer little basis for critical engagement with questions of power. They tend to naturalize arbitrary power differences, and they assume rather than question the dominant social, political, and economic order•.

### 3.3.2 Conceptual differences and ideology

Conceptual differences in various social work perspectives, result from ideological differences in the views about the roots of social problems and how to fix them (Ferguson, 2008). Such differences extend from the conservative, reactionary, to the radical and revolutionary. A further concern which seems to pervade these theoretical frameworks is the agency-structure or subjective-objective dichotomy. In order to understand and analyse these various social work theories, various authors propose different frameworks (Pritchard and Taylor, 1978; Philps, 1979; Burrel and Morgan, 1979; Midgley, 2001; Payne, 2005; Adams, Dominelli and Payne, 2009).

The conceptual determinations of the present social structural framework (Meszaros, 2011) seem to limit many social work theories and frameworks from having a reach beyond isolated individualism, suppression of the temporality of historical realities; tendency towards formalism and neutrality, and negative views about what is possible.

### 3.3.3 Early theoretical frameworks

Early descriptions of theoretical frameworks reflect conceptual differences in the social work profession. Pritchard and Taylor (1978) for example describe four views

that mark such conceptual differences. Their categories include the moral-ethical; the psycho-pathological, the psycho-social and the radical-political (Pritchard and Taylor, 1978, p. 1). Another of the earlier frameworks was one described by Philps (1979), who began by contrasting the Marxist formulations such as those of Corrigan and Leonard (1978) and the integrative approaches of Specht and Vickery (1977), both of which he claims suffer from epistemological idealism. He uses a Foucauldian approach to describe how social work discourse has been produced historically by €multiple constraints• and describes how social work knowledge is paradoxical because it attempts to produce a subjective view of the person within objective knowledge.

Burrel and Morgan (1979), describe four paradigms, elaborated on by Howe (1987). Burrel and Morgan (1979) proposed philosophical positions about society based on €notions of order and conflict• and €how they split over whether people and their society should be understood subjectively or objectively• (Howe, 1987, p. 47). These dimensions ranging from the subjective include the humanist, postmodernist, constructionist approaches, to the objective approaches including the modernist, positivist and scientific. Social work (and social work theory) may then be analysed according to four distinct paradigms.

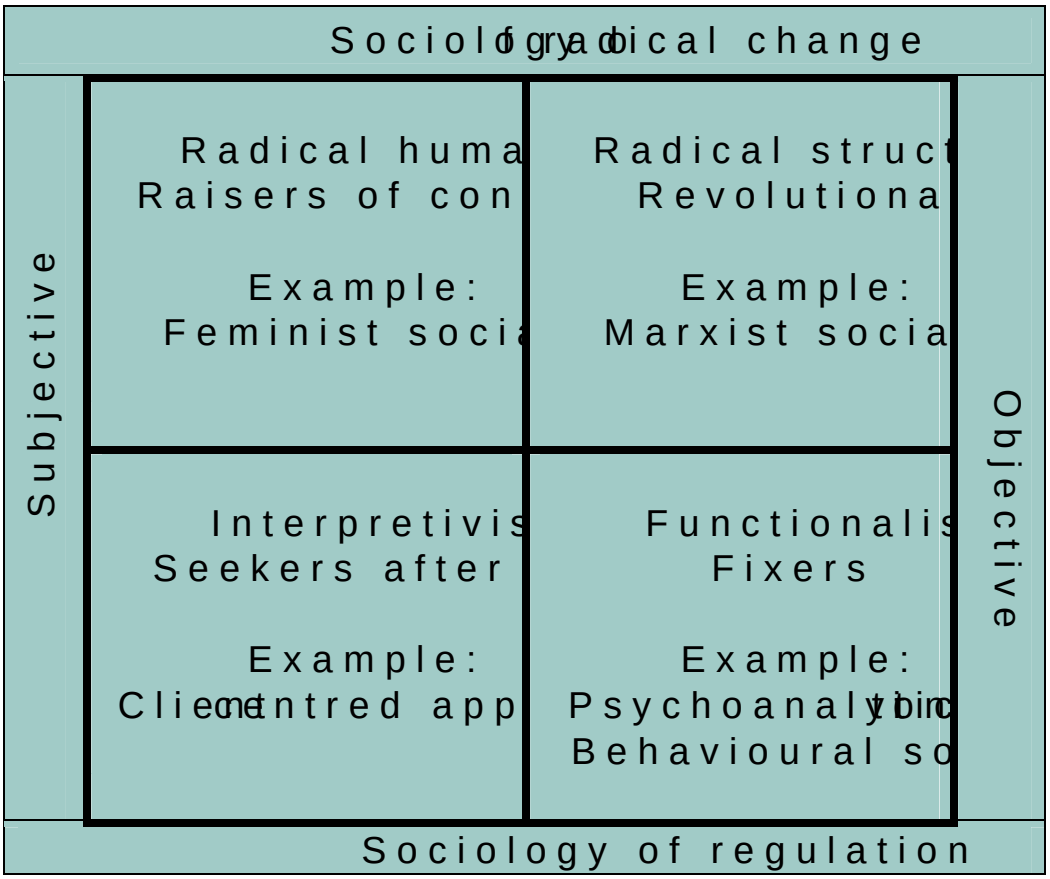


Figure 1: Paradigms of social work theory (Howe, 1987; Burrell and Morgan, 1979)

The contrasting standpoints which give rise to these different paradigms, utilise very different strategies and tools of intervention. €Practice is saturated with theory• (Howe, 1987, p. 48) which determines how social workers make assumptions and devise interventions in relation to people, society and social problems. It is evident that social work embraces various theories. However, in the all-inclusion of theories around €greater wellbeing•, social workseems unable to define itself critically for social justice and structural change. Its theory seems to comfortably straddle both ends of intersecting axes of the subjective/objective and the radical/regulatory (Burrel and Morgan, 1979, cited by Payne, 2005, p. 46) in a compromise and surrender to ƒall theory is valid,.

Midgely (2001), in advancing development theory for social work, describes social work in terms of the activist, the remedial and the developmental approaches. Payne (2005) proposes a triangular discourse of social work theoretical perspectives

namely the reflexive-therapeutic; the individualist-reformist and the socialist-collectivist. Adams, Dominelli and Payne (2009) more recently describe three aspects of social work that arise from the international definition of social work (IASSW, 2001) as being the transformational, as expressed in social change interventions; working for maintenance of the social order, expressed in problem solving in human relationships; and the therapeutic, as expressed in interventions around the liberation of people to enhance wellbeing.

Various frameworks for understanding and analyzing social work theory and practice offer ways of making conscious those paradigms and positions which lead to practice decisions. However, these frameworks often tend to obscure or avoid ideological position-taking, thus leaving the social worker lacking consciousness and unaccountable for these positions. A lack of reflexivity then also prevents the adaptation of theory and practice in accordance with social realities and an avoidance of the structural dimension of change.

### 3.3.4 Construction of social work discourse

Social work theory may also be regarded as socially constructed, as it is created by the actions, debates and ideas of social workers (Payne, 2005). These various constructions of social work then have interest groups which try to gain acceptance of particular theories. Payne proposes a triangle of discourse of social work perspectives, which connect with different political views about ƒhow welfare should be provided, (Payne, 2005, p. 8). These include the reflexive-therapeutic views, or the therapeutic helping approaches; the socialist-collectivist views, or the emancipatory approaches, and the individualist-reformist views, referring to approaches aimed at maintaining the status quo and social order (See figure 1). Practice theories then fit into or support one or other of these views, although according to Payne (2005, p. 12), no theory can be allocated wholly to any category.

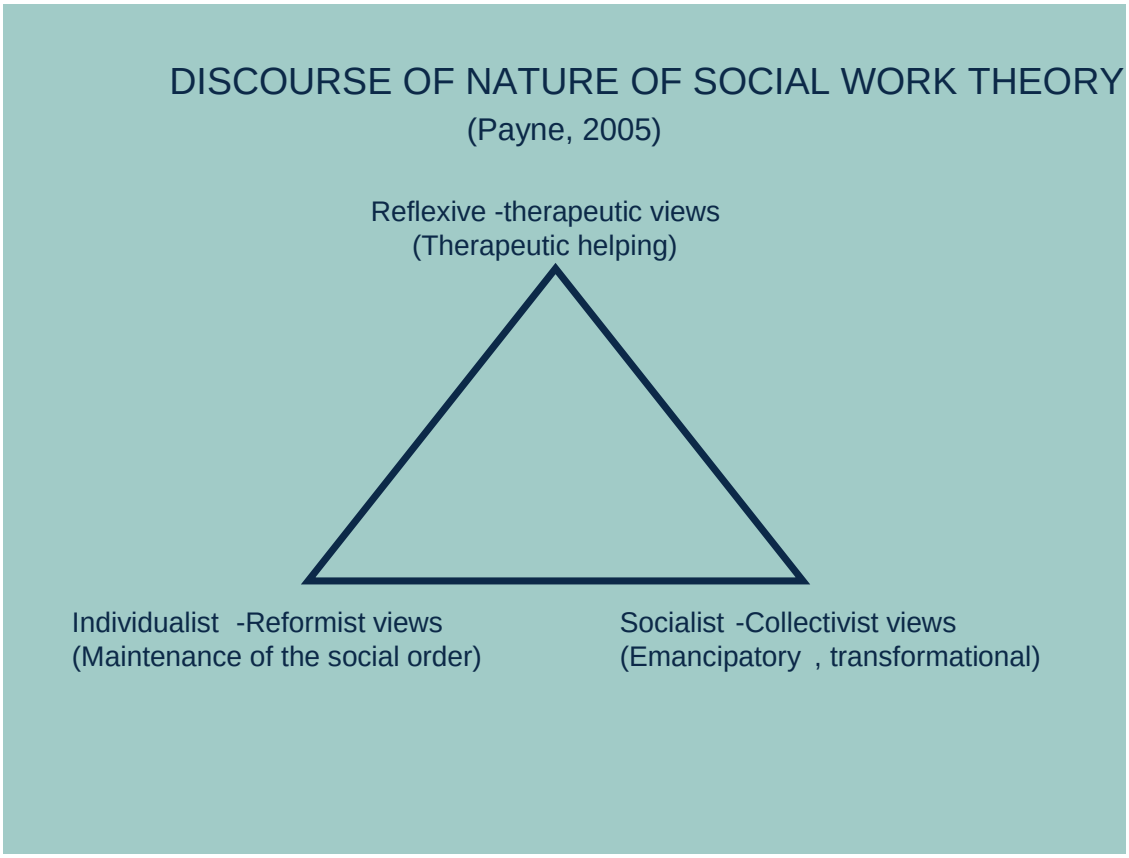


Figure 2: Discourse of nature of social work theory (Payne, 2005)

The reflexive-therapeutic set of views, include psychodynamic, humanist and existential perspectives, construction theories and crisis interventions. These theories reflect ideas around personal development and fulfilment, emphasising emotions and interpersonal responses and are concerned with personal change (Payne, 2005, p. 13). In this view, social work is seen as promoting the best possible wellbeing for individuals, groups and communities, by promoting and facilitating growth and self-fulfilment. A process of mutual influence and reflexivity occurs between the client and social worker.

> €The view expresses in social work the social democratic political philosophy …economic and social development should go hand in hand to achieve individual and social improvement.• (Payne, 2005, p. 9)

The individualist-reformist views include social development and systems perspectives, cognitive, behavioural theories and task centred models. The social development perspectives are included in this view, as they are generally theories

which accept the current social order. These approaches generally operate on individuals and small community groups, rather than seeking radical change (Payne, 2005, p. 12). These theories are concerned with ideas which focus on social and political demands for social order.

> €This view expresses the liberal or rational economic political philosophy „ that personal freedom in economic markets, supported by the rule of law, is the best way or organising societies.• (Payne, 2005, p. 9)

The socialist-collectivist views include critical and anti-oppressive perspectives, feminist theories (Dominelli, 2002) and empowerment models (Lee, 2001). Structural perspectives (Mullaly, 1997) of social work as well as anti-oppressive practice reflect theories relating to the social purpose of social work and are concerned with social change, social justice and freedom from oppression. These theories seek to transform society for the benefit of the poorest and most oppressed.

> €This view expresses thesocialist political philosophy …planned economies and social provision promote equality and social justice.• (Payne, 2005, p. 9)

In the descriptions by Payne (2005) of the socialist collectivist perspectives, there remains a focus on the reformist perspectives of social change, with little attention to the more radical and revolutionary approaches such as those of Bailey and Brake (1975) or Corrigan and Leonard (1978).

### 3.3.5 Psychological and political validity

A further framework for the analysis of theory and practice from the field of community psychology, is that of psychopolitical validity (Prilleltensky, 2008). The importance of both the psychological and the political or social as found in the theoretical underpinnings of debates around agency and structure, are repeatedly evident in the theorising of oppression, racism, and colonial experience (Biko, 1978; Fanon, 1967; Bulhan, 1985). A social justice profession such as social work is called to account for the validity of its discourse and actions in terms of both the psychological and political areas. Prilleltensky (2008) argues that community

psychology (and helping professions generally), must use a psychopolitical conceptualisation of power, wellness, liberation and oppression in explanations as well as interventions at the individual, the relational and the collective levels.

Psychopolitical validity relates to the power to strive for wellness, the power to oppress, and the power to resist oppression and pursue liberation, in a manner which effectively addresses aspects of both agency and structure or the psychological and the political. A distinction is made between epistemic and transformational psychopolitical validity. Epistemic validity relates to the need for the systematic account of the psychological and the political levels of concern in fields of reflection, theoretical interest and research, while transformational validity accounts for the role of power in interventions and practice (Prilleltensky, 2008).

| EPISTEMIC PSYCHOPOLITICAL VALIDITY | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Domains | | |
| | Collective | Relational | Personal |
| Wellness | Accounts for role of politica and economic power in economic prosperity and in creation of institutions that promote equality and publi health | Studies role of power in creating and sustaining egalitarian relationships, social cohesion, social support, respect for diversity and participation in communities, groups, and families | Studies role of psychologic and political power in achieving self-determination empowerment, health, personal growth, meaning and spirituality |
| Oppression | Explores role of globalization, colonization and exploitation in illness and suffering of nations an communities | Examines role of political a psychological power in discrimination based on class, gender, age, race, education and ability. Stud conditions of lack of support, horizontal violence and fragmentation within oppressed groups | Studies role of powerlessness in learned helplessness, hopelessnes self-deprecation, internalize oppression, shame, physic and mental health problem and addictions |
| Liberation | Deconstructs ideological norms that lead to acquiescence and studies effective psychopolitical factors in resistance to norms that cause illness | Studies acts of solidarity a compassion with others wh suffer from oppression and illness | Examines sources of health, strength, resilience, solidarity and development of activism and leadership |

Figure 3: Epistemic psychopolitical validity

According to Prilleltensky (2008, p. 129), €transformational validity derives from the potential of our actions to promote personal, relational, and collective wellness by reducing power inequalities and increasing political action.• Transformational psychopolitical validity concerns itself with power, inequality and political change and includes interventions that promote consciousness raising and social action.

| TRANSFORMATIONAL PSYCHOPOLITICAL VALIDITY | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Domains | | |
| | Collective | Relational | Personal |
| Well-being | Contributes to institutions that support health, emancipation, human development, peace, protection of environment, and social justice | Contributes to power equalization in relationship and communities. Enriches awareness of psychological forces preventing solidarity. Builds trust, connection, participation in groups that support social cohesion, health, social justice | Supports personal empowerment, health, soc political development, leadership and solidarity. Contributes to personal an social responsibility and awareness of subjective forces preventing commitment to justice and personal depowerment in position of privilege |
| Oppression | Opposes economic colonialism and denial of cultural rights. Resists role o own reference group or nation in oppression of others and deterioration of health in other groups | Contributes to struggle against in-group and out-group domination and discrimination, sexism and norms of violence. Builds awareness of own prejudic and participation in horizontal violence | Helps prevent acting out o oppression on others. Build awareness of internalized oppression and role of dominant ideology in victim-blaming. Contributes to personal depowerment in position of privilege |
| Liberation | Supports networks of resistance and social movements that pursue health and wellness. Contributes to structural depowerment of privileged people | Supports resistance against objectification of others. Develops processes of mutual accountability | Helps resist complacency and collusion with exploitative and illness producing system. Contributes to struggle to recover personal health an political identity |

Figure 4: Transformational psychopolitical validity

Accounting for such epistemic or transformation psychopolitical validity "might narrow the justifiability of [community psychology] interventions. Actions that do not concern themselves with power, inequality, and political change might be ascribed lesser importance in the field." (Prilleltensky, 2008, p. 131). This framework is therefore relevant for both social work theory and practice which is constitutive of social change.

## 3.4 Progressive and radical social work perspectives and approaches

### 3.4.1 Introduction

Although radical perspectives of social work theory are said to have been the precursors to the €more contemporary critical theories• and are claimed to havebeen €displaced by social movements concerned with women,s rights, and oppression of particular social groups• (Payne, 2005, p. 227), these theories are of critical importance in the current socio-historical context. The claim that critical approaches have displaced radical approaches reflects the €turn in the radical imagination away from the redistributive project and a shift towards the politics of recognition and identity• (Fraser, 1997, p. 5), which is said to be related to a €shrinking of emancipatory vision• due to the hegemony of neo-liberalism. Anti-oppressive approaches, anti-discriminatory practice, empowerment and critical postmodern social work may be categorised within socialist-collectivist discourse (Payne, 2005), however, these more progressive perspectives may be found to rest on ideological positions which determine the location of their theory and practice on a status quo maintenance or reformist rather than radical point in a continuum of theory and practice constitutive of social change. Various knowledge arenas are therefore sites for contestation, often with this central ideological question at their basis.

### 3.4.2 Radical social work approaches

Radical approaches which emerged during the 1970,s challenged existing forms of practice (Bailey and Brake, 1975, Corrigan and Leonard, 1978, Ferguson and Woodward, 2008) and revolved around the €imperative to focus on structural determinants of personal problems, and an inherent exhortation to personal liberation and social change• (Pease and Fook, 1999, p. 8). The radicalism within social work is explained by its location within capitalist society and that social work, €since its inception...has acted as a prism which mirrors„ and often distorts „ the most fundamental divides and antagonisms of the society in which we live• (Ferguson, 2008, p. 16).

More recently, the levels and effects of inequality in society arising from the neo-liberal forms of capitalism (Wilkenson and Picket, 2009) have meant that the forms of social work practice that have developed over the last twenty years are often unable to address people,s needs (Ferguson, 2009). Ferguson (2008) and Ferguson and Woodward (2009) argue for a renewed commitment to radical social work as a response to the extreme levels of inequality in current society. Radical social work, both in the 1970,s when it first emerged as a practice approach, and in its current forms, is based on a socialist perspective and is concerned with €understanding the position of the oppressed in the context of social and economic structures they live in• (Bailey and Brake, 1975, p. 9), with the foregrounding of class as the central divide in society (Ferguson, 2008, p. 100). The current era of neo-liberal capitalism has elicited a renewed resistance through a radicalized response to structural problems (Ferguson, 2008, p. 102).

Mullaly (1997) describes radical social work as being based on a socialist ideology, located within the radical social work camp, grounded in critical theory, and operating from a conflict view of society. Radical and structural social work views social problems as arising from a specific societal context - liberal, neo-conservative capitalism - rather than from the failings of individuals. In terms of the structural approach, transformation means €shifting social relations based on classes and class divisions among social groups based on ideologies of inequality and individualism towards a society based on equality and grounded in an ideology of collectivism, planning, participation and solidarity.• (Payne, 2005, p. 238). Furthermore, the overall goal of structural social work practice is therefore complete social transformation.

Elements of structural and radical social work practice include the concept that the personal is political, the goal and process of empowerment, consciousness raising, normalization, collectivization, redefining issues from a more global perspective, and dialogical relationships. These elements focus on €raising people,s awareness of how capitalist society shapes, limits, and dominates their experiences, thus alienating them from social structures, from each other, and from their true selves• (Mullaly, 1997, p. 164).

The work of Paulo Freire (1972), developed in Latin America as a liberatory, critical pedagogy, also contributed to radical social work understandings. Based on Marxist social analysis, Freire (1972) developed methodologies based on the call for the vocation of human beings is that of humanisation and countering oppression through radical transformation. The Freirian commitment to processes of critical conscientisation, praxis (a particular approach to practice which ensures a cyclical critical reflection and action), the identification of generative themes and the use of codes for the development of these generative themes through dialogue, provides social work with well-articulated methodology for practice (Hope and Timmel, 1995; McLaren, 2001).

Ferguson and Woodward (2009, p. 153) define radical social work for the 21st century as €retaining a commitment to good practice•, being likened to ƒguerrilla warfare, and small-scale resistance, as including €working alongside service users and carers•, and is seen as €collective activity and political campaigning• (Ferguson and Woodward, 2009, p. 153).

### 3.4.3 Anti-oppressive and anti-discriminatory social work

Anti-oppressive practice (Dalrymple and Burke, 2006; Dominelli, 2002), anti-discriminatory forms of practice (Thompson, 2006) and ethnic-sensitive approaches (Devore and Schlesinger, 1999), claiming to encompass a broad range of social justice approaches, seem to mirror the debates mentioned previously around politics of identity versus politics of redistribution and social justice. Such a shift from the radical class analysis discourse was the movement away from the redistributive project and a shift towards the politics of recognition and identity (Fraser, 1997). Social work has tended to mirror such a shift as evidenced by the intense attention to anti-oppressive, anti-discriminatory and feminist practice (Dominelli, 1998; Dominelli and MacLeod, 1989; Dominelli, 1998; Dominelli, 2002).

Campbell (2003) claims that the term ƒanti-oppressive practice, is generally understood as an umbrella term that encompasses a variety of practice approaches including, but not limited to, radical, structural, feminist, anti-racist, critical, and liberatory frameworks (Dominelli, 1988; Dominelli and McLeod, 1989; Fook, 2002;

Leonard, 2001). Anti-oppressive social work should therefore be understood as a perspective toward practice rather than being seen as one specific approach. Anti-oppressive social work thus represents the current nomenclature for a range of theories and practices that embrace a social justice perspective.

According to Dominelli (1998, p. 24) anti-oppressive social work is a form of social work practice, which addresses social divisions and structural inequalities in the work that is done with ƒclients, (users) or workers. Anti-oppressive practice aims to provide more appropriate and sensitive services by responding to people,s needs regardless of their social status. It embodies a person-centered philosophy concerned with reducing the deleterious effects of structural inequalities upon people,s lives; and a way of structuring relationships between individuals that aims to empower users by reducing the negative effects of hierarchy in their immediate interaction and the work they do together.

Anti-oppressive practice relates not only to the practice itself being self-critical and aware of oppressive power relations during intervention, but also to working against oppression of individuals and society. According to Thompson (1997, p. 38), practices can either €condone, reinforce or exacerbate existing inequalities or they can challenge, undermine or attenuate such oppressive forces•. He goes on to state that in order to ensure that inequalities are positively addressed, the discourse of human services practice needs to be overtly anti-discriminatory and anti-oppressive. He argues that practice which does not take account of oppression and discrimination cannot be seen as good practice, no matter how high its standards may be in other respects (Thompson, 1997, p. 11).

### 3.4.4 Empowerment practice

The empowerment approach is a significant contribution towards the acknowledgement of the role of power in people,s lives. According to Lee (2001, p. 9), perspectives that are used to develop an empowerment practice framework include the historical perspective (learning a group,s history of oppression also as it relates to social policy), an ecological view (including a stress-coping paradigm), a critical perspective, an ƒethclass, and a feminist perspective. She uses the

description of empowerment by Solomon (1976, cited by Lee, 1994, p. 13), who sees it as aiming to reduce the powerlessness created by negative valuations of a stigmatised group and the identification and reduction of the effects of power blocks. Similarly, Payne (2005) argues that empowering action should be self-directed as well as opposed to oppression. Payne (2005, p. 314) also cautions against empowerment which does not extend to the wider community or social structures, as €empowerment may set oppressed or deprived groups against others, rather than uniting them.•

### 3.4.5 Critical socia l work

According to Pease and Fook (1999), postmodern critical theory best supports emancipatory social work practice. However, they maintain that they €side with those expressions of postmodern thinking which do not totally abandon the values of modernity and the enlightenment project of human emancipation• (Pease and Fook, 1999, p 12). This postmodern critical theory is concerned with political struggles against racism, sexism and colonialism and it also values diversity and legitimates difference. They maintain:

> €The reconstructed emancipatory project, in particular, must involve changed epistemologies, as well as changes in material conditions, for this will enable changes in both the internalised and externalised constructions of power relations.• (Pease and Fook, 1999, p. 13)

This is supported by Sewpaul and Holscher (2004, p. 100), who cite Giroux (1983), Leonard (1997) and Sewpaul (2003) and maintain that there needs to be a shift towards a postmodernist emancipatory discourse and towards a politics of resistance and a politics of hope. They argue that €it is social work, which when refocusing on its original pursuit of social justice and human rights, that is, towards those who are most marginalized and subject to structural forms of injustices, that has the capacity to do so.• (Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004, p. 100).

Pease and Fook (1999, p. 14), in an argument which incorporates a postmodernist perspective, describe the discursive nature of social work and ask to what extent

social work is able to explore accounts, histories and experiences other than the more dominant. Although they acknowledge that discourses are not autonomous from social relations (Callinicos, 1985, cited by Pease and Fook, 1999, p. 14), they comment that the liberatory potential of Foucault‚s notion of discourse is that it provides the possibility of creating alternative discourses and repositioning of the self in relation to dominant discourses. Personal and social change comes about by unravelling the discursive power of dominant discourses and self-recreation as the basis for a collective politics of the future. The relevance of the notion of coupling discursive constructions with material conditions for emancipatory social work practice, is that people can reconstitute themselves through a self-conscious and critically reflexive practice (Pease and Fook, 1999, p. 16).

Extending radical social work therefore by incorporating a social constructionist and post-structuralist interpretation, the important constructs of Fook‚s (2002) critical social work includes postmodernist arguments that €Knowledge is not a reflection of external reality but actively constructed by researchers…communication and reflection are essential to creating social change because they make possible the voluntary control of social issues in people‚s lives• (Payne, 2005, p. 242).

## 3.5 Conclusion

It is evident that many critical and more progressive approaches do not engage adequately with a materialist, structural analysis of the realities of social relations of power and class oppressions. According to Ferguson (2008), an analysis such as offered by the anti-oppressive/anti-discriminatory approaches provides no basis for distinguishing between different forms of oppression and that isolating oppression from its roots in capitalism means that it then becomes subjectively defined (Ferguson, 2008). Ferguson (2008, p. 107) cites Smith (1994) who argues that such an analysis of oppression and of the anti-oppressive approaches, results in the trivialisation of genuine suffering by:

> €lumping it together with all in society who define themselves as *f*op pressed, - such as middle-class consumers or anti-authoritarian middle

class youth - whose complaints may be valid but who hardly constitute specific groups within society•

Although these approaches are important for the increased awareness of the oppressions faced by specific individuals and groups and for the expression of commitment in social work to respect, inclusivity and human rights, they may unknowingly undermine the social justice and redistributive project of deeper social change and transformation. Ferguson (2008) argues that in order to reclaim social work from neoliberalism, postmodernism and from analyses of society and oppression which fall short of the complete transformation of society, an ethical and value-based response is required which reclaims the political in order to €play its proper role in the struggle for a more equal, more just society.• (Ferguson, 2008, p. 136). Collective social justice therefore remains the basis for a social work which claims to work for social change and transformation, a definition by which social work claims its existence as a profession (IASSW, 2001).

These various knowledge arenas, in spite of being seen as a description of progressive social work theoretical approaches, are sites for contestation, often with central ideological questions and ideological operations at their root. African social work practice generally and South African social work practice, particularly in the context of a history of colonialism, imperialism and apartheid, are particularly impelled to interrogate knowledge and theory constitutive of social change. This interrogation must take into account the many variants of ideologies underlying these forms of practice.

# CHAPTER FOUR: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

## 4.1 Introduction

Social work knowledge and discourse constitutive of social change spans broad temporal, ideological and contextual dimensions. While social change, social justice and transformation may be the ƒpresumptive intellectual contract, of social work, its knowledge and practice pursuits are both an outcome of and determined by hegemonic ideologies, theories and social reality. Appropriate social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change therefore demands explanatory frameworks that take into account ideologies, structure and social reality, and processes of social transformation.

This chapter aims to develop a theoretical framework for social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change. Taking into account the previous chapters relating to social work perspectives as well as the historiography of social work, this theoretical framework is constructed from the basis of explanatory frameworks relevant to social change. The chapter therefore explores critical theorising relevant for social work, ideologies and ideological processes, oppression and specifically racism as a specific South African form of oppression, discourse, conceptual limitations resulting from structural dynamics of the current capitalist era and contested areas of knowledge. The framework for analysis of social work theory and practice constitutive of social change, is then developed from the discussion.

In the South African context of historical colonisation and racial oppression, as well as in the broad context of the capitalist epoch and its class based structure of society (Sewpaul, 2006) social work knowledge and practice must explore and interrogate appropriate theory for its social justice and social change imperatives. Such theoretical frameworks will elucidate underlying operations and interpellations of ideology, processes of professional subjectification and qualification, areas of ideological contestation and for the nature of forms of knowledge and practice constitutive of social change.

Critical and radical theorists offer important ideas particularly relevant for social work, as they emphasise social change and the development of collective action; that society evolves, may be analysed and is subject to revolutions; that a €better world is possible•; and they include the importance of human agency for the altering of social structure (Garret, 2009; Ferguson and Woodward, 2008). Furthermore, the purpose of such critical theory is to transform society and as such actions should be formed by the analysis of how societies might be changed toward greater freedom (Adams, Dominelli and Payne, 2002, p. 8).

It is imperative therefore to revisit the explanatory power of the theories informing traditional social work and develop critical discourse that serves the project of social change and social justice. Such knowledge and practice discourse, in order to achieve social change goals, will be informed by post-colonial theory, utilize a Marxist, structural analyses (and in the South African context will include an understanding of the entrenchment of racist capitalism during the colonial apartheid era), will account for the reciprocity of agency and structure, and will explore and interrogate ideological positions which inform knowledge development and practice. Such discourse will also make explicit, relations of power, privilege and oppression and the way in which these relations are perpetuated through hegemony. ƒRace, and racism will have to be taken into account, due to the particularly ubiquitous forms of asymmetrical power relations of the ƒrace, and class based South African society. Ideological interpellation (in the Althusserian sense [1971] of ideology addressing a pre-ideological individual and thus producing a subject, as well as in the social science sense of identifying with a particular ideology or knowledge) into counter-hegemonic discourse and ideologies for social change and transformation, will then be possible.

In order to develop a theoretical framework of social work knowledge and discourse constitutive of social change, critical social change theories relevant to this project need to be explored. These include Marxist theory for social work, anti-colonial theory, critical processes and reflexivity, all of which contribute counter-hegemonic discourse to the status quo maintenance and regulatory aims to which social work adheres

## 4.2 Problems of conceptual determinations in theorising

Critical debates in social work knowledge and theory find at their centre, questions around the nature of social change. The content of these debates shift in accordance with and reflect broader ideological issues and social thinking of the time. Furthermore, hegemonic discourse is positioned within the conceptual determinations of the current epoch of capitalist class based structures, thus constrained and limited by the determinations of method and thought of the capitalist era itself. €The horizon of the possible• becomes limited to capitalism (Alexander, 2011, p. 2) reflecting major continuities in the €physiognomy of the particular phases of development of the capitalist system• (Meszaros, 2010, p. 11). In effect, theoretical transformations are subjected to the €constraining limits of the common structural framework• which consistently express or articulate those fundamental interests.

It is therefore difficult to transcend or alter the parameters of various theories reflecting the class basis of society. The fundamental characteristics of theories which arise from this class basis and its historical situation, are entrenched as hegemony. These characteristics then determine and limit the conceptualizations supporting theories relating to society and change. These conceptual determinations may also be understood as €specific forms of ideology• (Meszaros, 2010, p.13). The first, the *f* programmaticorientation towards science, leads to an expectation that the problems of humankind may be solved through the advancement of science and technology alone. Such an approach leads to exclusion of €the possibility of antagonistic confrontations and the danger of fundamental and structural change• (Meszaros, 2010, p. 29). The second characteristic conceptualization is the tendency towards formalism and *f* conformity to the laws of reason, and neutrality, which leads to a philosophical entrapment €by the abstract formalism of the overall horizon• within which the thought of thinkers concerned was originally constituted• (Meszaros, 2010, p. 37). The third conceptual determination is the standpoint of €isolated individuality• which elevates the particular to the universal and prevents the objective difficulties of social reality from being perceived, €with a tendency to transfigure their social ontological determinations into subjective epistemological concerns• (Meszaros, 2010, p. 70). The fourth conceptual determination described by Meszaros (2010), the

negative determination of philosophy and social theory, leaves a €paralyzing negativity of dominant theoretical discourse• (Meszaros, 2010, p. 97) requiring a complete redefinition in order to pursue radical transformation. The fifth conceptual determination is the ƒsuppression of historical temporality,, which according to Meszaros (2010, p. 140) is €probably the most powerful methodological device in the arsenal of the ruling ideology• and which leads to a denial of historical agency, the perception of change as merely a lapse of time and the failure to explain historically relevant events in terms of their broader significance.  The sixth conceptual determination is the imposition of dualisms and dichotomies in the identification and evaluation of social problems. This leads to the impossibility of a synthesis or mediation in order to achieve structural change.

According to Meszaros (2010, p. 152) values that are critical of the established order, which is €beyond contest•, then become €condemned as heresy•. The seventh conceptual determination is that of postulates of ƒunity, and ƒuniversality,, which arises as a result of the failure of the standpoint of isolated individuality although unable to offer any real solution to the problem created by this individualistic position. The proposal of universality in an attempt to reform the antagonisms of the class base of the social order by redistributing resources, is futile as it avoids a complete transformation of the original causes of the antagonisms in society. The postulates of unity and universality are therefore themselves futile.

Such limiting conceptualizations and structurally determined boundaries to thinking, constrain and influence the development of theories. "No amount of intelligence or ingenuity, no mere evolution of ideas will serve to get us further forward, for what is awry here is the whole cast and frame of our consciousness, conditioned as it is by certain material constraints" (Eagleton, 1994, p. 190). These determinations or tendencies will be evident too in social work knowledge development and are reflected in the historiography of the discursive development of social work theory. However, societal conditions give rise to rupture in social work knowledge and theoretical positions, leading to new forms of discourse appropriate for the conditions of the time. As such, context and social reality create the need for new explanations and interpretations and so

€we must remember that each epoch forms its own human material; that if in any period there is a genuine need for theoretical exponents, the period will create the forces requisite for the satisfaction of that need.• (Rosa Luxemburg, in Adler, Hudis and Laschitza, 2010, p. 74).

## 4.3 Critical theorizing for social work

### 4.3.1 Marxist analysis for social work

Social work, positioned within and arising from the problems of capitalist society, tends to find itself conceptually determined and limited by the capitalist structural reality within which it finds itself. As such, in spite of claims around its commitment to social justice and transformation, social work has historically performed its state sanctioned mandate of social control in keeping with a view that the problems and poverty of the poor and oppressed are of their own making (Ferguson, 2008). However, €social work has always contained a potential for radicalism which has, from time to time, been realised in theories and forms of practice which have challenged the dominant methodologies• (Ferguson, 2008, p. 96). The impact of Marxism on social work has also been evident throughout its history during the 20th century (Reisch and Andrews (2002). In this regard, various authors call for a radical and socialist analysis (Bailey and Brake, 1975; Dalrymple and Burke, Jones, 2001; Powell, 2001; Reisch and Andrews, 2002; Dominelli, 2002; Ferguson and Lavalette, 2004, 2006; Garret, 2009; Ferguson, 2008; Ferguson and Woordward, 2009). According to Garret (2009, p. 201), €AMarxist analysis and approach enables social work to locate itself within the matrix of the social and economic relations structured by capitalism•.

Defending the relevance of Marxism for social work, Garret (2009, p. 199) maintains that Marxism €still provides a devastating critique of capitalism and remains a vital resource for social workers seeking to understand and develop strategies of resistance to neoliberalization.• Social workers should be reminded, by engaging with Marxism, of the exploitative nature of capitalism as an economic system and its impact on the lives of people generally and children in particular.

Arguments against the relevance of Marxism are located around the ƒcollapse, of the USSR €heralding the demise of states, which called themselves socialist• (Garret, 2009, p. 201). It is argued however that it is incorrect to assume that these states were socialist and that they may be seen as ƒdegenerated workers, states, (Trotsky, 1971, cited by Garret, 2009, p. 201). Another argument against the relevance of Marxism from postmodernist theorizing, is that it is too reductive in its position around the centrality of class rather than the ƒcomplexities, around identity politics (Fraser, 2000), other forms of oppression and ƒlife politics, (Garret, 2009). In this regard, Harvey (2005) is cited by Garret (2009, p. 203) to demonstrate that more sophisticated interpretations of Marxism do take into account diversity, difference and the recognition that individuals:

> €enter the labour market as persons of character, as individuals embedded in networks of social relations and socialized in various ways, as physical beings identifiable by certain characteristics (such as phenotype and gender), as individuals who have accumulated various skills . . . and tastes . . . and as living beings endowed with dreams, desires, ambitions, hopes, doubts, and fears.• (Harvey, 2005, p. 167)

The disagreements between Marxist orientations and anti-oppressive practice positions relate to the prioritizing of hierarchies of oppressions versus the more comprehensive view of the structural class base of society and the consequences of the relations of production in the formation of class. There is a need for a clear, critical basis for analysis of oppression, inequality and the class basis of society and a universalist theory for resistance to oppression. Such a theory:

> €firstly involves a non-relativist ethics on the basis of which the transformation or abolition of certain social relationships can be justified ...secondly, it seeks to establish the relationship between different forms of oppression in order to identify the common interests which different oppressed groups may turn out to have.• (Ferguson and Lavalette, 1999, p. 30)

The importance of the relationship between knowledge and power is however relevant for knowledge development and ideological interpellation. According to Finn and Jacobson (2003, p. 65), critical social theory encompasses a range of poststructural and critical race theories which have in common a €critique of positivism, a concern for questions of power, difference, and domination, attention to the interplay of structure and human agency, and a commitment to the transformation of structures and practices into more than just social arrangements and relations.• They cite Foucault (1977) and Gramsci (1987) and state: € Critical social theorists are particularly concerned with the relationship between knowledge and power, questions regarding whose truth counts, and understanding how particular worldviews and interests come to dominate €common sense,€(Finn and Jacobson, 2003, p. 65). In order for social work to respond to these questions, a thorough engagement with such concepts is necessary.

### 4.3.2 Anti -colonial theory

Anti-colonial and post-colonial thinking has important significance and application for social work, not only in South Africa, but globally in the current global neo-liberal context. According to Askeland and Payne (2006) rather than being understood as the chronological period after the end of colonial rule, post-colonial thinking is a critique of the colonial conception of reason, humanism and universalism. It exposes its inherent violence and the gulf between European moral philosophy and its political practices. It reveals how what passed for European humanism manifested itself in the colonies as duplicity and a travesty of reality (Mbembe, 2008). Mbembe, 2008, p. 2) states:

> €How indeed can the much trumpeted faith in man be reconciled with the way in which colonized people's life, labour and world of signifiers got sacrificed so unthinkingly?•

The praxis of anti-colonialism arises from postcolonial thinking „ it attempts to identify and resist all forms of domination and oppression and understand the reproduction of dominance and subjugation of disempowered people (Dei, 2006, p. 5). A strong case for the utilisation of anti-colonial discourse as a form of resistance

to the current global capitalist economic oppression is made when considering Dei,s statement about anti-colonialism:

> €The anti-colonial, challenges any form of economic, cultural, political and spiritual dominance. It is about identifying and countering all forms of colonial domination as manifested in everyday practice, including individual and collective social practices, as well as global interactions.• (Dei, 2006, p. 5)

The antithesis to hegemonic eurocentric discourses prevalent in an uncritical social work would take the form of anti-colonial thought. Of importance is the process of challenging and resisting injustice and hegemonic discourse. Dei (2006, p. 2) states that the €power of anti-colonial prism lies in it as offering of new philosophical insights to challenge Eurocentric discourses•. Dei (2006, p. 5) cites Dei and Asgharzadeh (2001):

> €along with casting our gaze on race and racialisation, the anti-colonial approach encourages us to interrogate the interlocking systems of power and dominance, in order to underst and, how dominance is reproduced and maintained, and how the disempowered are subjugated and kept under constant control•

At the heart of anti-colonialism therefore lies the subversion of colonial and colonizing relations (Dei, 2006, p. 7) with a regard for the €epistemic saliency of the subordinate voice• (Dei, 2006, p. 11). Anti-colonial thought calls for critical awareness of the social relations of power issues embedded in the ways of organizing the production, interrogation, validation and dissemination of knowledge in order to challenge social oppression and how we consequently subvert domination (Dei, 2006, p. 4).

Traditional social work practices, failing to account for social justice and transformation, need to be reconstructed into a new progressive social work that challenges the hegemony of these traditional social work practices (Mullaly, 2002). According to Mullaly (2002, p. 309) post-colonialism deserves academic attention and social work should be committed to a theoretical and political integration.

### 4.3.3 Critical processes

Critical conscientisation refers to the various processes which uncover the competing power interests and dynamics between groups, identifying privilege and disadvantage and how these relationships are maintained. Such ƒcritical enlightenment, therefore uncovers these "power plays in social arrangements" (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2000, p. 281). In this regard, the work of Paulo Freire has become synonymous with such processes of critical conscientisation (Freire, 1972). However, Giroux (1992) warns against reducing Freire,s work to a pedagogical technique or method and the ƒrecuperation of Freire,s work as an academic commodity, a recipe for all times and places,. He makes a plea for reinventing the radicality of Freire,s work within a postcolonial discourse informed by what West (1991) refers to as:

> €the decolonisation of the third world and characterised by the exercise of agency and the production of new subjectivities and identities put forward by those persons who had been degraded, devalued, hunted, and harassed, exploited and oppressed by the European maritime empires.• (West, 1991, cited by Giroux, 1992).

Through the critical approach of €radical pedagogy•, Freire provides a philosophy of education and development, which seeks to attain new levels of consciousness and true liberation among oppressed people, they themselves choosing the content of their education. The participants are recognised as thinking, creative people with the capacity for action. Principles of transformative education and development include that of radical transformation, empowerment, dialogue, reflection and action, and a belief that no education is neutral (Hope and Timmel, 1995). In his radical pedagogy, Freire (1973, p. 57) states that €problem posing education… affirms people as beings who transcend themselves, who move forward and look ahead, … for who looking at the past must only be a means of understanding more clearly what and who they are, so that they can more wisely build the future.•

The process of critical conscientisation is central to the work of Freire (1972). His work is closely linked to that of Fanon (1963) who also writes about oppression and the need for critical conscientisation:

> €But the war goes on; and we will have to bind up for years to come the many, sometimes ineffaceable, wounds that the colonialist onslaught has inflicted on our people• (Fanon,1963, p. 249)

These wounds contribute to the fact that people do not easily engage in processes of critical analysis and reflection, being willing to challenge and take action against their realities „ even when there has been liberation at a structural and at an institutional level. According to Heaney (1995), the critical consciousness described by Freire (1972) is a level of consciousness characterized by depth in the interpretation of problems, through testing one's own findings with openness to revision, attempting to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and preconceived notions when analyzing them, receptivity to the new without rejecting the old because it is old. In striving toward critical consciousness, the individual rejects passivity, practicing dialogue rather than polemics, and using permeable, interrogative, restless, and dialogical forms of life. Critical consciousness is brought about not through an individual or intellectual effort, but through collective struggle and praxis.

Van Vlaenderen and Neves (2004, p. 454) describe this conscientisation process as conceived by Paulo Freire (1972) as a €process of dialogue which enables the individual to transform him- or herself in relation to others and critically reflect on him- or herself in society. It is a process of learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and to take action against the source of oppression. Further, Thompson (1998, p. 214) maintains that conscientisation is a process of €deindividualisation•, helping people to understand the extent to which their position is a reflection of broader cultural and political patterns.

In this regard Thompson (1998) argues that conscientisation is an important strategy for countering internalised oppression. He distinguishes however between conscientisation and politicisation, the latter seeking to address the wider issues

raised to awareness by conscientisation. He includes lobbying, community action and policy development as forms of politicisation (Thompson, 1998, p. 215).

The project of humanisation is grounded in the process of critical conscientisation. However, conscientisation without action falls short of the objective of achieving true transformation and liberation. This process of conscientisation, reflection, action and further reflection is known as praxis (Freire, 1973). Freire, 1973, p… states: €At all stages of their liberation, the oppressed must see themselves as people engaged in the vocation of becoming fully human. Reflection and action become essential. True reflection leads to action but that action will only be genuine praxis if there is critical reflection on its consequences.•

### 4.3.4 Reflexivity

Bourdieu, who claims that social change is conceivable and possible, clarifies the nature of the researcher,s (social worker,s) intervention in the political environment. According to Costa (2006, p. 875), for Bourdieu it is important to understand the relationship between position, disposition and the taking of a position by the social agent (in this case the social worker attempting to have an impact on the social world). It is important to recognize the positions that a specific social worker occupies in relation to the social world:

> €Without doubt social agents construct social reality, without doubt they enter into struggles and transactions oriented towards imposing their view, but they do so always with points of view, interests and principles of vision determined by the position they occupy in the very world they seek to transform or conserve• Bourdieu (in La Noblesse d,etat, p. 8), cited by Costa (2006, p. 878)•

Bourdieu urges sociologists (and thus social workers) to be reflexive and constantly vigilant about their own positions and assumptions and to €turn their objectifying gaze upon themselves•. Bourdieu is seen to be characterized by his €obsession with reflexivity• as an epistemological principle and a €constant effort•. He offers practical

suggestions such as €epistemological vigilance and a system of cross checks• and states:

> €One should not be afraid to encourage a systematic prejudice against all fashionable ideas.• (Bourdieu, 1999 and 2000, cited by Karakayali, 2004, p. 358)

Reflexivity is not only a process of intellectual introspection, but rather the permanent sociological analysis and control of sociological practice. "It entails ... the systematic exploration of the unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and predetermine the thought." (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 40). It is not only the idiosyncratic viewpoints of the individual researcher (social worker/social agent) that must be interrogated, but the intellectual dispositions (such as sociology or social work); the epistemic history and the unconscious of the field itself (Kenway and McLeod, 2004).

In social work, the dialectic relationship of the subjective and the structural seems often to lead to compromise and eclecticism. In order to attempt resolution to these tensions, critical reflexivity around these dynamics offers some synthesis. Archer (2003) pleads for the role of human reflexivity in the process of mediation between structure and agency. She argues that we cannot transcend the divide between subjectivity and objectivity in order to understand the practices and contexts of life. We will only come to understand and explain our practices by exploring the nexus (consisting of our internal conversations) between causal powers of the social and causal powers exercised by the agent (Archer, 2003).

## 4.4 Construction of theoretical framework for social work theory and knowledge constitutive of social change

### 4.4.1 Introduction

As previously discussed, social work knowledge and theory has been categorised through various frameworks of analysis. These may be in terms of a systemic framework of levels, namely the micro-level (at the level of the individual and family

unit), the meso-level (at the level of the group and interface between the individual and the broader social system) and the macro-level (at the level of the community), while other ƒlevels include the ƒremedial, or ƒpreventative,. Knowledge perspectives have been categorised into the ƒindividualistreformist,; the ƒreflexivetherapeutic, and the ƒsocialistcollectivist, (Payne, 2005) or alternatively categories may relate to the remedial, activist and developmental social work (Midgely, 2001). The omission of the structural, activist and radical social change focus in the above categorizations leave the individualist-reformist perspectives comfortably accommodated within both the clinical and developmental approaches (Payne, 2005), with ideals of social regulation, status quo maintenance and production and reproduction of relationships of power and domination.

Knowledge and discourse specifically relating to the social justice and social change ideals of social work seem to be inadequately accounted for or explained by many discursive frameworks. Substantial theories of social change with in-depth problematisations and explanations may therefore be organised to guide social justice and social change discourse in social work in ways that provide a perspectival understanding as well as to position social work knowledge and practice within an explanatory framework.

The proposed framework draws on a broad Marxist analysis and on various theories and perspectives that relate to ideology and its modes of interpellation (Therborn, 1980), operations of ideology (Thompson, 1990), social work knowledge perspectives (Payne, 2005), the constraints and determinations of consciousness and theory (Meszaros, 2010), theories of structure and consciousness or ideology (Eagleton, 1994), critical theories of discourse (Van Dijk, 1995, 2001) and theories of social change and reciprocity of agency and structure (Eagleton, 1991, 1994; Bourdieu, 1991; Freire, 1970). Social work knowledge and discourse constitutive of social change is here described on a continuum ranging from an oppressive, coercive, reformist, transformational or radical and revolutionary nature. These include oppressive, domesticating and colonising knowledge and practice; coercive and status quo maintenance knowledge and practice; institutional and societal reformist knowledge and practice; liberatory and emancipatory knowledge and practice; and revolutionary and radical knowledge and practice.

Although these categorisations offer a broad framework, they should be viewed as a continuum rather than distinct categories of social work practice and knowledge constitutive of social change.

The proposed theoretical framework then, is of value because it departs from other explanatory frameworks in various ways. It accounts for often unacknowledged ideological underpinnings in theory, it extends beyond conceptual limitations arising from neo-liberal capitalism of the current era (Meszaros, 2011) and it focuses specifically on knowledge and discourse constitutive of social change. In so doing it takes into account that structure and social reality is reflective and productive of ideology and knowledge, while ideology and knowledge is performative and structuring of social reality. In its horizontally layered conception, it describes the bases of the nature of social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change. These are firstly those areas of ideological contestation (power privilege and oppression; agency and structure; race and racist discourse; various specific ideologies; recognition or redistribution; and reform or revolution) which impact on the nature of knowledge and practice constitutive of social change. It secondly accounts for ideological processes (conceptual determinations; professional subjectification and qualification; modes of operation of ideology; and critical processes) impacting on knowledge and practice. It then describes the continuum of social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change that arises from these areas of contestation and ideological processes. It finally accounts for ideological positions of the ideal, having an impact on conceptions of €what is possible• in social work knowledge and discourse constitutive of social change.

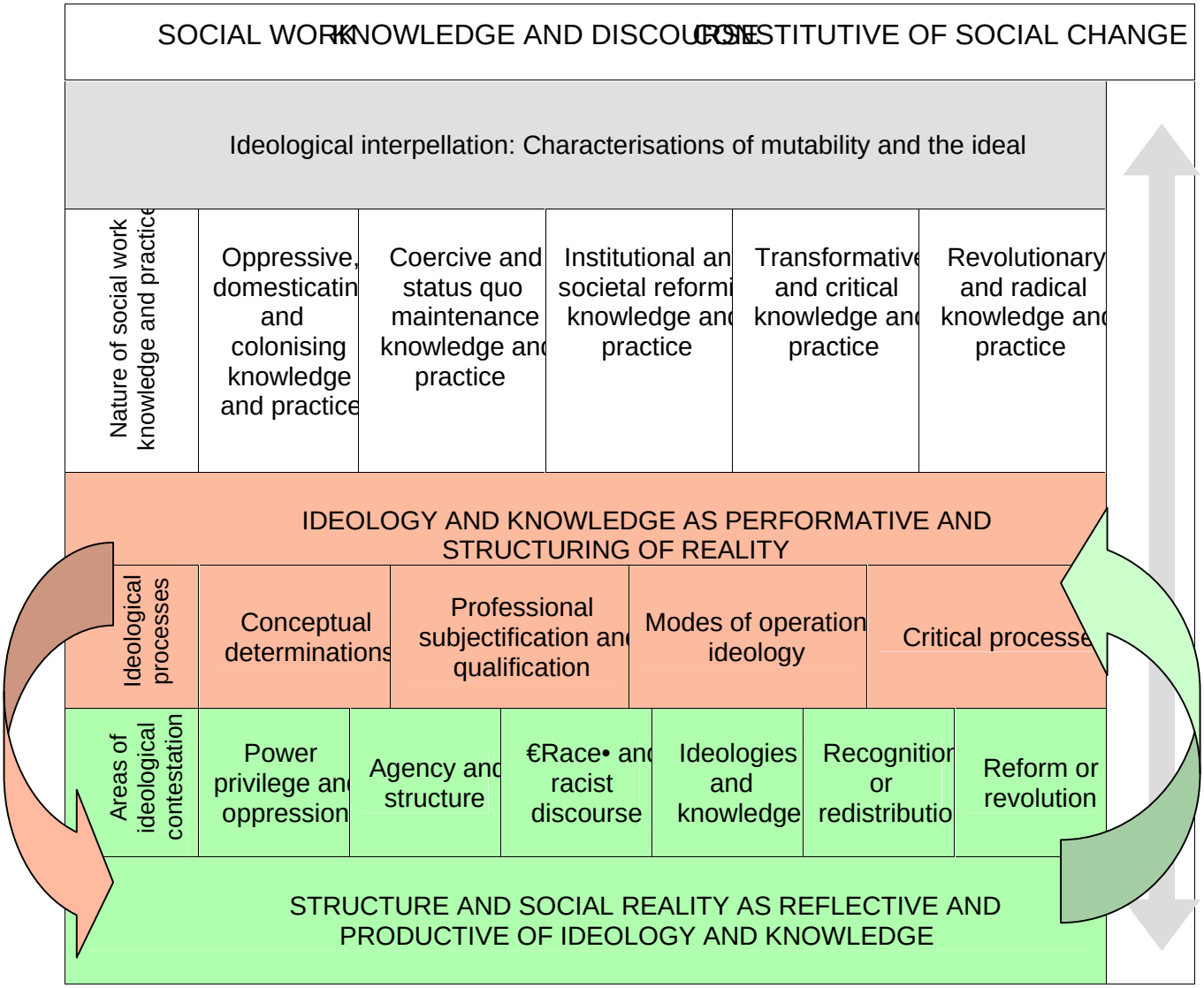


Figure 5: Theoretical framework of social work knowledge and discourse constitutive of social change

This framework then forms a useful basis for the understanding and analysis of social work discourse generally and of social work knowledge and practice theory constitutive of social change, in particular. The discussion that follows examines the difficulties arising from the limitations imposed by the determinations of the conceptual framework of the social structure of the current era, ideology and its interpellations, and then each of the levels contained in the diagrammatical framework are discussed. These are the areas of ideological contestation within social reality and structure in which social work finds itself and in which discourse develops, reflective of and productive of ideology and knowledge (power, privilege and oppression; agency and structure; ƒrace, and racist discourse; various specific

ideologies and knowledge; politics of recognition and redistribution; and reform or revolution). The next level which is discussed is that of ideological operations, which are in turn performative and structure reality (conceptual determinations; subjectification and qualification; modes of operation of ideology; and critical processes).

### 4.4.2 Ideology and its processes

#### 4.4.2.1 Ideological interpellation

Ideology, seen as a system of ideas and representations which maintains power asymmetries and class relations of domination, may be seen as arising from and reflective of social reality (or a partial understanding of social reality) as well as creative and structuring of that social reality. Ideology is here seen as limited to those ideas that produce, sustain and reproduce relations of domination, as described in the Marxist sense, and not seen as those ideas or symbolic forms which contest or challenge the existing asymmetrical relations of power (as these are not seen as ideological) (Thompson, 1990). Such a critical conception of ideology (as opposed to a neutral or positive conception) seeks to uncover and examine how such ideology produces and reproduces relations of power and domination. Hegemonic discourse then maintains such relations of power, through the interpellations and operations of ideology.

Arising from social reality and structures, ideology may also be seen as €structurally constrained thought• conditioned by material constraints and social practices which act as obstacles to the very ideas which seek to explain them (Eagleton, 1994, p. 190). Ideology then also serves to structure reality by anticipating a possible future. Ideology, in the Althusserian sense, is €an indispensable medium for the production of human subjects• (Eagleton, 1994, p. 218). Eagleton (1994) explains that in this sense, ideology is a kind of imaginary *f* map, or model of social reality and a €subject centred view of reality•. On the other hand, for Bourdieu (1977) ideology creates a set of *f*,durable dispositions• or internalized systems, which generate particular practices and actions among individuals in society (Eagleton, 1994, p.223). These structured dispositions and habitual behaviours and actions then create norms about

ways of doing things or what is known as ƒhabitus,. In social life, the habitus relates to particular ƒfields,, or systems of social relations €composed of individuals or institutions who are competing for the same stake• for maximum dominance (Eagleton, 1994, p.224). Hegemonic or dominant knowledge and ideologies therefore come to structure social reality as well as reflect it. Such hegemonic knowledge is adopted through €the spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is historically caused by the prestige and consequent confidence which the dominant group enjoy because of its position and function in the world of production• (Gramsci, 1971, p. 12).

Ideologies may be seen as ƒframeworks of social cognition,, shared by social groups and acquired or changed "by people as group members in social situations and institutions, often in situations of conflicting interests between social formations" (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 21). These frameworks or forms of discourse, as ideology, then interpellate and form people as subjects through processes of subjection to a particular order and qualification to perform roles assigned to them (Therborn, 1980). The processes of subjectification and qualification, of a subject into any social order "involves three fundamental modes of ideological interpellation" (Therborn, 1980, p.18) by making subjects recognize what exists and what does not exist (for example who and what we are, the nature of the world and people and therefore developing a sense of identity); what is good (or the ideal) and bad (normalising desires and aspirations); and what is possible or not. This provides a sense of mutability, or how things may be changed and the consequences thereof, which pattern hopes and fears around such change (Therborn, 1980). These three modes of interpellation then form the structure of ideological subjection-qualification.

In order therefore to be committed to changing something there must be an awareness of what exists, whether that which exists is good or bad and then a conviction that there is the possibility of change. Simplistically for example, for social change to occur, it must be recognised that there is social injustice and oppression, There must be a conclusion that this is not a good state of affairs and there must be a conviction that a better world is possible.

However, the subject is generally interpellated into acceptance of the status quo, a sense of resignation and a pessimistic view which "fails to see the possibility of alternatives" (Foster, 2004, p. 565) and this maintains the structures of power and class relations. In this way, ideology is a description of the €ways in which meaning (signification) serves to create and sustain power-relations of domination. Ideologies are stories, narratives, discourses as well as practices that construct subject-positions for both rulers and ruled.• (Foster, 2004, p. 565). Discourses about 'what is possible' (mutability) therefore assist in maintaining relations of domination (Therborn, 1980).

It is important to become conscious of the role of and relationship between ideology, material practice, and subjectification through interpellation, in order to account for the development of knowledge and social work practice. Acknowledging the reciprocal nature of material practice, ideology and subjectification thereby enables the recognition of the impact of base and superstructure on subjects, but also subjects, agency to shape base and superstructure (Stevens, 2003, p. 205)

#### 4.4.2.2 Modes of operation of ideology

Ideology operates in various ways, and so, €To study ideology is to study the ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of domination• (Thompson, 1990, p.56). Thompson (1990) describes five general modes of the operation of ideology which provide a useful framework for analyzing the ways in which meaning can €serve to establish and sustain relations of domination• and how these modes may be €linked with strategies of symbolic construction• (Thompson, 1990, p. 59). Although these modes and strategies are not ideological in themselves, they may point to the ways in which they serve to €sustain or subvert, to establish or undermine, relations of domination• (Thompson, 1990, p.61). The following provides a summary of these modes of operation of ideology and the strategies of symbolic construction which may be linked to them (Janks, 1998; Foshaugen, 2004)

| Mode | Description of operation | Discursive strategy |
|---|---|---|
| Legitimation | Representation of relations of domina aslegitimate, just and worthy of supp relations of domination are establishe maintained. These grounds may be rational, traditional or charismatic | RATIONALISATION<br>Construction of chain of reasoning to defend or justify a s social rules |
| | | UNIVERSALISATION<br>Institutional arrangements which serve individual interest represented as serving interests of all |
| | | NARRATIVISATION<br>Claims in stories which recount the past and treat the pre part of a timeless tradition, invention of traditions |
| Dissimilation | Relationships of domination conceale denied, obscured or represented in a that deflects attention away from or glosses over relations or processes | DISPLACEMENT<br>+ve/-ve connotations of one symbol displaced to symbols associated with it |
| | | EUPHAMISM<br>Redescription for positive evaluation, naming slippage, sl sense |
| | | TROPE (METAPHOR)<br>Figurative use of language |
| Unification | Relations of domination may be established and maintained by const a form of unity which embraces individua in a collective identity irrespective of differences or divisions that may sep them | STANDARDISATION<br>Symbolic forms adapted to standard framework |
| | | SYMBOLISATION OF UNITY<br>Collective identity which overrides differences and divisions |
| Fragmentation | Instead of the strategy of unification, relations of domination may fragmen individuals to prevent them from pos challenge to dominant groups or by orienting opposition towards a target projected as evil or harmful (strategy €divide and rule•). | DIFFERENTIATION<br>Emphasising differences, fragmenting gaps that might un mount a challenge |
| | | EXPURGATION OF THE €OTHER•<br>Construction of an enemy within or without , which is evil or threatening, which individuals need collectively to expel or expurgate |
| Reification | Transitory historical states are represented as permanent, natural, out of time or as €things• or events• of a €natural kind•. The sociological and historical character of processes is eclipsed. The historical and social character of phenomena is obfuscate | NATURALISATION<br>Reification of social/historical state of affairs as natural |
| | | EXTERNALISATION<br>Social/historical phenomena portrayed as permanent and unchanging, eg recurring customs, traditions, institutions |
| | | NOMINALISATION / PASSIVISATION<br>Focus on particular €themes• (fronting) at expense of oth actors, agency; processes as things or events; elide refer space, time (tenseless) |

Table 1: Thompson,s (1990) modes of operation of ideology

Thompson (1990, p. 67) is careful to stress that these modes of operation of ideology and their strategies of symbolic construction are merely ways of analysing symbolic forms that create and sustain relations of domination and that these need to be examined in their context and the sense that they have for the subjects involved in producing and receiving them.

#### 4.4.2.3 Subjectification and qualification

Although a view that subject positions are voluntarily adopted as a matter of choice (as argued in post-structuralism) is problematic because it tends to obfuscate material reality and social positions being prescribed and inscribed by the class basis of society (Ferguson and Lavalette, 1999), it may be argued that ideology interpellates subjects into subject positions and qualification for disciplines. The operation of ideology is described in terms of the €constitution of human subjectivity• (Therborn, 1990, p. 22) and the dual process of subjectification and qualification into specific roles and positions, occurs through ideological interpellation (Therborn, 1990). This may be seen as the ƒinsertion or inscription into the prescribed/recommended role, and thus the formation of the subject 'social worker' (Therborn, 1980). According to Foster (2004, p.566), such subjectification is the €qualifying or positioning of persons or subjects where they have a ƒspeaking voice,, an active social role to play, but within the overarching structures or concerns of a particular from of power.• Ideologies of the ƒOther, in relationships of power and domination are then •translated into attempts to mould the dominated according to the rulers, image of them, and into resistance to the opposition of the ruled•, in so doing ensuring ongoing domination (Therborn, 1990, p.28).

The post-structuralist view of the subject regards the unique and authentic self as a fiction of western individualisation "circulating via the psy-complex" (Rose, 1998, cited by Wilbraham, 2004, p. 498). According to Willbraham, 2004, p. 499), "discourse offers us subject-positions, like slots, figures, roles, types of person or categories of action. We take these up, many different ones in different contexts, and perform them".

Social work knowledge production or the process of creating ƒcognitive products, through the description of what happens to people may be seen as an ideological practice. The process of ideological practice may be understood as a social process through which (conscious) subjectivity is formed through the real activities of people engaged in social relations in which what happens to them through their experiences in the real and material world are transformed into cognitive products.• (Wright, 2002). In this way, it may also be argued that ideology is produced through discourse. Processes of interpellation then ƒsubject, and ƒqualify, subjects by telling them of, relating them to and making them recognize (that is, through discourse) three notions: what exists (context and description of reality); what is good (the ideal); and what is possible (what to strive towards).

However, as Althusser states, "No human, i.e. social individual can be the agent of a practice if he does not have the form of a subject. The 'subject-form' is actually the form of the historical existence of every individual, of every agent of social practices." (Althusser, 1973, p.95). Social individuals are therefore active in history as agents of the different social practices and relations of the historical processes of production and reproduction. However, according to Althusser (1973, p. 95) although human individuals are considered as agents, €theyare not ƒfree, and ƒconstitutive, subjects in the philosophical sense of these terms•. Humans function and are active within the historical existence of social relations of production and reproduction (determinations such as labour process, division and organization of labour, process of production and reproduction, class struggle).

#### 4.4.2.4 Summary of ideological processes

The three forms of ideological processes may be summarised and linked into a framework which indicates the similarities and congruence between the approaches of the three theorists discussed above (Meszaros, 2010; Thompson, 1990; Therborn, 1980). Although these categorisations should not be seen as exclusive or distinct from one another, and should be read in a holistic manner, the various approaches to ideological operations are similar and convergent. By exploring the various operations of ideology in a convergent manner, analysis of discourse becomes clearer.

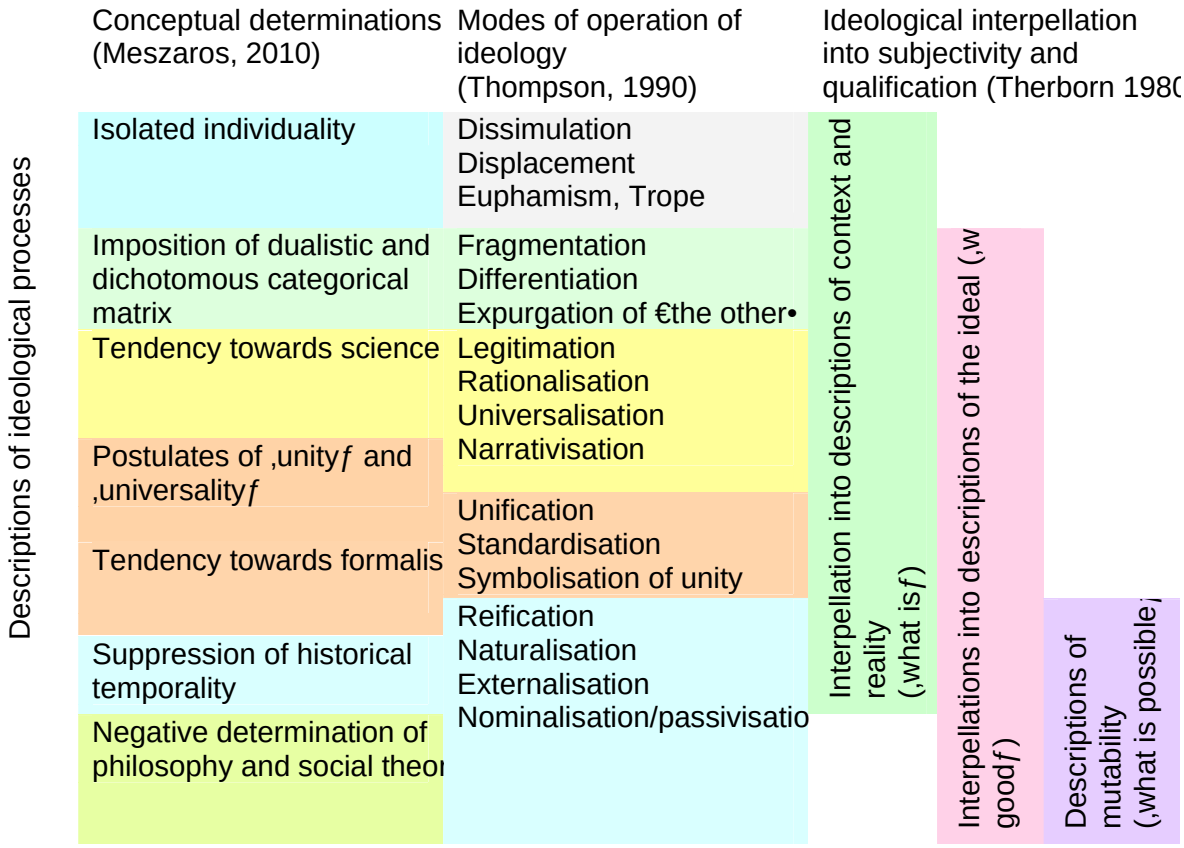


Table 2: Summary of ideological processes

### 4.4.3 Terrains of ideological contestation

#### 4.4.3.1 Terrains of contestation: Agency and structure

As in general social theory, one of the central problems of social work, is the ƒstructure and agency, debate. The international definition of social work attemptsto overcome the dichotomy of agency and structure by referring to the role of social work in relation to the €in-between• of the subjective and the structural:

> €The social work profession promotes social change, problem solving in human relationships and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance well-being. Utilising theories of human behaviour and social systems, social work intervenes at the points where people interact with their

environments. Principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work.• (IASSW, 2001)

Although a structural analysis is necessary to understand the complexity of the 'social totality', it must include an understanding of the interaction of agency and structure as a 'reciprocal action' or a 'dialectical reciprocity' (Meszaros, 2010, p.14). Meszaros describes Marx's view of 'reciprocal action' (evident among factors and forces which constitute the overall social complex) in each stage of history which "contains a material result, a sum of productive forces,...which on the one hand is indeed modified by the new generation, but on the other also prescribes for its conditions of life and gives it definite development, a special character. It shows that circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances" (Marx, 1971, cited by Meszaros, 2010, p. 15).

In structuralist forms of analysis, according to Hayes (2004, p. 170) a distinction is made €between appearance and reality and, in contrast to most post-modernist forms of thought, posit that there is something, another reality, to what is below or beyond the appearance or surface. For a structuralist position, the real or ƒtrue, meaning of some social phenomenon is only properly grasped by penetrating the surface appearance and getting to the deeper, hidden meaning.•

Thompson (1998, p.32) however offers a critique of structural theories that pay exclusive attention to wider social factors and maintains that individual and social factors should be understood in relation to each other in terms of both structure and agency. Thompson (1998, p. 32) quotes Giddens (1984) who argues that:

> €The basic domain of study of the social sciences, according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time. Human social activities,are recursive, they are not brought into being by social actors but continually recreated by them via the very means whereby they express themselves as actors.•

Similarly, according to Rappoport (1981, p. 180), regarding the debate about individual agency and structure leading to a preferred position of attention to the individual or to the socio-political context, this should be seen as a response of €convergent reasoning•, where solutions are offered that converge towards the ƒright answer, (Rappaport, 1981, p. 180). These problems must be viewed as a dialectic, where the one cannot be considered without the other. The positioning of social work/human service practice must be located in the domain of both the individual and the collective. Thompson (1998, p. 38) later goes on to cite Giddens (1992) in this regard again, who draws the distinction between life politics and emancipatory politics. He describes the dialectic between attention to emancipatory politics, political liberty and a focus on structure and on the other hand attention to life politics, existential freedom and a focus on agency.

In social work, the dichotomy of agency and structure finds expression in the dualism of the micro and macro levels of intervention. Prioritising the micro over the macro level of intervention, or casework over community work, is an ongoing problem in theoretical analysis in social work reflective of an ideological position of a prioritised focus on agency versus structure. The micro-practice perspective tends to view the client system or service user as a 'case' to be attended to. Ferguson and Woodward (2008, p. 133), describing case-ism as the tendency to see people using services in isolation from their communities in which they live and from the structural factors that shape their lives, cite the work of C. Wright Mills (1943) who noted that "present institutions train several kinds of person - such as judges and social workers - to think in terms of 'situations'. Their activities and mental outlook are set within the existing norms of society: in their professional work they tend to have occupationally trained incapacity to rise above 'cases'."

The schism or polarity is also described as that of the social and political, arising from ƒthe rise of the social, during the 19th century (Riley, 1988, cited by Tamboukou (2005, p. 140). Druker (2003) maintains that social work is characterized predominantly by a micro vision and practice of the profession. He states that social workers are:

€not found significantly at the centre of the poor, the excluded and the fundamental conditions of poverty- whether we function largely as „stretcher bearers‟ of our own society and act predominantly with a western cultural orientation, dancing to the compelling tune of unrestrained free-market forces (neo-liberalism)•

This dialectic of the personal and political or agency and structure, requires critical reflexivity in order to attain some synthesis. Archer (2003, p.15) describes the role of human reflexivity in the process of mediation between structure and agency, which is required to transcend the divide between subjectivity and objectivity and understand the reciprocity of these practices and contexts.

4.4.3.2 Terrains of contestation: ‚Race•, racism and racist discourse

4.4.3.2.1 Introduction

The concept of racism may be defined as the €generalisation, institutionalisation and assignment of values to real or imaginary differences between people in order to justify a state of privilege, aggression and/or violence (not just cognitive or affective content of prejudice, racism is expressed behaviourally, institutionally and culturally). Ideas or actions of a person, the goals or practices of an institution, and the symbols, myths or structure of a society are racist if (a) imaginary or real differences of race are accentuated; (b) these differences are assumed absolute and considered in terms of superior and inferior; and (c) these are used to justify inequity, exclusion or domination.• (Bulhan, 1985, p.13). It may be argued that there is a reciprocal relationship between structural and societal processes and the cognitions which these produce and which, in turn, reproduce the social structures of racism (Van Dijk, 1994). Many variations of the production and reproduction of racism occur, of specific importance in the South African context and in the hegemonic discourse, both historical and current, of social work.

4.4.3.2.2 ‚White talk• and ‚white• racist frame

ƒWhite talk, (Steyn and Foster, 2008) entails ƒwhites‚positioning of the self as the dominant, superior group, while ƒOthering, those of the dominated and oppressed group as unreasonable and behaving badly. This "New South African speak" enables positive self presentation among the 'white' group while resisting transformation (Steyn and Foster 2008). According to Foster and Steyn, attention is drawn to a "litany of woes" such as incompetence and foolishness and "the familiar insinuation at all times is that South Africa is in decline, moving from better to worse" (2008, p.37).

ƒWhite talk, is characterized by the use ofsemantic moves in racist conversations and are seen as performing the function and "interactional strategy of 'face keeping' and positive self-presentation" (Van Dijk, 1996, p.26). Such "dialectic positive self-representation and negative other-presentation" also demonstrates ambivalence of speakers where there is an expectation of tolerance which has been partly accepted by a white group.

The 'white racial frame' serves as the backdrop for whites as they speak about racial matters and is protected via discourse. It provides 'whites' with "a method to blame nonwhites for societal problems (e.g. racial tensions) while (seemingly) maintaining an image of nonracism; and second, they protect the status quo despite pointing out particular instances of prejudicial and discriminatory behavior• (Foster, 2009, p. 690). It is argued that 'the white gaze' radically objectifies and essentialises race and "comes to act as the overriding, the essential and determining quality of identity within colonial contexts" (Hook, 2004, p. 92). This overdetermination of race leads to a sense of being trapped by the racialised definition. Fanon (1986, p. 116) describes how being black is an enslavement because "I am given no chance. I am overdetermined from without. I am a slave not of the 'idea' that others have of me but of my own appearance".

Another form of white talk is described by Hook (2011) as disingenuous white anti-racism. Echoing Biko's (1978) critique of white liberals, Hook (2011) describes "Disingenuous white anti-racism" as occurring and identified through: €(1) a fetishistic

preoccupation with disproving one's racism; (2) ostentatious forms of anti-racism that function as means of self-promotion, as paradoxical means of white self-love; (3) the consolidation and extension of agency through redemptive gestures of 'heroic white anti-racism'; (4) 'charitable anti-racism' which fixes tolerance within a model of charity, as an act of generosity and that reiterates the status and role of an anti-racist benefactor.• These attempts at ƒanti-racism, reflect what Biko (1978) described as the typically patronizing, white liberal stance towards black oppression, as well as what Freire described as false generosity among those perpetuating structural oppression.

#### 4.4.3.2.3 Everyday , institutional and symbolic racism

ƒEveryday racism, is a description of ongoing, habitual and established racist or racially ƒsaturated, practices finding expression in both conscious and unconscious behaviours and attitudes. The reciprocal relationship of the structural and of agency leads to this perpetuation of racism in everyday practices and discourse. Essed,s (1991) notion of everyday racism acknowledges both the macro with the micro through an understanding of the constraints placed on human agency by entrenched, institutionalized processes and policies, and the constant reconstrual of the social and of institutions through everyday practices. Everyday racism is therefore cumulative, where social systems and structures are constantly re-created through and in everyday practices. These ƒordinary, and everyday practices reproduce racial domination in interpersonal and institutional contexts, which emphasise and further establish power relations and these in turn then become part of the reproduction of the system (Essed, 1991).

Thus institutionally based racism is perpetuated, not only through institutional practices and policies or legislation, but also in the micro, everyday interactions between people. Such macro, institutional and structural processes are €intricately imbricated in people,s everyday talk and practices, which maintain, reproduce, or undermine institutional racism in complex ways• (Robus and MacLeod, 2006, p.478).

The notion of institutional racism attempts to overcome the dominant understanding of prejudice being located only in the cognitive realm of individuals. It may be seen

as a form of 'internal colonialism' or practices within institutions that disadvantage black people. These rules and regulations are discriminatory in effect but possibly not in intention and may include the pervading atmosphere of an organisation or the deliberate implementation of racist policies. Furthermore, it is argued that institutions reflect the fundamental racist nature of a society within which they operate (Robus and MacLeod, 2006). An example of institutionalized racism may be found in the South African higher education field, characterised by racialised discourse of 'black failure' and 'white excellence' (Robus and MacLeod, 2006, p.478), despite the restructuring of these higher education institutions in 2002 to redress inequalities and disparities of the Apartheid era.

Symbolic racism on the other hand, is the systematic circulation of values, representations and ideas that are antagonistic towards a certain grouping of people. Such symbolic racism may take €very insidious forms, such as the constant devaluation or marginalisation of ideas and values traditionally associated with a particular racial grouping of people" (Duncan, Stevens and Bowman, 2004, p. 384). Symbolic racism is evident in the discourse of 'lowering of standards', persistently invoked in the context of transformation of historically privileged white institutions (Robus and MacLeod, 2006).

Similarly, metaracism (Holdstock, 2000, cited by Duncan, Stevens and Bowman, 2004) may be described as forms of racism not explicit or overly prejudiced, rather the acquiescence in a larger culture that continues the perpetuation of racist ideas and values.

#### 4.4.3.2.4 Obfuscation of racist discourse

Discourse of diversity and ƒmulti-culturalism, has become evident in the discourse relating to matters of transformation and commitment to non-racism. While racism reflects a hierarchy of superiority and domination, ƒmulti-culturalism,, in replacing the language of race, is assumed €to imply a positive celebration of difference while allowing for the possibility for progress among groups once considered ƒprimitive,. By merely replacing ƒrace, with ƒculture,, there is a fai re to expunge such hierarchies implied by theories of ƒrace,(Lentin, 2005, p.379).

Such discourse of ƒcultural diversity,, ƒnon-racialism,, ƒindiginisation, seems to be a response to expectations of transformation, while obfuscating the underlying racist ideologies and class and race based structural dominance of the existing social order. Stevens (2003, p. 170) describes psychology,s attempt to remain socially relevant during the transition phase and address itself to the context of black South Africans by adopting a discourse of ƒmulti-racialism, as a response to the "growing ideological pressure within the social formation that favored non-,racialism,, democracy and egalitarianism• in order to facilitate its own professional class interests. Stevens (2003, p. 192) describes this operation of 'socially desirable reconciliatory discourse' and as being evidence of South African society's pre-occupation with not being pre-occupied with ƒrace'.

4.4.3.2.5 Internalisation of racism and oppression

Encountering the marginalising and oppressive practices of racist Apartheid had a profound impact on the psyche of black people in South Africa. The internalisation of these oppressive social relations and the destructive power of these representations of the dominated ƒOther, as inferior and different, tends to embed itself in the thought structures of the dominant and dominated 'races' (Bulhan, 1985; Van Dijk, 1991; Duncan, 2003; Stevens, 2003).

The destructive nature of processes of 'othering' occurs at various levels, including problems in the development of positive self regard and identity. Such "binary representation" serves to justify oppression of the Other as well as "to undermine any attempts on the part of the dominated at positive self-representation. The extent of the destructive power of this representation of the Self and Other is reflected in the manner in which it tends to embed itself in the thought structures not only of the dominant and dominated ƒraces,, but also of their post-colonial (post-Apartheid, in the case of this article) descendants• (Duncan, 2003, p. 140, citing Connor, 1999).

The internalisation of these structures of difference, in turn, may lead to further differentiation within an 'outgroup' in an attempt to overcome the 'othering' by the dominant group. Specifically, negative labeling can lead to the rejection and

devaluation membership in a group and identification with an external and dominant group. On the other hand, experiences of oppression may also lead to the strengthening of group identity and unification (Sonn and Fischer, 1996, p.6) Revisionist theories however emphasise more active responses, coping, resistance and defiance, among oppressed people (Foster, 2004, p. 586). The processes of psychological defense and identity development among oppressed people which may also be seen in terms of historical stages (Foster, 2004) is described as capitulation, revitalisation and radicalisation (Bulhan, 1985). For Bulhan (1985), capitulation describes the phenomenon of identification with the oppressor, assimilation into the oppressed culture and rejection of own group culture, revitalisation occurs when there is active repudiation of and resistance to the dominant culture and radicalisation reflects the "unambiguous commitment to radical change (Foster, 2004, p. 587).

#### 4.4.3.3 Terrains of contestation: Power, privilege and oppression

Power is here not understood in a post-structuralist perspective, as if it is omnipresent and describing only micro-relations between individuals and groups engaged in oppressive interactions. This view tends to avoid focusing on "those who wield real economic and political power within society" (Ferguson and Lavalette, 2004, p. 304). The preferred understanding is the Marxist conception of power which views power as residing with the ruling class, wielding power over the lives of the vast majority. Interactions between people infused with evidence of the production and reproduction of skewed power relations, is here regarded as part of the structural socio-historic terrain.

Particular groups of people, through the entitlements that result from their positions, are endowed with ƒ varying degrees of power,. Dominationoccurs then, when €established relations of power are ƒ systematically asymmetrical,, that is, when particular agents or groups of agents are endowed with power in a durable way that excludes, and to some significant degree remains inaccessible to, other agents or groups of agents, irrespective of the basis upon which such exclusion is carried out.• (Thompson, 1990, p.59).

Power plays a role in the legitimacy of actors in knowledge production. This is linked to the questions of how knowledge is produced and which authorities pronounce on them (Rose, 1999). In this way knowledge development is influenced by the ideologies and positions of those in roles of power, through the operation of various symbolic forms (such as linguistic expressions, gestures, actions) which are subjected to "complex processes of valuation, evaluation and conflict" influence (Thompson, 1990, p.154). These symbolic forms may be valued in differing or conflicting degrees by the recipients or those that produce them. According to Thompson (1990, p. 155) "Such conflicts always take place within a structured social context which is characterised by asymmetries and differentials of various kinds"

According to Thompson (1998, p. 54), the dominance of power, which operates mainly through discourse, can be challenged through acts of resistance and the use of countervailing power to undermine dominant discursive practices. He maintains that opportunities for resistance are ever-present. He cites Callinicos (1990), who comments that it is impossible to account for historical struggles and transformation without understanding that human beings have the power to change the course of events. Practice is then seen as offering opportunities for empowerment through the process of resistance (Thompson, 1998, p. 54). The potential of power to exploit, oppress or abuse is described by Giddens (1993), who is quoted by Thompson (1998, p. 42) as stating:

> €Power is an ever-present phenomenon in social life. In all human groups, some individuals have more authority or influence than others, while groups themselves vary in terms of the level of their power. Power and inequality tend to be closely linked. The powerful are able to accumulate valued resources, such as property or wealth; and possession of such resources is in turn a means of generating power.•

The linkages between power and language are furthermore very significant. However, discourse is more than language, as discourse refers to frameworks of thought, meaning and action that have their roots in frameworks of language (Hugman, 1991, cited by Thompson, 1998, p. 68). Thompson (1998, p. 69) goes on to quote Burr (1995):

> €A discourse refers to a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events. It refers to a particular picture that is painted of an event (or person or class of persons), a particular way of representing it or them in a certain light.•

Particular discourses are therefore capable of being produced in order to maintain or create particular forms of power - and material realities of power in turn also rely on particular discourses.

Power, in the structuralist view, may be seen to be concentrated in certain sectors of the social order. However, power, in the poststructuralist view, has a dispersed nature. Thompson (1998, p. 50) quotes for example Foucault (1988), who sees power as a feature of all social relations: €What I am attentive to is the fact that every human relation is to some degree a power relation. We move in a world of perpetual strategic relations.•

According to Foucault (1988), cited by Thompson (1998, p. 51), who goes beyond the more narrow conception of the structuralist approaches, power is not an absolute entity that people either have or do not have. It is produced by the interactions between individuals, groups and institutions. It is therefore open to constant change and influence. Foucault (1988) then does not provide a generalised, nomothetic approach to the understanding of power but is rather ideographic and interpretive in his approach.

Foucault (1988), in Thompson (1998, p. 53) was also interested in the role of surveillance as a tool of power whereby externally defined discipline becomes internalised as a form of self-discipline. An implication is then that individuals contribute to their own oppression through the internalisation of disciplinary practices; power relations operate within systems of ideas; and those who have power (also human service professionals) are also subject to disciplinary practices.

The role of power and privilege before, during and after periods of transition such as in the South African context after the political transition from Apartheid to the new democratic order, is an important consideration. The relinquishment of the power and privilege associated with membership of the white affluent ruling class was perceived as ƒreversed racism, and a new form of oppression.Freire (1970) describes how after liberation the oppressor group perceives their position as being that of the oppressed, because by contrast, the privileged position that they occupied is no longer maintained and thus comparatively they perceive the new position to be one of disadvantage. However, due to the dynamics of entrenched capitalism and the structural realities of South African society, this power and privilege remains located in the ruling class, albeit with a slightly reconstituted membership to include a ƒblack, €neoliberal managerial elite• (Bond, 2006, p.26).

Privilege is therefore also of importance when considering relationships of power. Specifically, given the South African context, encouraging the exploration of privilege and specifically historical white privilege, is important.  Furthermore, "the antiracism/anticolonial classroom must create the space and the imperative for the racially privileged to recognise the ways in which they are dominant" (Howard, 2006, p. 52). According to Howard (2006. p.52), "little is accomplished by the silence of the dominant ... Indeed, the message more likely to be received in such instances of dominant silence is one of insincerity and lack of commitment to changing the racist status quo".

Dynamics of oppression may generally be seen as both internal and external. External forces may deprive people of personal, collective and relational wellbeing while internal oppression operates at a psychological level (Nelson and Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 106). Freire (1970, p. 150) describes cultural invasion, which occurs when an oppressive group penetrates the cultural context of another group and the creativity of the invaded group is inhibited.  They become convinced of their €intrinsic inferiority• and become alienated from the values of their own culture.

In their discussion on the use of power to oppress, Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005, p. 106) maintain that oppression as a state may be defined as €a state of domination where the oppressed suffer the consequences of deprivation, exclusion,

discrimination, exploitation, control of culture and sometimes even violence•. They further offer a definition of oppression as: €a state of asymmetrical power relations characterised by domination, subordination and resistance, where the dominating persons or groups exercise their power by the process of restricting access to material resources and imparting in the subordinated persons or groups self-deprecating views about themselves. It is only when the latter can attain a certain degree of conscientisation that resistance can begin.• (Nelson and Prilleltensky, 2005, p.106)

#### 4.4.3.4 Terrains of contestation: Politics of recognition versus redistribution

When considering ideology and structural issues of oppression, social work often defines these in terms of oppression around identity and freedoms. In this way, discourse of *f*recognition, such as anti-oppressive practice, non-racism, gender orientation and disability become a focus of social work, while ignoring broader issues of inequality, exploitation and injustices of social class. Such an emphasis masquerades as a concern for structural inequality, while class interests are left unaddressed. Fraser (1997) maintains that €In these *f*postsocialist, conflicts, group identity supplants class interest as the chief medium of political mobilisation. Cultural domination supplants exploitation as the fundamental injustice. And cultural recognition displaces socioeconomic redistribution as the remedy for injustice and the goal of political struggle.•

Knowledge and practice that arises from such emphasis on politics of recognition at the expense of the politics of redistribution, leads to what Zizek (2009) describes as the problem of culturalising what should be seen as problems of inequality, exploitation or injustice. €We should see ourselves as presented with a new intellectual and practical task: that of developing a critical theory of recognition, one that identifies and defends only those versions of the cultural politics of difference that can be coherently combined with the social politics of equality.• (Fraser, 1997, p.1).

#### 4.4.3.5 Terrains of contestation: Reform or revolution

Within the radical approaches in social work, the question of reform or revolution as the basis for true social transformation is an area of contestation. Luxemburg describes the connection between reform and revolution by asking: €Can we contrapose the social revolution, the transformation of the existing order, our final goal, to social reform? Certainly not. The daily struggle for reforms, for the amelioration of the condition of the workers within the framework of the existing social order, and for democratic institutions, offers to the Social Democracy an indissoluble tie. The struggle for reforms is its means, the social revolution, its aim.• (Luxemburg, 2010, p. 48). Social reform is described as the process or €the means• towards the overall aim of social revolution and transformation (Luxemburg, 2010). Arguing against the reformist or opportunistic position which proposed a revision of revolutionary Marxist theory for social transformation, and instead a focus on reformist change without the goal of conquest of political power but rather merely the betterment of the working class, within the existing order, Luxemburg (2010) emphasised the importance of the final goal of revolutionary change.

Similarly, the psycho-social reformist view of social work, emphasising its radical but integrative force in society, maintains that the existing social and political structure is capable of major change and that social work operating within the present structure, would be concerned with the achievement of social justice, the extension of welfare services and the protection of the rights of the underprivileged in society. This view therefore regards the present political and parliamentary structures are powerful enough to achieve these changes (Pritchard,1978, p. 4). In this way, social work is a €reforming agent within society, helping both the individual and society to evolve via the social democratic parliamentary system along the more socially concerned and humane lines• (Pritchard, 1978, p.3). On the other hand, a Marxist, revolutionary view regards the essential feature of society as its capitalist structure, which shapes the nature of its social and political institutions. This would require a revolutionary response from social work rather than a reformist position. However, Luxemburg points to the importance of reform as the strategic process towards the overall goals of transformation, similar to Freirian (1970) processes of conscientisation towards true liberation.

The problem with reform or ƒ the means of adaptation of capitalism, as it occurs through various economic developments, the ƒ amelioration of the situation of the working class,, is that these suppress €or at least, attenuate the internal contradictions of capitalist economy, and stop the development or the aggravation of these contradictions• (Luxemburg, 2010, p.53). Social work, in working for reforms that deal with short term ƒ attenuations, of the consequences of capitalism, therefore becomes complicit in status quo maintenance. Similarly, Freire maintains that oppression must be made more conscious €Making real oppression more oppressive still by adding to it the realization of oppression" (1970, p. 51) so that the oppressor „ oppressed contradiction may be made more real and therefore for the oppressed to become more aware of its severity, and be animated towards working for liberation (Freire, 1970). The struggle for reform is therefore important as a strategy while pursuing revolutionary change. This ongoing process builds the capability and wins victories which further strengthen the oppressed or the working class for the overall aim of structural transformation and social change.

#### 4.4.3.6 Terrains of contestation: Ideologies and knowledge

##### 4.4.3.6.1 Introduction

In social work theory, there seem to be particular ideological contestations which determine choices around theoretical approaches and perspectives. These choices influence the situation of interventions in relation to particular positions on a continuum of knowledge and practice for social change. These ideologically driven choices around theory and knowledge include neo-liberalism; liberalism, paternalism and charity; postmodernism; and the social development as paradigm

##### 4.4.3.6.2 Global neoliberal capitalism

Neo-liberal capitalism relies on principles (known as the Washington consensus) of fiscal policy discipline; cutbacks in state expenditure; trade liberalization; privatization of state enterprises; security of private property rights (Ferguson, 2008; Sewpaul, 2006; Terreblanche, 2002). This ideology, with the belief that wealth will €trickle

down• to benefit all has had have a profound impact on the lives of the world‚s poor and disadvantaged.

However, the current global economic crisis has contradicted the ideology of neo-liberalism relating to non-intervention by the state and de-regulation. Actions taken by states during the current global economic crisis, to rescue large corporations, are a reflection of an even greater entrenchment of global capital. According to Thomas (2008), €these are nationalisations to protect capital, not expropriate it. The actions of the state are aimed at staving off the complete collapse of the global financial system and protecting "their" national capitals. No doubt they hope this is a temporary dose of "state capitalism" but in all likelihood the relationship between the state and capital is being recast•.

Sewpaul (2006: p. 419) maintains that the globalisation of capital has created a world of unbridled consumerism, individualism and greed with the maintenance of a capitalist ideological hegemony that precludes our search for alternatives and, indeed, limits our very ability to think outside the system. Garret (2009) suggests for social workers seeking to understand and develop strategies of resistance to neoliberalism, Marx‚s Capital still provides a €devastating critique• of capitalism. Global economic systems and power dynamics mirror the destruction and plunder of colonial relations. The patterns of privileges of colonialism seem to be echoed in the current era, in spite of the progress claimed in human rights and ƒdevelopment‚. Neo-liberalism, the belief that a free, unregulated market is the answer to global economic problems produces an indefensible system of inequality and injustice, widely criticized (Sewpaul, 2006; Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004; Strier, Surkis and Biran, 2008; Fairclough, 2003; Ferguson, 2008). The present era of global capitalism is a (not so) subtle continuation of historical colonialism with strong, hidden racist and ethnocentric undercurrents, demonstrated by global resource consumption and wealth distribution (Polack and Chadha, 2004, p. 4). It is for this reason that I argue that for social work in a neo-liberal world, an anti-colonial or postcolonial frame is necessary.

#### 4.4.3.6.3 Liberalism, paternalism and charity

The political system or ideology of liberalism claims to respect the intrinsic worth and dignity of each human being and to embody a commitment to the importance of human freedom. Government power is limited and civil liberties safeguarded, including the right to freedom of speech, expression, religion and association and the right to vote. Liberalism is characterized by the right to own, use and dispose of property as well as the importance of free choice, private enterprise and the market. Inequalities in levels of wealth and poverty are accepted and justified on the grounds that some people deserve greater rewards because of their superior ability, talent, skill or hard work. Abstract individualism situates the needs of the individual from the social and historical context. Each person must have equal freedom to pursue their own interests (Ramsay, 2004). Liberalism accepts as given, substantial inequalities in the initial distribution of material resources and human capacities and €seeks by rearguard action to reduce the consequent inequalities in market outcomes through taxation and welfare policies• (Ramsay, 2004, p. 66). Such inequalities are not resolved through the transformation of structural forces such as property distribution, ownership, relations of production, wealth and capital that produce the inequalities in the first place (Ramsay, 2004). €Welfare provision may result from generosity, charity or philanthropy, but not obligations. Neither individuals nor the state are obliged to help the poor• (Ramsay, 2004, p. 135)

Similarly, Freire (1970), describes how false generosity, in the form of charity, requires the perpetuation of injustice and oppression, "which is the permanent fount of this generosity" (Freire, 1970, p. 44). This false generosity therefore perpetuates the oppressive relations of domination.

#### 4.4.3.6.4 Postmodernism

Postmodernism, the philosophical challenge to modernism, is an attractive epistemology for dealing with the disillusionment that accompanies the modern era and seems to have gained credence in current social work discourse. Eagleton (1996, p. 21) maintains that it springs from the €discrediting of modernity,the recrudescence of the avant-garde, the commodification of culture, the emergence of

vital new political forces, the collapse of certain classical ideologies of society and the subject, and a reaction to political failure•. It is broadly described as adopting a stance of ƒincredulity for metanarratives, (Lyotard, 1984) and thus a rejection of and loss of confidence in universalist explanations about the world and its history. It embraces cultural relativism; rejects the existence of an ƒobjective reality,; accepts the existence of many truths above the idea of a single Truth; and adopts a plurality of narratives (Ferguson, 2008). Postmodernists reject all totalising belief systems or meta-naratives, such as capitalism or socialism that seek to impose an ideal order in the interests of society.• (Mullaly, 2001, p.307). It therefore appeals to ideas of pluralism, relativity of meaning and values, diversity, multiplicity and pluralism. In so doing, postmodernism itself acts ideologically to conceal contradictions and to deny the need for a critical political project in the face of a system that is perceived to be impenetrable (Stevens, 2003, p. 204).

Although postmodernism in social work theory may already be on the decline, Ferguson and Lavalette (1999) describe the ƒonslaught of postmodernism, at the end of the 1990s and the increased interest in postmodern social work. They argue that it has €remained relatively unchallenged in social work theory, in contrast to other areas of social theory where postmodernism has met with substantial critique• (Ferguson and Lavalette, 1999, p. 27). More recently, more such critique has emerged, linking postmodernism to neo-conservative ideology of economic rationalism, faith in market forces and market deregulation (Dominelli, 2002; Noble, 2004; Sewpaul, 2006; Ferguson, 2008) questioning €who isgaining from this intellectual and economic ƒturn,and arguing that postmodernism is providing a convenient framework for the legitimization of individualism, the right for individual profit ...and thus providing a conservative discourse for the new right agenda• (Noble, 2004, p. 298).

#### 4.4.3.6.5 Social development as paradigm

Developmental social welfare approaches are seen within the literature as a move away from a social pathology perspective towards social change (Patel, 2005). However, many of these approaches are based on ideologies of neo-liberalism and rely on free market discourse. Examples of such approaches are the ƒasset based

community development, approaches, characterised by notions of self-reliance and self-help within a strengths-based perspective and using appreciative enquiry as a methodology (McKnight and Kretzman, 1996; Nel and Roestenberg, 2004; Nel, 2006). Midgely (2001) describes three approaches to social work namely, remedial, activist and developmental social work. These approaches are difficult to integrate and reconcile with one another. However, the " remedial, preventive and developmental functions are not mutually exclusive and, as social workers in many developing countries are now demonstrating, it is possible to integrate these different functions within the same practice setting" (Midgely, 2001, p. 30). The omission of the activist (or structural focus of social work) in this argument about integration of methods is significant, as the social development approach is generally focussed on developing self-help capacities of people to participate more fully in the free-market economic system. The individualist-reformist perspectives comfortably accommodate both clinical and developmental approaches, with their ideals of social regulation and status quo maintenance (Payne, 2005). Relationships of power and domination are therefore perpetuated and reproduced. In many ways, developmental work with its neoliberal ideology, is seen as unsustainable project development, dressed up with rather tokenistic social welfare policy, (Bond, 2008).

### 4.4.4 Continuum of social work knowledge and discourse constitutive of social change

#### 4.4.4.1 Oppressive, domesticating and colonising social work knowledge and practice

An imperative exists for social scientists and specifically ƒ helping professionals, to reflect critically on their own role and contribution to oppression. It is important for social work to examine its perpetuation of oppression „ both externally in the context within which it works, as well as internally by its own methodologies and practices. Oppression is perpetuated through internalised oppression. According to Mkhize (2004, p. 422) power is wielded in subtle and pervasive ways through various institutions such as the family and various disciplines and €involves an ideological process by which the oppressed are co-opted, through interpellation, to participate actively in their oppression•. He goes on to say about such disciplines, that

€psychology [or social work] should be prepared to question its own ideological position … how their discipline has functioned (and continues to function) as a tool of oppression.•

Social work may therefore also be seen to have an oppressive character. Dominelli (2002, p. 68) maintains that social work‚s oppressive capacities have been generated largely through the reproduction of everyday relations of domination, through the support of more overtly fascist policies, or even through cultural genocide of aboriginal peoples. In addition, €further oppressive relations are produced when for example practitioners hold people individually responsible for their position and urge them to change their behaviour without protesting the inequities in the social system in which they reside.• (Dominelli, 2002, p. 68). In this regard Leonard (2001) asks:

> €By what critical means are we able to understand and act upon a realization that we reproduce, in our social work and educational practices, intentions notwithstanding, the social relations of class, gender, racism, ageism, and heterosexism, even while we struggle consciously for the opposite?

Oppressive and domesticating forms of practice enhance asymmetrical power relations through various institutions such as the family and various disciplines involving ideological processes by which the oppressed become complicit in their oppression (Mkhize, 2004). In this regard, €psychology (social work [own brackets]) should be prepared to question its own ideological position … how their discipline has functioned (and continues to function) as a tool of oppression.• (Mkhize, 2004, 422). An imperative exists for social scientists generally and specifically ƒ helping professionals, to reflect critically on their own role and contribution to oppression. Bulhan (1985, p. vii), in writing about Fanon cites Pierce (1985) who states:

> €Among the contribution of Fanon was the obligation placed on Western scientists to consider their role in the creation, perpetuation, and consequences of racism and colonisation.•

The oppressive, colonial and domesticating perspectives are congruent with the description by Rojek (1986) of the reproductive position which describes social workers as agents of class control, enhancing the oppression of the working class in capitalist societies and enable the system to reproduce itself (Payne, 2005, p.231). Examples of such practice may include social work interventions in ƒ workfare, programmes, managerialism and increased bureaucratisation of services.

4.4.4.2 Coercive, status quo maintenance knowledge and practice

Coercive and regulatory approaches in social work focus on enabling the individual, group and community to maintain or enhance their social functioning and cope with the problems of living. The pathologising discourse and blame of clients for their personal difficulties, finds expression in services to non-voluntary clients, surveillance and assessment, work within a punitive criminal justice system, compliance enforcement and patronizing programmes which focus on mobilising individual and community ƒ talents, skills and assets, rather than focusing on problems and needs.

These approaches reflect moralistic values around the place of women in society, the nuclear family ideal, heteronormativity, and the need for ƒ self help, and ƒ hard work, in the face of structural inequalities. These approaches too, see social work merely reproducing the capitalist base of society with the perpetuation of oppressive and asymmetrical power relations. As stated by Ferguson and Lavalette (1999, p. 38), €social work at the end of the twentieth century risks being engulfed by a new and stigmatizing moralism directed against the poor, and becoming a state agency increasingly characterized by notions of rationing and 'risk' assessment.•

Examples of status quo maintenance approaches include approaches to community work and community development such as the Asset Based Community Development approach (Mathie and Cunningham, 2003), the social planning approach of Cox, Erlich, Rothman and Tropman (1987) and Weyers (2011); individualist approaches which place responsibility for social difficulties on the individual and family such as punitive criminal justice and substance abuse

programmes; the strengths perspective (Saleeby, 2002); and social philanthropy approaches which encourage charity and coping with social difficulties.

#### 4.4.4.3 Institutional and societal reformist knowledge and practice

Depending on the ideological underpinning, the reformist perspectives may seek to change individuals, communities, institutions and structures in order to achieve gradual or evolutionary social change towards liberated societies. This perspective however regards regulation and status quo maintenance in society as part of the process towards an egalitarian society. These perspectives are generally consensual and focus on evolutionary rather than conflictual and radical change (Pritchard and Taylor, 1978).

Within this knowledge and practice perspective, social work may be seen as a reform agent, €helping both individuals and society … to evolve via the social democratic parliamentary system along more socially concerned and humane lines (Pritchard and Taylor, 1978, p. 4). Social work therefore operates within the given socio-political structures and campaigns for more just and egalitarian distribution of resources and the achievement of social justice. It accepts the notion that the socio-political system can undergo major change and therefore adopts a liberal reformist ideology. The individualist-reformist perspectives €express the liberal or rational economic political philosophy „ that personal freedom in economic markets, supported by the rule of law, is the best way or organising societies.• (Payne, 2005, p.9)

The reformist set of perspectives are congruent with what is described as the contradictory position described by Rojek (1986), which suggests that social workers, as agents of capitalist control, may also work at increasing working class power and capacity to function which finally contribute to the overthrow of capitalist society (Payne, 2005, p.231). Examples of practice seeking such institutional and societal reformist objectives include the social planning and locality development approaches of Cox, Erlich, Rothman and Tropman (1987); community development (Popple, 1995; Brueggeman, 2002); neighbourhood work (Henderson and Thomas,

2002), and community work (Lombard, Weyers and Schoeman, 1992; Ife, 2002; Weyers, 2011).

#### 4.4.4.4 Transformative and critical knowledge and practice

Transformative and critical perspectives are here seen as those approaches underpinned by discourses of politics of recognition or identity, where the focus is on asymmetrical power relations, domination and group interests. These perspectives, including anti-discriminatory, anti-oppressive and feminist approaches (Dominelli, 2003; 2003), aim to transform power relations, but ƒfall short, of the revolutionary societal transformation which includes the transformation of societal political power relations. However, these transformative and critical perspectives extend beyond reformist approaches. A distinction is also made here between critical social work, described as radical social work with €the inclusion of postmodern and construction ideas, and the influence of feminism• (Payne, 2005, p.246) and radical or revolutionary group of approaches. Social work discourse of recent years has tended to conflate radical and critical social work, positioning critical social work as €a more useful form of radical social work• because although it contains ideas from radical social work it is an attempt to find alternatives to its (radical social work) €problems•. These problems are described by Payne (2005, p.234) as a lack of sufficient attention to various forms of oppression and €lack of widely useable models for practice• (Payne, 2005, p.227)

Payne (2005, p.231) describes the disillusionment and waning of the radical social work theory of the 1970s towards more empowerment and advocacy theories, and mistakenly equates the €discrediting of Marxism with the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and Asia in the early 1990s• as if these were adequate representations of Marxist theory.

Liberatory and emancipatory approaches deal with forms of oppression such as race and gender, as well as €factors of concern to welfare services such as disability, age and sexual orientation• (Payne, 2005, p.227). Although structural inequality is emphasised, the focus is not on the fundamental social injustices arising from the determinations of capitalism and the class basis of society. Liberatory and

emancipatory social work knowledge and practice may include a range of approaches that may be termed as ƒ anti-oppressive practice perspectives, and ƒ critical social work perspectives, and would includethe PCS (personal, cultural and structural) model, feminist, anti-racist, and critical frameworks (Dominelli, 1988; Thompson, 1997; Pease and Fook, 1999; Leonard, 2001; Fook, 2002); empowerment approaches (Lee, 1995); and the capabilities approach (Nussbaum, 2000)

#### 4.4.4.4.5 Radical and revolutionary knowledge and practice

Radical and revolutionary forms of social work practice aim to work towards the total social transformation of oppressive society and the end of the structural power relations associated with the capitalist order. A distinction may be made between early radical practice of the 1970,s (Bailey and Brake, 1975; Moreau, 1979) and recent radical practice (Ferguson and Lavalette, 1999; Ferguson, 2008; Ferguson and Woodward, 2009; Lavalette, 2011). According to Bailey and Brake (1975, p.9), radical practice is €essentially understanding the position of the oppressed in the context of the social and economic structure they live in•. Furthermore, casework, or individualist-reformist work, is seen to support ruling class hegemony and the interests of capitalist society. Such radical approaches reject the tenets of postmodernism and aim to work for social justice and a world free of oppression and are pursued at all levels of intervention, whether at the micro, the meso or the macro. A consensus model of society is rejected, as the struggle of class antagonisms around economic, social and political interests is acknowledged. The creation of a €socialist consciousness• is seen to be essential (Pritchard and Taylor, 1978).

Radical and revolutionary approaches focus on the structural determinants of social reality, are politically engaged, use a critical analysis of the socio-political context and identify with movements for social change both globally and locally (Lavalette, 2011; Ferguson, 2008). The reciprocity of agency and structure is acknowledged and the modes of operation of ideology are critically interrogated in order to offer counter hegemonic discourse.

Radical and revolutionary South African social work, while escaping the incorporation of a postmodern and social constructionist theory, is nevertheless characterised by an anti-racist stance. It avoids the dichotomy of class-race interests by acknowledging the complex imbrications of race and class in the South African race-based capitalist system. The class basis of society is therefore seen as inexorably bound up with ƒrace, and therefore requires practice that accounts for race as being part of the capitalist structure of society. South African radical practice is therefore anti-racist, regarded as politicised social work, confronting of oppressive power structures, conscientising, organising and participating in subversive strategies within broader political strategies. In addition to these characterisations, both Freirian discourse around processes of critical conscientisation and liberation from oppression (Freire, 1970) and the role of black consciousness and its powerful acknowledgement that the €most powerful weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed• (Biko, 1970) contribute to the discourse of radical social work.

Specific characteristics of radical practice are described by Ferguson and Woodward (2009, p.163) as retaining a commitment to good practice; radical practice as ƒguerrilla warfare, and small scale resistance; radical practice as working alongside service users and carers; and radical practice as collective activity and political campaigning.  Roles and activities for radical and revolutionary social work practice may include defense and advocacy; sharing of power and demystification of strategies and techniques; unmasking of structures of oppression; personal change and enhancing power; enhancing collective consciousness and working for political change (Moreau, 1989).

The structural social work of Moreau (1992) and Mullaly (2003) are examples of such radical practice, arguing that change should occur at structural rather than individual level while acknowledging the reciprocal nature of agency and structure. The starting point of structural theory is that €it is a conflict rather than an order perspective, that is, it sees society as a struggle between social groups with competing interests, rather than being ordered and stable• (Payne, 2005, p.238). Other examples of such radical practice seeking social change and transformation are the social action approaches of Cox, Erlich, Rothman and Tropman (1987);

radical social work of Ferguson and Woodward (2009) and of Reisch and Andrews (2001); the critical approach to community work (Ledwith, 2011); social work involvement and identification with social movements, trade unions and popular organisations (such as Abahlali Basemjondolo, the anti-eviction campaign and the Anti-Privatisation Forum in the South African context); the Freirian approach of critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970); the ƒTheatre of the oppressed, work of Augusto Boal (1993); and resistance approaches.

## 4.5 Conclusion

While social work theory spans a broad range of contextual, historical and ideological terrains, social change and social justice is presumed to be the overall aim of social work in its claim to be a social justice profession. However, social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change, is as broadly and as narrowly determined by the ideologies and social structures of social reality. The nature of such social work discourse may be described as including a range of forms including oppressive, domesticating and colonising knowledge and practice; institutional and societal reformist knowledge and practice; emancipatory and transformative knowledge and practice; and revolutionary and radical knowledge and practice.

There needs to be an interrogation of the ideological processes involved in these knowledge and practice forms such as the limitations of conceptual determinations; modes of operation of ideology; ideological interpellations; processes of subjectification and qualification; and processes of critical engagement. Furthermore, ideological positions in relation to the sites of ideological contestation relating to power, privilege and oppression; agency and structure; ƒrace, and racist discourse; specific ideologies and knowledges; the politics of recognition versus redistribution; and finally the contest of reform or revolutionary social change, will determine the forms of knowledge and practice constitutive of real transformation of structural inequalities and oppressions of the current class basis of society.

# CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

## 5.1 Research design

### 5.1.1 Overall approach

The approach in this study is that of qualitative, critical research, which is described by Kincheloe and McLaren (2000) as being connected to an attempt to confront the injustice of a particular society or public sphere within the society. Such research is a transformative endeavour, €unembarrassed by the labelpolitical and unafraid to consummate a relationship with emancipatory consciousness• (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2000, p. 291).

The methodology of this study is dialogic and dialectic. Its epistemology acknowledges that findings are mediated by values and its ontology is that of historical realism (Lincoln and Guba, 2000). Furthermore, a depth-hermeneutic approach (Thompson, 1990) is used, consisting of phases including social-historical analysis, formal or discursive analysis and interpretation/re-interpretation.

Various empirical processes are used. Firstly, there is the examination and development of a critical theoretical perspective for social work in South Africa, based on extant local and international critical social science theory (literature review). Secondly, there is an exploration of the historical socio-political context of the development of social work, particularly in South Africa. Thirdly, a politically engaged deconstructive form of analysis (MacLeod, 2004, p. 530) of social work discourse and knowledge development as reflected historically in South African social work texts generally and in a local social work journal particularly is conducted. Lastly, there is an analysis of examples of social work knowledge development in the South African socio-political context, through reflective group discussions with social work educators at South African universities.

The research study integrates critical theoretical and philosophical positions with the methods utilised (Macleod, 2004, p. 525). It thus offers a critique of dominant social science understandings, accounts for the politics of its investigative methods and

acknowledges/reflects on the interpellation of the researcher in the social practice of research. There is a strong focus in the various analyses undertaken in this study, of the discourses that frame realities, their consequences and the ideologies that underpin them in the development of social work. The position is taken that facts, phenomena and discourses cannot be separated or isolated from ideological ƒinscription, (Henning, 2004).In terms of knowledge development of social work, it is then of interest to examine the power that these discourses hold for the shaping of such knowledge and practice. Events are therefore €understood within social and economic contexts with the emphasis on ideological critique and praxis• (Henning, 2004, p. 23).

### 5.1.2 Critical theory and qualitative research

According to Rush (2004), critical theory is broadly Marxist. It is the account of the social forces of domination that are connected to the object of its study. Critical theory is not merely descriptive, as it is €a way to instigate social change by providing knowledge of the forces of social inequality that can, in turn, inform political action aimed at emancipation (or at least diminishing domination and inequality).• (Rush, 2004, p.10).

Critical researchers assume that social reality is historically constituted and that it is produced and reproduced by people. Critical social research, instead of dealing with surface appearances, locates social phenomena in their specific historical context and analyses the social structure as it is maintained through political and economic power and legitimated through ideology (Harvey, 1990). It then deconstructs abstract phenomena to €reveal the inner relations and thus reconstructs the abstract concept in terms of the social structural relations that inform it• (Harvey, 1990, p.19). Important however, is the aim of having an impact on such phenomena rather than merely observing and understanding them. This impact is seen in terms of social emancipation (Henning, 2004, p.24). Critical research is thus seen as exposing the forces that shape and constrain knowledge and choices that affect people‚s lives, although €no-one is ever completely emancipated from the socio-political context that has produced him or her.• (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2000, p.282)

The ability to change social and economic circumstances according to Myers (1997) is constrained by various forms of social, cultural and political domination. The main task of critical research is thus seen as being that of social critique, whereby the restrictive and alienating conditions of the status quo are brought to light. Critical research seeks to be emancipatory in its contribution to the elimination of the causes of alienation and domination. Critical research is therefore concerned with issues of power and justice and offers a critique of the social and political forces and ideologies that impact on these issues.

### 5.1.3 Value neutrality in critical research

Critical research is criticized for its rejection of the idea of €value neutrality• and its explicit stance against oppression. Hammersley (1995, p. 39) maintains that there are €no grounds for advocating a distinctively ƒcritical, form of social research• and argues against claims of its attention to the distinct importance of the socio-historical context, its rejection of the possibility of need for value neutrality and its claim that if oppression is not countered through research activity, it is supported.

Hammersley (1995) maintains that the claim of critical research that it distinctly highlights the socio-historical context in trying to understand phenomena is uncontroversial, as all research trying to understand social phenomena, should take the context into account. However, critical research does require the explication of such a principle (Harvey, 1990) as it is not always adhered to in traditional research.

Critical research furthermore argues that it cannot be value neutral and that it makes its values explicit. Hammersley (1995) argues for value neutrality and maintains that the claim of critical research means that the chances of €discovering the truth• cannot be maximized. Value neutrality, according to him, assumes that the chances of discovering ƒthe truth, are maximized by not taking for granted any value commitments which are not intrinsic to the task of producing knowledge. The only values to be made explicit should be those around a commitment to €knowledge and truth• (Hammersley, 1995, p. 40). He argues that the commitment of research to advocacy of some particular set of values or in favour of some social group, to anti-

oppression and advocacy (which he deems to be ƒvague and unexplicated), detract from the project of knowledge production.

Harraway (1990) on the other hand likens the claim of such neutrality as akin to putting into practice a ƒgodtrick, of an all-encompassing, unlocated perspective of seeing everything from nowhere „ that the view of infinite vision is an illusion. She states:

> €There is no unmediated photograph or passive camera obscura in scientific accounts of bodies and machines; there are only highly specific visual possibilities, each with a wonderfully detailed, active, partial way of organizing worlds• (Harraway, 1990, p. 582).

If critical research directs its efforts towards countering oppression, it cannot adopt a €value neutral• position. Furthermore, itis clear that if traditional research is not committed to uncovering and resisting oppression, it risks perpetuation thereof. In this regard, Hammersley (1995, p. 41) claims that the pursuit of political goals and the activity of research have a conflicting orientation. This conflict is denied by critical theorists on the basis that the pursuit of knowledge is akin to the realisation of €the good society•. While critical research thus maintains that the priorities of critical research and political change are similar, he argues that these priorities are very different (Hammersley, 1995, p. 42) because the line of action in pursuit of political change €is unlikely to be recognisable as a form of research•. However, it may be argued too that these priorities of critical research (i.e. political change) may be pursued by various actions (such as new levels of consciousness, uncovering of oppression and challenging the status quo). The need for knowledge and research to move beyond reflection to the pursuit of political change, is reflected in the well known statement by Marx in his Eleventh Thesis on Feuerbach: €The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it.• (Marx, 1969 [1845]).

Finally, even Hammersley (1995, p.42) concedes that €considerably more emphasis must be given to methodological criticism by researchers• and that researchers must consciously resist being guided by the conventional €hierarchy of credibility•.

Researchers should explore ideas which are contrary to common sense and which may €carry implications for what is taken to be common-sense knowledge and for the operation of social institutions (Hammersley, 1995, p.42).

### 5.1.4 Problems with a postmodernism perspective

Postmodernism, having gained credence in social work discourse, poses an ideological challenge to the analysis in social work theory of social change and transformation of class based social relations. It is in the ideological interests of the system which maintains oppressive capitalist class relations, to €forestall accurate knowledge of its workings, and that fetishism, mystification, naturalisation and the rest are among the devices by which it maintains its ends.• (Eagleton, 1994, p. 17). Eagleton further argues that it is only possible for some to afford the €cognitive indeterminacy• of postmodernism because accurate knowledge is not as vital for them as for those who urgently need to change their social situation.

Postmodernism and its discourse adopts the stance of incredulity in relation to meta-narratives and thus supports €transcendent, universal criteria of truth• (Ferguson and Lavalette, 1999, p.27) and proposes a loss of confidence in universalist explanations about the world and its history. It embraces cultural relativism; rejects the existence of an ƒobjective reality,; accepts the existence of many truths above the idea of a single Truth; and adopts a plurality of narratives (Ferguson, 2008).

However, a critical research methodology requires a clear and structural analysis €which relies on the capacity (technically and ideologically) to ask ƒwhy,• with modernist constructions of evidence, argument and analysis (Hugman, 2001, p. 323). The inclusion of a broad political framework is essential in a critical analysis of the development of disciplinary knowledge. In this regard, Eagleton (1996, p.13) states that €questions of epistemology are deeply bound up with matters of political history•. Practice itself is produced €historically, materially and discursively•, rather than being a simple outcome of theories, practitioners and agencies (Rossiter 2005, p. 3)

### 5.1.5 The role of the author and discourse

The nature and form of discourse in a particular field extends beyond only the linguistic content (Hall, 1997). Such discourse and presentations of knowledge are linked to power relations and positions held by various authors or social agents. The literary €position-takings• (which also include political pronouncements and polemics) of social agents involved in a field, is according to Bourdieu (in Calhoun, Gerteis, Moody, Pfaff and Virk, 2002), inseparable from the space of these literary positions, defined by their position and the quantity of specific capital or recognition. He describes this field as one of forces €but it is also a field of struggles tending to transform or conserve this field of forces• (Bourdieu, in Calhoun, Gerteis, Moody, Pfaff and Virk, 2002, p.290). The force and form of the strategies which defend or improve the positions of these agents depend on the positions that are occupied in the power relations of the field. The discourse and emergent knowledge in a field is therefore linked and determined by such position taking processes. Examining and analysing formal social work texts as well as the narrative content of conversations therefore uncovers such position taking, power relations and emergent knowledge.

Furthermore, describing Foucault,s argument about discourse, Hall (1997, p. 44) states that discourse itself is able to construct knowledge as it €governs the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about•. The constructionist theory of meaning and representation argues that €physical things and actions exist but that they only take on meaning and become objects of knowledge within discourse• (Hall, 1997, p.45). In this way, Foucault argues that since €we can only have a knowledge of things if they have meaning, it is discourse which produced knowledge• (Hall, 1997, p.45).

Discourse in a particular field such as social work, thus emerges as both a constructing and a determining structure for its knowledge development. It is this structuring role of the social work texts which was the focus of the study, and later too, extending to the knowledge and ideologies evident in the narrative content of the data. According to Foucault, a characteristic way of thinking or state of knowledge will occur not only in one specific area of a field or institution, and will at a given time €appear across a range of texts and as forms of conduct, at a number of different

institutional sites within society• (Hall, 1997, p.44). Similarly, such discourse acting as a constructing force in knowledge development, is described by Bourdieu (2003) as the habitus, a system of dispositions in a discipline which act as ƒstructuring structures, and in turn are structured by those dispositions. Such discursive practices and events in a field which refer to the same object, the same style and that support a strategy, then belong to the same discursive formation. In turn, these discursive formations construct meaning and practice (Foucault in Hall, 1997, p.44). The meanings created within discourse thus will include elements such as specific knowledge; the rules which prescribe ways of talking about this knowledge; ƒsubjects, who personify the discourse; as well as how the knowledge acquires ƒauthority, (Hall, 1997, p.45).

It is important to engage with founding authors of discursive formations. Foucault describes how some authors such as Marx and Freud, are €founders of discursivity•, as they have produced the possibilities and the rules for the formation of other texts. They are therefore not just the authors of their own works „ they are founders of €an endless possibility of discourse• (Foucault, in Rabinow, 1984, p. 116). Klages (2001, p.3) maintains that €such figures as Marx and Freud (and Foucault) radically shift entire modes of thinking• (Klages, 2001, p.3).

There is then, Foucault maintains, €an inevitable necessity, within these fields of discursivity, for a return to the origin• of such founding texts and initiating authors of discursive formations (Foucault, in Rabinow, 1984, p.116). Being part of the discursive field itself, this return modifies it and is €an effective and necessary transformation of the discursive practice itself (Foucault, in Rabinow, 184, p.116). He maintains that the €founders of discursivity• (such as Marx or Freud) create the possibility for both analogies and divergences, however still €belonging to what they have founded• (Foucault, in Rabinow, 1984, p.116). The €initiation of a discursive practice is heterogeneous to its subsequent transformations• (Foucault, in Rabinow, 1984, p.117). It does not imply therefore that the changes or transformations negate or only increase the generalisability of the initial discursive formation, but rather that its range of applications is increased. It would therefore be inappropriate to see certain propositions in founding works as false „ it is more appropriate to set aside those statements which are not pertinent. The revisiting of founding works for an

understanding and exploration of discourse in a particular field, is therefore of critical importance, hence the exploration of critical theories relevant to social work and constitutive of social change. This aspect of the study therefore led to the construction of the framework of knowledge and discourse constitutive of social change.

## 5.2 RESEARCH METHODS

### 5.2.1 Introduction

Various data collection methods were utilised in this study and these occurred at various stages in order to enable a sufficiently nuanced and comprehensive analysis. Utilising a depth hermeneutic approach, the ways in which symbolic forms are interpreted by the subjects who comprise the subject-object domain are acknowledged and accounted for (Thompson, 1990, p. 279). The hermeneutics of everyday life is the starting point and the depth hermeneutic approach must be based on the elucidation of the ways in which the symbolic forms are interpreted and understood by the individuals who produce and receive them in the course of their everyday lives. However, depth hermeneutics moves beyond and provides €a methodological break with the hermeneutics of everyday life• (Thompson, 1990, p. 280).

Symbolic forms are meaningful to the individuals, but are also embedded in specific social and historical conditions. Symbolic forms must therefore be analysed and interpreted within the context in which they are produced and occur. The approach consists of three principle phases, not distinct phases of a sequential method, but €analytically distinct dimensions of a complex interpretive process• (Thompson, 1990, p. 280).

The historical analysis of the socio-political context laid the foundation for the exploration of the development of the critical social work theory framework. This, in turn, facilitated the thematic and critical discourse analysis of South African social work writings, which then prepared the researcher for the analysis of the data from

the group conversations. The various data forms thus articulate with each other and contribute to the broader understandings to be developed.

As the study adopts a critical research approach, the analysis of data obtained from the two main empirical activities (i.e. the analysis of texts and the analysis of group conversations), while using the depth hermeneutic approach (Thompson, 1990), makes use of various hermeneutical methods for the analysis and interpretation of the data. These may together be described as a fundamentally critical-qualitative thematic analysis (Henning, 2004; Boyatzis, 1998) and by including analysis of the ways in which ideology operates (Thompson, 1990; Therborn, 1980), and are thus seen to be embedded in a critical approach. The analysis procedures are therefore also considered to be congruent with the critical methodological position of the study (Henning, 2004). Together with the other research activities (i.e. the development of a theoretical framework and the historical contextual analysis) the findings are integrated in order to arrive at an holistic description of findings.

### 5.2.2 Theoretical framework for knowledge and practice constitutive of social change

The development of a theoretical framework for South African social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change in the post-colonial and post-apartheid context, was based on the exploration and examination of a range of extant critical social science and social work theories and writing as well as through the examination and analysis of the data gathered during the study.

Various assumptions guided the theoretical exploration. The first was that the explanatory power and relevance of much social work writing (both international and local) is insufficient to account for the complexity and depth required for a critical interrogation of its historical knowledge development and for the current neoliberal, post-apartheid and post-colonial context.

Secondly, critical and radical social work theorists tend to be marginalised by hegemonic social work discourses of liberal, individualist, regulatory/reformist or postmodern paradigms. Most critical social work theories of social change and

transformation also tend to be labelled as ƒpolitical, and therefore dangerous or undesirable. A deliberately dialectical, counter-hegemonic strategy was therefore required which included the foregrounding of counter-narratives.

Thirdly, the researcher herself had to pursue a scholarly process of engagement with critical social science discourse. This was necessary in order to grapple with the limitations and constraints of her own knowledge and understanding arising from the hegemonic ƒcommonsense, social work knowledge to which she had uncritically consented in her own knowledge development process. A wide range of critical theorists was therefore consulted to critically reassess the explanatory usefulness of discourse and explanatory frameworks of current hegemonic social work theory.

The framework discussed in the previous chapter was therefore developed during the data analysis process and then utilised in order to further analyse the data. This process of reciprocal development through analysis and utilisation for analysis led to a more in depth investigation of the data therefore exploring the operations of ideology and enabling the critical analysis of both texts and conversations.

### 5.2.3 Historical analysis of the context of SA social work knowledge development

A dialectical-historical investigation was chosen as a perspective. This counters the fiction of a purely historical record of ƒprogress, and freedom of choice, devoid of any contextual interpretation and allows for probing of the impact of conflicts and forces (Hill, 2009) that shaped the development of social work.

The postmodern criticism that an emphasis on the importance of an unfolding history is teleological „ that history is unilinear, progressive and moving toward a predetermined goal, independent of human beings „ is a mistaken assessment of the value placed on historicity. The importance of historicising lies in the uncovering of continuity, the role of context, and the power of explanation that arises from €restoring phenomena to their historical context• (Eagleton, 1996, p. 35).

To describe social work knowledge development in South Africa as if it occurred independently of the existing political and economic forces, would produce a description devoid of any meaning and without relevance for the present. Therefore, examining the historical context and then placing social work texts such as journals, books, reports and conference proceedings within this historical context, sheds light on the structuring of prevailing discourses at various stages. Such discourses represent both the formal and the unspoken ƒrules, by which the field was structured

However, such ƒstructured structures, of the discipline, in turn act as ƒstructuring structures, (Bourdieu, 2003, in Garret, 2007, p.358) in relation to how social work practices are generated, maintained and structured. This ƒsystem of durable, transposable dispositions, is described by Boudieu (2003, p.72) as the habitus. Examining the socio-political and economic historical context is therefore crucial in understanding the ƒhabitus, of social work, as it is this context which determines and is internalized and reflected in social work knowledge development. This habitus, is the €embodied history, internalized as second nature and so forgotten as history…the active presence of the whole past• (Bourdieu, in Garret, 2007, p. 358).

Similarly, the development of a disciplinary field may be seen to unfold in ways similar to that of the development of consciousness in human beings. Rather than regarding the development of social work as a naturally unfolding body of knowledge and practices, it may be seen as the responsive outcome and bearer of existing systems of history and politics. As stated by Althusser, €human beings are considered not as the self-conscious sources of their social life, but rather as ƒbearers, of a system of social relations whichexists prior to and independently of their consciousness and activity• (in Ree and Urmson, 2005, p. 9). As claimed by Marx (1974), it is €not the consciousness of human beings that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness•. This understanding may be applied to the development of a disciplinary field such as social work, where it is the social context which shapes the knowledge or ƒconsciousness, of the discipline. This dialectical relationship between the social context which shapes a discipline and the discipline (in this case social work) which has an impact on the social context, is one which is in constant tension and which must be accounted for in any historical analysis.

### 5.2.4 Analysis of South African social work texts

#### 5.2.4.1 Introduction

The analysis of South African social work texts takes the form of a politically engaged deconstructive analysis (MacLeod, 2004, p. 530) of social work discourse and knowledge development as reflected historically in South African social work writing generally and in a local social work journal particularly. This part of the study aims to uncover forms of ideological inscription and metanarratives and is considered to be genealogical, €expœsing the origins of the views that have become sedimented and accepted as truths• (Polkingthorne, 1989, cited by Lincoln and Guba, 2000, p.177).

A further aim of the critical analysis was to contribute to the other empirical process of the study, namely the group discussions. However, the action of doing discourse analysis does not in itself advance a liberatory project. As pointed out by Parker and Burman (1993, cited in MacLeod, 2004, p. 530), there is no necessary connection between discourse analysis and progressive politics. Unless there is careful theorising about the ƒreal, it may be subordinated to discourse and lead to complacency. For this reason, the analysis of social work texts was preceded by the historical contextual analysis.

Any field, and in this case, the field of social work, may be seen as a space of relations, the nature of which would then be manifested in its written texts (Garret, 2007, p.358). These texts are considered to be the bearers of the outcomes of battles or competitions for legitimacy of ideas as well as ideologies (Thompson, 1980). Such discourse within a field will have been structured by unspoken rules about what may be uttered or perceived and deemed to be valid and will thus exclude discourse which is cast as €na†ve and stupid• (Eagleton, 1991, cited by Garret, 2007, p.358). This exclusion of discourse occurs in a fashion similar to that which is argued by Gramsci, that hegemonic discourse in a particular field requires the observation of what is commonly regarded as the ƒcorrect, form in that particular field, or risk exclusion as nonsense (Garret, 2007). It is thus these ideas and

ideologies which become the focus of interest in this study as they act to constitute the field of social work.

#### 5.2.4.2 Selection of texts

A three phased approach was used for the textual analysis. Firstly, in order to do a selection of the texts that would be included for analysis in the study, an overview was done of South African social work texts as they appear in the mainstream academic domain. Various searches were done to identify such texts and various examples were found. This selection for genealogical analysis included conference proceedings, reports from commissions of inquiry, books, articles in accredited journals and university and college reports. Omitted, were those informal texts which had been excluded from the ƒmainstream, of the disciplinary field. These exclusions occurred through both the violent and symbolically violent forms of state coercion or censorship and through more informal processes of regulation. The researcher was not very selective a priori and did not therefore select a sample, but rather did an overview of any materials that were found. The contents of these writings were recorded, described and summarised. A selection was then made from these texts, based on a range of historical South African socio-political stages on the one hand and a range of ideological perspectives on the other. A brief overview was done of these texts, in order to capture general trends and developments in social work theory and discourse.

Secondly, the journal, Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, one of two accredited South African social work journals, was chosen for more in depth study, as being representative and a reflection of the more formal social work knowledge development in South Africa. The reason for its inclusion is that it is the older of the two journals (the first edition appeared in 1965) while the other journal, Social Work Researcher/Practitioner appeared for the first time in approximately1980. Both of the journals were published by previously ƒwhite, Afrikaans universities.All the editions of the selected journal (four per year) were reviewed and a list was made of all the articles that had appeared from the inception of the journal (a total of over 1000 articles).

The use of the titles of articles as a set of data was chosen as these are taken as €prominent expressions of the overall meaning of a report (or the ƒsemantic macrostructure,) and these are ƒprobably more likely to express or convey ideological content, than grammatical details in a text.€ (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 22).

Categories were then identified which were considered to be descriptive of the various themes that emerged, according to the content indicated in the titles of their articles. A limitation in this regard was that the titles of articles do not always give a clear indication of the content of the writing. In cases such as these, a brief perusal was done of the content of the article so that a clearer understanding could be arrived at in order to categorise the article appropriately.

The categories that were identified related to the various fields and nature of problem areas addressed by the titles, the nature of intervention, the level of intervention (micro, meso and macro levels), whether the titles indicated a support of the status quo, and whether the titles indicated a socialist-collectivist perspective, an individualist-reformist perspective or a reflexive-therapeutic perspective, whether the title related to social work as a profession, professional development, education, research, management, organisational development and lastly whether the title related to social and structural change.

The third phase of analysis was a critical analysis of a sample of the aforementioned social work writings. These included a total of thirty South African social work texts, which included extracts from the Report of the Carnegie Commision (1932), an inaugural address of a social work professor (Gray, 1937), a Post-War Welfare Planning Conference report (1944), twenty six of the journal articles and the Submission of the Welfare Sector to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1999). The analysis used Thompson,s €modes of ideology• approach (1990) and Therborn,s €operation of ideology• (1980). Specifically, an exploration was made of how the content of these articles had demonstrated the operation of ideology in the knowledge base of social work and assumptions about oppression, inequality, social justice and social change.

The researcher, after writing about the historiography of social work in South Africa, identified significant chronological periods to which social work knowledge development and discourse, through its writing, could be linked. These periods and respective social work texts that were selected proportionately according to the number of articles in each given period, were as follows:

a) The period 1920 „ 1948, which includes a description of the first social work curriculum of the Jan Hofmeyr College (1930); extracts from the report of the Carnegie Commission of Enquiry into the poor ƒwhite, problem, 1932; extracts from an inaugural lecture by Prof Gray of the University of the Witwatersrand, 1937; and the Report of the National Conference on the post-war planning of social welfare work, held at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (1944);
b) the 1960s and 70s, as this was the first period of formal publication of social work academic writing, with nine articles from the selected journal
c) 1980 - 1985, which covers the period of heightened resistance against apartheid and excessive repression, with three articles from the selected journal
d) 1986 until 1993 which saw the beginning of transition and the emergence of global neo-liberalism, with five articles from the selected journal
e) The post-apartheid era from 1994, including the proceedings of the Joint Universities, Committee,s Annual Conference on transforming social work education, held at the University of the Western Cape in 1998, the submission from the Welfare Sector to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1999) and ten articles from the selected journal

Regarding the selection of journal articles, a number of articles were selected purposively from a particular period in order for them to represent a wide range of themes and theoretical content as had been analysed in the previous phase of the titles analysis. Within each period, the titles representing ideologies and knowledge constitutive of social change, relating to particular categories that had been identified earlier, and reflecting the general trends of that particular period, were examined for suitability for inclusion.

### 5.2.4.3 Analysis of texts

The social work texts were analysed in terms of their content, discourse, ideology, and the structuring function that they performed on the field, as well as how they were reflective of the socio-political and economic historical context in which they emerged. In addition to their ideological and disciplinary specific nature, these texts are viewed as "instantiations of socially regulated discourses" which are also socially constrained in their "processes of production and reception" (Janks, 1997, p. 329). The assumption is furthermore made that these texts are reflective of a process described by Bourdieu, of competition and struggle among those who are able to mobilize resources which enable the production of such structuring discourses (Garret, 2007).

Of particular interest was the social work discourse evident in these writings and how it had been constrained and informed by political ideologies of the times. The analysis posed questions about how these texts reproduced, contested or were silent about existing oppressive social and professional relations and how various professional interests were served (Janks, 2006). Furthermore, it explored how the social work field of knowledge in South Africa was hegemonised and legitimated through the depiction of the socio-political world as natural and inevitable in Gramscian terms (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2000).

This analysis of how ideology was inscribed in social work knowledge development is important as it is clear that any formal and institutionalised social work education and activity was regulated by the state „ not only during the apartheid era but also during the earlier years of social work development in South Africa. However, the dominant ideologies function, as described by Gramsci (Fischman and McLaren, 2005) both through coercion by the state as well as through consent to hegemonic apparatuses in civil society in the general social order. Social work had become shaped by both ideologies of the state as well as through hegemonic apparatuses in civil society. It seems that in spite of social work,s liberal aims, its formal texts produced by both intellectuals and practitioners, were subject to coercive processes such as what content was permissible as well as consensual processes such as choices made about lack of resistance and status quo maintenance. The hegemonic

ƒcommon-sense, knowledge proclaimed through these writings was reflective of the power of the ruling social order. Eagleton (1994), commenting on Gramsci,s work on hegemony (which is described as being a broader concept than ideology), states: €How do we combat a power which has become the 'common sense' of a whole social order, rather than one which is widely perceived as alien and oppressive?• (1994, p. 221).

In order to analyse texts in terms of how ideology interpellates and constitutes subjects, Therborn,s analysis of ideology (Wright, 2002) was also used. He states that to study the ideological aspect of a practice is €to focus on the way it operates in the formation and transformation of human subjectivity•. How the selected social work texts use modes of interpellation through the formation of subjectivity and then how these subjectivities are made suitable for the performance of specific roles and positions in society, was therefore a useful method of reflection and analysis.

Therborn (1980) argues that ideology does not only constitute subjects, but that there is a dual process of both producing subjects as well as the insertion of the subject into the social relations. Social change and transformation, or the process of formation of subjects ideologically, and then the way in which such subjects enter into and are ƒinserted, into their social relations,are referred to by Therborn as the ƒsubjecting, or producing of subjects, and the ƒqualification, of subjects.

The texts were therefore analysed in terms of three modes of interpellation: ƒWhat exists, is the description of lived experience and the formation of theoretical practice and knowledge development or €cognitive aspects of subjectivity• (Wright, 2002, p.6). When descriptions and beliefs about reality and what exists are false, it may be argued that ideology acts to ƒmystify,. How ideologies propose ƒWhat is good,, include both a cognitive belief and a motivational orientation towards what is believed to be good. Wright (2002) describes the contradiction that may occur between cognitive beliefs and motivational dispositions. Analysing what is proposed as ƒgood, therefore uncovers another form of ideological interpellation.

Lastly, ƒwhat is possible, is another aspect of interpellation. This is an important aspect, as it determines to what extent people feel things can change. In social work

this element is crucial to positioning around vision and motivation. Therborn (1980) emphasizes the importance of including the formation of many subjectivities in the concept of ideology, and sees people as being interpellated in many different interconnected relations.

Initially therefore, the titles of articles from the social work journal were all recorded, collated, and analysed according to themes that emerged around the following:

- the field or ƒproblem area, which they addressed
- the theoretical perspectives which they seemed to represent (socialist/collectivist; individual/reformist; and reflexive therapeutic);
- their individualist or collectivist focus
- their ideological position
- the nature of the content given the particular historical socio-political context

These themes were identified insofar as it was possible to make such judgements based on article titles. The sample of thirty selected articles and other texts were then analysed in greater depth using critical discourse analysis and utilizing Thompson,s (1990) modes of operation of ideology (Janks, 1997) and Therborn,s operation of ideology (Therborn, 1980). A further consideration was how the various texts, spanning the contextually significant periods of South African history, were analysed with regards to the position of the researcher. Choices about taking positions of ƒestrangement and alienation, or ƒengagement, had to be made. It is easier to be critical about texts which are in disagreement with the position of the researcher: €In cases where we begin from a position of estrangement or alienation from the text it is easier to read against rather than with the text• (Janks, 1997, p. 330). A critical model of reading and analysis therefore required both an engagement and a questioning of the text (Janks, 1997, p. 331). The researcher therefore had to be constantly vigilant about her own ƒtaken-for-granted, engaged position in relation to the texts, which had formed part of her own social work knowledge production and professional socialisation.

The theory and practice of critical discourse analysis suggests strategies that enable a deliberate move to read against the text and to resist the ƒnaturalness, of the text. General institutional practices, such as those of social work, favour engagement with

the text without estrangement (Janks, 1997, p. 331). In the case of social work education and social work practice, professional socialisation as well as the legitimacy of texts implied by their appearance in professional journals, often leads to a taken-for-granted engagement with such texts, without such deliberate strategies of critical ƒestrangement„.

Many social work texts make claims which seem to be of a critical theoretical nature and which call for social change, social justice and empowerment. It is hard to deconstruct texts that espouse such noble sentiments and with which the reader is in agreement (Janks, 2005, p. 34). Lived experience and convictions serve as resources for reading against offensive texts and it is then easier to adopt a position which is €outside of the presuppositions which formed it• (Janks, 2005, p. 34) rather than from an engaged, agreeing position described by Hall (1980) as being the ƒƒideal reader„„

If the aim of critical research is to confront injustice and contribute to emancipatory consciousness, then uncovering the inscriptions of ideology and hegemonic discourse, using the outsider view if necessary. hooks (1990, p. 149) explains this outsider view, as a ƒƒmarginality„ that is ƒƒa central location for the production of counterhegemonic discourse that is not just found in words but in habits of being and the way one lives„. She sees marginality as a ƒƒsite of radical possibility, a space of resistance„ that provides an ƒƒoppositional world view, a mode of seeing, unknown to most of our oppressors„ (p. 149).

The need for reading against the text requires strategies that enable this deliberate move. In this regard, the strategies developed and described by Thompson (1990) regarding the modes of operation of ideology are useful and were utilised for the analysis of these selected texts. The identification of instances of these operations of ideology (i.e. legitimation, dissimilation, unification, fragmentation and reification), together with an analysis of how the text deals with the three levels of questioning (i.e. €what exists•, €what is good• and €what is possible•) suggested by Therborn (1980), therefore formed the basis of the analysis. The analysis of modes of operation of ideology, based on Thompson‚s (1990, p. 60) framework, formed a useful guide for analysis of discourse (See Table 2).

### 5.2.5 Group conversations with social work educators

#### 5.2.5.1 Introduction

Group conversations were facilitated with social work educators from eleven of the fourteen schools of social work at South African universities involving a total of thirty-seven participants. The content of the group conversations, together with the personal descriptions by participants, formed the data for the later analysis of social work knowledge development, how this knowledge is structured, how it is inscribed with ideology, and how it is structured through historical socio-political and economic forces.

The research process itself sought congruence with principles of the critical research paradigm. In order to avoid the power relations typically inherent in traditional research, participants were regarded as co-researchers and participated in decisions about the process of the group discussions and what areas of exploration were of importance. Participants were frequently requested to reflect critically on the process of engagement. Such joint inquiry is congruent with ideals of critical reflection, consciousness development and praxis. It is seen as emancipatory and transformative and thus a strategy of anti-oppression and emancipation. It proposes an alternative to the hegemony of western research practices and is €designed to resist the intellectual colonialism of western social research• (Sohng, 1995, p.4).

The inclusion of such personal narratives generated through a collective exercise, was an attempt to understand both subjective and structural aspects of social work knowledge development. This dichotomy of the subject and structural is a basis for ideological controversy. Much of the ƒcommon-sense-knowledge, of social workers around the culpability of the individual for social pathology, are the result of both coercive and consensual hegemonic distortions relating to the subject and structure dichotomy. Bourdieu,s (1985) idea of the ƒhabitus, is a useful construct to overcome this.

According to Bourdieu (Honneth, Korcyba and Schwibs, 1986, p. 42), the concept of ƒhabitus, may be regarded as €an attempt to overcome the dichotomy between a subject-less structuralism and the philosophy of the subject• acknowledging the role of socially constituted dispositions. It was this construct that guided the exploration of the knowledge development of the participants from both the subjective as well as contextual and structural perspectives.

#### 5.2.5.2 Selection of participants

Social work educators at all South African universities were approached by written invitation, first to the various heads of departments, to participate in the research study. Participants were invited by letter and provided with relevant information about the aims of the research. Those that agreed to participate were provided with participant information sheets and consent forms that had to be signed prior to the start of the group conversations. In this way fourteen such invitations were sent and a total of eleven universities participated. The group conversations were held at a time and date convenient to the participants, at their respective universities.

#### 5.2.5.3 Preliminary study

A preliminary group conversation was facilitated with educators who are colleagues from the university at which the researcher works (who were not part of the main study). A written guideline had been prepared for the group conversation (See Appendix A: Outline for group conversation). The focus of the preliminary study was to obtain feedback from participants about the experience so that modifications could be made to the planned group facilitation strategies if these were necessary. The process was helpful for the researcher, as it enhanced her preparation for the facilitation role. No specific changes were however recommended by participants.

#### 5.2.5.4 Collection of group conversation data

Over a period of one year, the researcher visited each of the locations to facilitate the group conversations. These included Durban, East London, Alice, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, Thohoyandu and

Potchefstroom. The duration of each of the group conversations were approximately three to four hours long. Each participant was provided with a pack of materials aimed at facilitating the process. This folder included Appendix A: Guideline for group conversation; Appendix B: Participants, information sheet; Appendix C: Consent form for participation and for the audio-taping of the group discussion; Appendix D: Demographic information sheet; Appendix E: ƒThoughts and ideas•; Appendix F: Glossary of terms and definitions; Appendix G: Reading list.

As part of introductory comments the researcher explained her own position in relation to the research, and made explicit her views and ideological standpoint. The management of the process of the group conversations included an emphasis on shared control and flexibility, with an encouragement of mutual responsibility for attention to process and content issues. The researcher, while taking on the role of facilitator, negotiated a collective approach to the management of the process.

The format of the conversation included introductory comments, completion of biographical detail forms and then a general discussion about critical discourse in social work. An individual exercise relating to a ƒlife line, of social work knowledge development formed the basis of the latter part of the group conversation. After completion of the lifeline which took approximately 30 minutes, participants shared their stories in the group, offering opportunities for other participants to comment or ask questions. In this way they elaborated on their graphic depictions of their own knowledge development process.

The conversations were conducted in two phases. The first was an exploratory, unstructured phase. Participants were provided with a summary of definitions to facilitate shared understanding during the conversations. They were also provided with a handout of €thoughts and ideas•, supporting the approach of making known the researcher,s position and providing a dialectic basis for discussion. The critical research approach calls for the researcher to be aware, reflective and critical of her own assumptions. It endeavours to equalise power relations between the researcher and participants and between participants themselves by removing possible ƒmonopolies of knowledge,. The selected quotations also served the purpose of generating conversation, thus opening the process of

critical engagement around issues of social change, political engagement, critical discourse and pedagogy, social justice, social work education and critical social work practice.

The ideas generated in this phase helped structure ideas and thoughts to be considered in the latter phase, which would then be guided by the structured activity around personal reflection and construction of a knowledge development ƒlife line,. The instructions for the ƒlifeline representation, were as follows:

€In your drawing of your „knowledge journey•, include the following:

- choosing to study social work
- experiences and contexts that contributed to your thinking
- significant „momentsƒ or „transitionsƒ or „shiftsƒ in your thinking the context of such „momentsƒ (personal, educational, social, social, political)
- „constraintsƒ or „boundariesƒ or „limitsƒ surrounding your knowledge development•

The whole process was punctuated by ƒcritical pauses for reflection, whereby participants were requested to examine the preceding discussion and make comments on the content and process.

The discussions broadly centred around questions about the extent to which social work education was able to achieve the outcome of enabling social workers to €identify, select and implement various techniques, methods and means of raising awareness, developing critical consciousness about the structural forces of oppression, exclusion and disempowerment, and use such awareness to engage people as change agents• (Standards Generating Body, 2004). It would probe whether social work knowledge and practice was generally utilised as resistance or as powerful surveillance and tool for the maintenance of the status quo. It would explore why and how social work discourse seemed to have ƒescaped, social justice issues and why and how social work discourse tended to be uncritical of and unable to resist injustice. It therefore focused on the meanings that these educators ascribe to the discourses surrounding the socio-political context of social work in South Africa and its pedagogical content.

#### 5.2.5.5 Analysis of group conversations

The method used in the analysis of the data gathered through the group conversations, was thematic content analysis (Boyatzis, 1998; Riessman, 2002) as well as critical discourse analysis (Janks, 1998; Van Dijk, 1995). Thematic content analysis is described as €a process for encoding qualitative information• (Boyatzis, 1998, p.4), which may be a list of themes that are generated inductively from the data or deductively from the theory and prior research. In this study, thematic codes were developed through both an inductive or data driven process, whereby the data rather than prior theory or research was used to develop the themes, as well as a theory driven process, whereby prior theory informs the identification of themes. The identification of such themes therefore requires the recognition of patterns in the gathered data on the one hand, and identification of theoretical constructs relevant to the research aims.

The researcher made notes during the conversations and the audio recordings of the group conversations were transcribed by a research assistant. These recordings were then listened to by the researcher in conjunction with the typed transcriptions. Notes were made on the transcriptions for elaboration and clarification. Through repeated reading of the transcriptions, a ƒglobal, analysis rather than a deconstructive process was used to analyse the data (Henning, 2004). The group conversations were coded via the inductive process of breaking up and categorising the text to form descriptions and broad themes (Creswell, 2005). The process of analysis meant that the transcripts were read a number of times and then notes were made of themes that emerged. Atlas version six was used to organize, categorise and manage the data. Themes were identified and grouped together and divided into main themes, categories and sub-categories. Codes were assigned to the themes and verbatim quotations identified for each theme. The data was then grouped together according to each category (Creswell, 2005).

Although the group discussions and information gathered were analysed to discover themes and meanings attached to experiences of knowledge development and education for social work practice, the aim of this aspect of the study related to the

exploration of the ƒhabitus, of the participants. This ƒhabitus,, €the system of durable, transposable dispositions• (Boudieu, 2003, p.72) would contribute to the understanding of how socio-political and economic structures structured social work knowledge development and how these structures of practices continued to be structured by social work knowledge (Bourdieu, 2003, in Garret, 2007, p.358). The conflicts of ƒhabitus, within participants which relate to conflicts between structured experience and social work knowledge then find expression in the field, where the habitus which is occupied is confronted by incongruence. How these conflicts are resolved then becomes part of the analysis of the consent to hegemonic discourse.

Themes generated through identifying theoretical constructs and which guided this exploration included ideology, critical consciousness and social work education. However, as stated by Foucault (1972) in Babbie and Mouton (2001), it is not enough to merely describe events (or experiences) but it is the code according to which events and experiences present themselves that is conceived. The events and experiences thus come to hold a certain representation of meaning.

### 5.2.6 Integration of analysis of textual and narrative data

Finally, an attempt was made to integrate interpretations of the thematic content analysis of the social work texts and the group conversations, using Rose,s framework (1999) as a guide for thoughtful and critical analysis of a ƒhistory of the present, (Rose, 1999, p. xi). He describes this framework as being ƒperspectival, and ƒsensitising us to the kinds of connections and relations amongst diverse elements that have brought our contemporary ways of thinking, judging and acting into being. He argues that the actual history of those forms of rationality that comprise the present, needs to be traced in very material and concrete forms (Rose, 1999). This would include €the ways of thinking and acting with which they have been caught up, the practices and assemblages which they have animated, and the consequences for our understanding of our present, and of ourselves in that present• (Rose, 1999, p. x). The ƒpresent certainties, should therefore be questionedby confronting them with their histories, which may prove to be more unsettling and provocative than either the exposure of empirical errors or any conceptual critiques. Questions also need to be asked about where objects of knowledge emerge from, which authorities

pronounce about them, through which explanatory regimes they are specified and how do they acquire the status of truth. Analysis thus included examining the data in relation to questions about problematisations; explanations; technologies; authorities; subjectivities and strategies.

In this way, present social work knowledge could be ƒdestabilised, or ƒdefatalised, (Rose, 1999). Understanding the present in terms of how things arose and developed, opens the possibility of understanding how things were and how they could have been different, which in turn then makes it easier to assess that present in order to make judgments about how to act upon it. This guide enabled the integration of the various sets of data so that a broader perspective of social work knowledge development and a beginning understanding of its place in social change and transformation could be achieved.

### 5.2.7 Personal reflection

The researcher was committed to a process of reflexivity throughout the research process. This related to her own processes of knowledge development and critical consciousness through writing in a journal. She remained aware of how the constraints and the limitations of her own knowledge impacted on her understanding and engagement with the theory that would become part of the study. The very process of the research study would, through reflexivity, come to represent the possibilities of shifting the habitus „ as dispositions and counter-narratives would become newly structured knowledges and practices. The journal was kept throughout the research process, which covered the process from the initial stages of conceptualization through to the completion of the data collection and analysis and writing of the thesis. Thoughts around readings and engagements with theorists were recorded as well as personal impressions and experiences of the researcher during the research process. Themes and ideas were not analysed in any depth, but the reflections on the content and critical insights gained were taken into account and integrated into the final writing of the thesis.

There was a constant enjoiner to remain wary of €the dangers of overly facile familiarity• in the positions taken by the researcher (Alexander, 1992, p.178) in

relation to oppression, inequality and injustice. Here too, the structuring structures which produce the subjective position and consciousness of the researcher require constant reflection and consciousness. The researcher herself had been the product of hegemonic social work education, in a white supremist cultural context, with conflicting ideologies and dispositions giving rise to a need for the exploration of critical discourse as a way of finding counter-narratives to hegemonic discourse. Such exploration has led to the product of this research study.

## 5.3 Trustworthiness

According to Wood and Webb (2008), trustworthiness in qualitative research refers to the truth and accuracy of the findings and interpretations and there are certain measures that must be employed to attain this. According to them, four aspects of trustworthiness may be identified namely: truth value, applicability, consistency, and neutrality. Furthermore, trustworthiness is established when findings as closely as possible reflect the meanings as described by the participants (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Lietz, Langer and Furman, 2006). Padgett (1998, cited by Lietz, Langer and Furman, 2006, p. 444) explains that trustworthiness is not something that just naturally occurs, but instead is the result of ƒrigorous scholarship, that includes the use of defined procedures. Lietz, Langer and Furman, 2006) maintain that in order to manage threats to trustworthiness, qualitative researchers must engage in a variety of strategies in order to describe research findings in a way that authentically represents the meanings as described by the participants. The strategies include prolonged engagement, triangulation, peer debriefing, member checking, negative case analysis, audit trail and reflexivity.

In this study, the trustworthiness or credibility of the research was enhanced through mainly a careful selection of methods of research, through a continuous reflexivity on the part of the researcher, through the involvement of two moderators when selecting texts for inclusion in the study and through the mindfulness of the researcher to a commitment to congruence between her own positions, beliefs and methods of research. There should be a conscious recognition of the relationship between values and research and in the choice of doing qualitative research, there is a need for a self conscious awareness in the researcher of the political decisions

relating to the choices around the research process. There is no need €to fit these methods into a procrustean bed of objectivist standards of reliability and validity.• (Harrison, MacGibbon and Morton, 2001, p.324). In this regard, reciprocity is important in enhancing trustworthiness and this relates to addressing issues of power, notions of subjectivity/objectivity, researcher reflexivity, and power/authority in presentation. In this study, as has been explained in the discussion on research methods above, attention was paid to these issues through conscious reflection and discussion during the planning and execution of the empirical process of conducting the group discussions.

# CHAPTER SIX, SEVEN, EIGHT: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

## INTRODUCTION TO SECTION

This section, comprising three chapters, describes the second phase of the depth hermeneutical approach (Thompson, 1990), following on the earlier social-historical analysis, namely the formal or discursive analysis of data obtained from the main empirical activities. These include an overview of South African social work writing and analysis of all the titles of one of the two South African social work journals from 1965 - 2009; a depth analysis of a sample of texts from this journal; and an analysis of group conversations with social work educators at ten tertiary education institutions offering social work programmes. The third phase of the depth-hermeneutic approach, the interpretation and re-interpretation following the analysis, is incorporated into the discussions around the data analysis.

The study uses a depth hermeneutical approach (Thompson, 1990). The data is analysed and interpreted utilising thematic content analysis (Henning, 2004, Boyatzis, 1998); a critical thematic analysis of textual and narrative data (Van Dijk, 1995); an analysis of the operational modes of ideology (Thompson, 1990); analysis of the various modes of ideological interpellation (Therborn, 1980); and analysis of the conceptual determinations arising from the €social consciousness and structural framework• of the current era (Meszaros, 2010).

The first chapter of this section, presenting a content analysis of all the journal titles found in the journal from 1965 (1127 titles in total), serves as a precursor to the later sections consisting of the more in-depth analysis of various texts (Van Dijk, 2006). Considering the historiography of social work and social work education in South Africa, significant chronological periods were identified to which social work knowledge development and discourse, through its writing, could be linked. In this first chapter (Chapter Six), the titles of articles from the journal were thematically analysed within these chronological periods, according to theoretical perspectives, ideology and fields of intervention.

The second chapter of this section (Chapter Seven) provides a more in-depth analysis of the social work texts identified and selected for closer scrutiny from the titles analysed in the first chapter. This description is expanded by including some relevant writings identified as being of particular significance and descriptive of social work knowledge development and ideology in the various periods. Critical discourse analysis is used to find instances of the operation of ideology in their discursive strategies (Thompson, 1984); descriptions of ideological interpellation, subjectification and qualification (Therborn, 1980); and for silences and disavowals given the context of the time.

The third chapter of this section (Chapter Eight) presents an analysis of the data from group conversations conducted with social work educators at South African Universities during 2007 and 2008 regarding experiences of their own knowledge development and social work education juxtaposed with the socio-political context of the time. Thematic content and critical discourse analysis is used to interpret this data, using both a deductive and inductive approach.

# CHAPTER SIX: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS: OVERVIEW OF JOURNAL TITLES

## 6.1 Introduction

The selection of formal social work texts from the earliest and various historical periods of social work education in South Africa included the Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk journal, being the first to appear (from 1965) fifteen years before the other accredited South African social work journal the Social work Researcher/Practitioner and an example of formal social work knowledge development in South Africa. The other accredited South African social work journal, Social Work Researcher/Practitioner appeared for the first time in approximately 1980, at the Rand Afrikaans University. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk is located in the Department of Social Work at the University of Stellenbosch. Both journals were therefore published by historically ƒwhite, Afrikaans Universities.

In this first chapter of data analysis and presentation, all the editions of Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk (four per year) were reviewed and a list was made of all the articles that had appeared from the inception of the journal (a total of 1127 articles). These titles are analysed and presented thematically and quantitatively in tables, figures and discussions according to themes around theoretical perspectives, content fields and ideological positioning.

## 6.2 Overview of titles of articles from Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk

### 6.2.1 Description of articles

According to the Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk journal, it was the first academic South African professional social work journal to publish articles and papers, reports, views and book reviews aimed at €the improvement of the standard of the profession in the Republic and the furnishing of information about recent developments in the sphere of social work• (Stellenbosch University Social Work Department, 2009). It is further stated that, €the contents of thejournal have kept up with and been a

reflection of the changes taking place in the profession and the country as a whole•. It is specifically this claim about €keeping up with the changes• that requires interrogation, as the way in which these changes are described, shapes the discourse and provides the ideological framework for practitioners and their practice.

Regarding the usefulness of examining titles for an indication of content and ideology, it is maintained that the overall theme of an article is often contained in the title, giving an idea of its macrostructure or most important theme hierarchically (Van Dijk, 1985, 2006). Article titles are frequently used in content analysis procedures (Creamer, 1994; Hayes, 1992, cited by Donaldson and Townsend, 2007), as such article titles often serve as a central search strategy for practitioners who use them to find relevant material for study and €keep abreast in the field•. These titles also lead practitioners €to articles that frame practitioner discourse and practice.• (Donaldson and Townsend, 2007, p. 31).

All the titles found in the tables of contents of the Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk journal, from 1965 until 2009 were therefore examined and the titles of articles divided into the various chronological periods. These titles were then analysed according to fields (content areas), theoretical perspectives and ideological positioning contained in the wording in the titles. In most cases it was possible to deduce both the field and the broad theoretical approach from the title alone. Where it was not possible to do this due to a cryptic or non-descriptive title (in approximately five percent of the titles), the actual journal article was briefly examined.
In describing these themes and trends, examples of titles are provided as illustrations. The texts of the full articles of some of these titles are then scrutinized in greater depth through discourse analysis in the following chapter. Such articles that are to be examined in the following chapter are denoted by a footnote giving the full reference of the article, and may be found grouped in chronological periods in the following chapter.

### 6.2.2 Theoretical and ideological foci across historical periods

#### 6.2.2.1 Theoretical perspectives

Perusing the titles of articles, both a data-driven and theory-driven process was followed. Although Payne,s (2005) categories of theoretical perspectives (socialist-collectivist, individualist-reformist and reflexive-therapeutic) provided a useful basis for analysis of the theoretical orientation of titles, some cases were found where none of the categories applied. These titles related to issues of pedagogy, the social work profession and professionalization. This category was therefore included as an additional category.

| | | PERIOD | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Theoretical Perspectives | 1 | Socialist Collectivist | 72 | 7% |
| | 2 | Individualist Reformist | 599 | 53% |
| | 3 | Reflexive Therapeutic | 127 | 11% |
| | 4 | Profession professionalization Education | 330 | 29% |
| | | Total | 1127 | 100% |

Table 3: Overall theoretical perspectives of titles

According to Payne (2005), the *f* socialist-collectivist, perspectives reflect theories relating to the social purpose of social work and are concerned with social change, social justice and freedom from oppression and seek to transform society for the benefit of the poorest and most oppressed. On the other hand, the *f* individualist-reformist, approaches are concerned with ideas which focus on social and political demands for social order and status quo maintenance rather than seeking radical change. The *f* reflexive-therapeutic, theories reflect ideas around personal development and fulfilment, emphasising emotions and interpersonal responses and are concerned with personal change (Payne, 2005, p.13).

It is evident that overall, articles were mostly related to what is termed ƒindividualist-reformist,, or status quo maintenance (53%) rather than the emancipatory, ƒsocialist-collectivist perspectives, (7%). There was also an under-representation of the more humanistic, person-centred ƒtherapeutic-reflexive, perspectives (11%).
These categories where then further analysed to explore the various sub categories within the theoretical perspectives identified.

| | PERIOD | 1965-1969 | 1970-1979 | 1980-1985 | 1986-1993 | 1994-1999 | 2000-2009 | | TOTAL | % of total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| OVERALL PERSPECTIVE | THEORETICAL APPROACHES | 99 | 174 | 123 | 267 | 197 | 267 | % within category | 1127 | 100% |
| | | Percentages for particular time period immediately below figure indicated | | | | | | | | |
| Socialist collectivist (72 titles) | Radical change Transformation | - | 1 ,5% | 1 1% | 1 ,5% | 1 ,5% | 5 2% | 12,5% | 9 | 1% |
| | Social change Reform | - | - | 3 2% | 13 5% | 15 8% | 5 2% | 50% | 36 | 3% |
| | Social Justice | - | - | 1 1% | 4 1,5% | 4 2% | 18 7% | 37,5% | 27 | 2,5% |
| Individualist reformist (599 titles) | Social Development | - | 15 9% | 19 15% | 21 8% | 24 12% | 24 9% | 17% | 103 | 9% |
| | Ecosystems, Systems theory | 1 1% | - | 2 2% | 3 1% | 2 1% | 0 | 1% | 8 | 1% |
| | Service delivery | 21 21% | 39 22,5% | 20 16% | 34 13% | 17 8,5% | 32 12% | 27% | 163 | 14,5% |
| | Status quo maintenance | 30 30% | 65 37% | 32 26% | 71 27% | 43 22% | 84 31% | 55% | 325 | 29% |
| Reflexive therapeutic (127 Titles) | Psychodynamic Humanist | 11 11% | 9 5% | 9 8% | 28 10% | 27 14% | 42 16% | 100% | 127 | 11% |
| Social work profession and education (330 titles) | Pedagogy and profession | 36 36% | 45 26% | 32 26% | 71 27% | 48 24% | 43 16% | 83% | 275 | 24% |
| | Social justice, social change | - | - | 4 3% | 21 8% | 16 8% | 14 5% | 17% | 55 | 5% |
| | Total | 99 | 174 | 123 | 267 | 197 | 267 | | 1127 | 100% |

Table 4: Theoretical approaches within historical periods

As indicated earlier, socialist -collectivist perspectives , comprised 7% of the overall 1127 titles. However, rather than a radical approach (only 12,5% of titles in this category), 50% of titles in this category could be described as reformist. Social justice generally, rather than reform or radical change, emerged as a theme among 37,5% of titles in this category. In spite of the majority of titles within this category relating to social reform rather than radical or revolutionary change, in relation to the

overall number of articles, only 3% related specifically to social reform. Only 1% of the total number of articles could be described as having a radical, socialist perspective, over a forty four year period).

In the category individualist -reformist , there is an emphasis on maintenance of the status-quo or regulatory approaches (55% of all the titles in the category) across all the time periods. Service delivery (27% of the category) and social development (17% of the category) are less emphasised. This is in keeping with the ƒresidual welfare system, of the state and the ideology of €rugged individualism and family self-reliance• (McKendrick, 1990, p.22). It is interesting that during the 1970 to1979 period, the overall individualist-reformist, category (see Table 1: Overall theoretical perspectives of titles) accounted for 68,5% of all the articles written during the period. This was the period during which resistance to the Apartheid regime and societal upheaval were on the increase (emergence of black consciousness and the Soweto uprisings of 1976). Within social work, the South African Black Social Workers, Association (SABSWA) had staked its progressive position in alliance with the Black People,s Convention in 1977, for strategizing against the plans of the apartheid government (Mpotseng, 1978). It could be argued that the editors of the journal, as well as those writing for the journal, consciously and unconsciously foregrounded ideologies of social control and order and status quo maintenance. Generally, this pattern of theoretical perspectives is congruent with the nature and practice of social work in South Africa, given its origins and development (Lowe, 1988; Gray and Mazibuko, 2002; Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004).

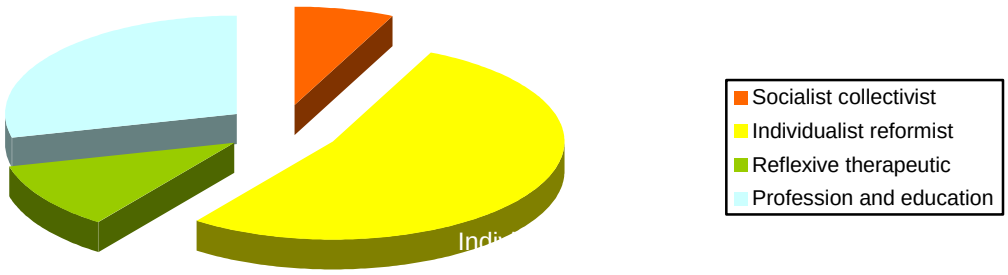


Figure 6: Theoretical perspectives of titles

Individualist-reformist views generally focus on individuals and small community groups, rather than seeking radical change and are concerned with ideas which focus on social and political demands for social order (Payne, 2005). These perspectives express the •liberal or rational economic political philosophy …that personal freedom in economic markets, supported by the rule of law, is the best way of organising societies.• (Payne, 2005, p.9).

These perspectives account for the greatest proportion of articles overall. The extent of predominance of individualist-reformist views however varies over the various chronological periods (See Table 3: Overall theoretical perspective of titles).

There is a peak in the prevalence of the individualist-reformist views during the 1970s (59% of all the articles during that period), at a time when there were increasing levels of discontent with structural issues and acceptance of the status quo began to wane. It may be concluded that the social control function of the social work profession became an increasing priority during this period. Other than during the 1970s (68,5% of all the titles written during this period were of an individualist-reformist perspective) the period 2000 to 2009 showed an increase in the percentage of titles focusing on individualist-reformist perspectives (52% of articles written during this period were found to be in this category). This is in keeping with

the global neo-liberal orientation adopted in 1996 by the South African government through its GEAR policy, with its focus on personal responsibility and individualist world view and a departure from interventionist approaches by the government and a move towards reliance on free-market forces (Sewpaul, 2005). Examples of titles demonstrating the various theoretical perspectives are given below.

| Period | Individualist-reformist perspective | Reflexive therapeutic perspective | Socialist-collectivist perspective |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1965, 1969 | The concept of the problem family[1] a literature study. Uys, M (Afrikaans)<br>Psychiatric problems and treatment for low-income groups. Blignaut, A.P. (Afrikaans)[2]<br>Family planning with the Coloured. D B. | What the client can teach the social worker. Seawright, T. | - |
| 1970, 1979 | The need for population control in South Africa. Cilliers, S.P.<br>Family planning and the motivation of people living in the poverty culture. Van der Ross, R. | Does the social worker know the child? De Vos, S. (Afrikaans)<br>The conversation in case work and group work. Smit, S. J. | The rearrangement of priorities. Terreblanche, S (Afrikaans) |
| 1980-1985 | Housing for the masses. State provision or self-help. Fouche, L. (Afrikaans)<br>Meeting the needs of troubled families. Ramphal, R.<br>The role of the community in poverty alleviation. Louw, L. (Afrikaans) | The psychosocial model. Dlamini, .<br>Communication with the adult .Snyman, S.A. and Van Aswegen (Afrikaans) | Community Theatre. Ferrinho, I<br>Social Work and politics in South Africa. Atmore, E. |
| 1986, 1993 | Privatization: A compelling strategy or option with potential. Ramasar, P.<br>The role of the social worker in promoting affordable social provision in South Africa. Faul, A.C.<br>Resource development as a priority in areas: the role of the social worker. Rankin, P. | The feelings of emotionally abused children. Roberts, J. I.<br>Mediation in permanent or semi-permanent non-symmetrical relationships. Welch, G. J. | Social change with equity: Policy considerations for promoting social justice in gender relationships. Hwedie, K.<br>South African Social Work entering a radical hour. Gray, M .M. |
| 1994, 1999 | Overview of characteristics of self-help organisations among Blacks in South Africa: a historical perspective. Molefe, S.<br>A human potential developmental perspective for community work. Reyneke, R.P. | Humour as a coping aid for stress. Lowis, M. and Nieuwoudt, J. M<br>Theoretical and clinical aspects of rape crisis sequence Flisher, A. . Isaacs, G. .M | Community intervention in a society in transition: social action. Louw, L.R.[3]<br>The position of black women in South African society: A Feminist perspective. Sewpaul, V. |

[1] Uys, M. (1966). Die begrip problem gesin. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk. 2 (3), 9-13
[2] Blignault, A.P. (1966). Psychiatric problems and treatment for low-income groups. Social Work/Maatsjkaplike Werk, 3(2), 77-78
[3] Louw, L. (1994) Community intervention in a society in transition: social action. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 30 (4), 295-298

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2000, 2009 | Social stability and the strategic relev health and welfare in SA. Van Delft, W<br><br>Application of a large group interventio method based on asset based approach: A repositioning of training in community development. Nel, J.<br><br>SW an economic partner in social development. Lombard, A.<br><br>The scope of financial literacy educati poverty alleviation tool in SW? Engelb L. | A social work perspective on stuttering. Ross, E.<br><br>Partnering for success: Marryi Social Work with religion and cul Kasiram, M. I. and Partab, R. | The RDP: A beginning discussi and analysis for Social Work po Triegaardt, J. D.<br><br>Enhancing a human rights cultu through SW practice and trainin Lombard, A.<br><br>Assessment of com: Promoting equitable society through inclus and empowerment. Nel, H. and Roestenburg, W.<br><br>A Structural Social Justice Approach to Family Policy: A critique of the Draft SA Family PolicySewpaul V. |

Table 5: Examples of theoretical perspectives of titles

*Articles with a footnote giving their full reference, are examined and analysed in greater depth in the following chapter and may be found in that chapter, grouped according to order of appearance in the various chronological periods.

### 6.2.2.2 Ideological positions

Theoretical perspectives and discourses also relate to various ideological positions, which in knowledge and theory constitutive of social change, tend to reflect issues such as areas of contestation; taken-for-granted knowledge; power relations; status quo maintenance or radical perspectives; and various positions of identify politics and oppressions.

The first group of ideological positions that emerged related to ideologies of society and social change. These included: nationalist-apartheid; liberal, neoliberal and capitalist; critical, radical or revolutionary; social control or status quo maintenance; and reformist positions regarding social change.

| | Ideological position | TOTAL | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ideology | Nationalist Apartheid | 89 | 8% |
| | Liberal, Neoliberal Capitalist | 64 | 6% |
| | Critical, radical, revolutionary, progressive | 39 | 3% |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Social control and status quo maintenance | 714 | 63% |
| | Reformist | 221 | 29% |
| | Total | 1127 | 100% |

Table 6: Ideological positions of titles

Sixty-three percent of titles could be identified as reflecting a social control and status quo maintenance approach. This trend was present throughout all the time periods but it is concerning that the most recent period (2000-2009) reflects the highest proportion of titles around social control and status quo maintenance ideologies (71% of all titles during the period) of all the historical periods. This increase which appears after 2000, indicates an increase in preoccupation with social order and regulation in the face of the crisis in global economic systems and within South Africa itself. At a time when levels of socio-economic inequality are at their highest (Bond, 2006) and the majority of South Africans face the consequences of disadvantage and poverty, it would have been appropriate to assume that social work as a profession would turn its focus towards social change and radical transformation. Hegemonic discourse more than ever before, continues to centre around the €rugged individualism• referred to by McKendrick (1990), self-responsibility, maintenance of the social order and regulation of society. Interestingly, there is also a slight increase during 2000-2009 in titles reflecting a more critical approach (9%, compared with an average of 2,8% across all the chronological time periods), perhaps pointing to great tolerance of more progressive discourse.

Regarding nationalist and apartheid ideology, although these titles are not in the majority, it could be argued that most of the writing in the journal is positioned within the hegemonic South African apartheid, nationalist and racist capitalist discourse. Many titles do not therefore specifically allude to apartheid or nationalism, but rather tend to support apartheid and the racist capitalist political economy as if it is a taken-for-granted reality. This is in keeping with the view of Lester (1996) that segregation and apartheid resulted from capitalist class domination rather than purely race domination, whereby the relationship between capitalism as a mode of production and apartheid,s racial structures maintained these power relationships (Lester,

1996). This is a contested area however, as ƒrace, is also seen to be a primordial form of prejudice that precedes capitalism. This will be further explored in the following chapter.

In the first two periods, namely the 1960,s and 1970,s, there is a more overt support of apartheid nationalism than at later times. Together with the trend mentioned in section 2.2.3 that the individualist-reformist theoretical perspectives (Table 1), were most prevalent during the 1970s (68,5% of all titles during that period), the nationalist/apartheid ideology is similarly more evident during this period, which can be considered to be the height of racist apartheid.

Regarding social change however, it is clear that a reformist rather than a radical and progressive approach is preferred. Specifically, from 1994 until 1999, 35% of titles implied a reformist ideology and only 5% of titles reflecting a radical social change and transformation approach. The increase in attention to issues of reform during the 1994-1999 period, is in keeping with the period after democratic transition and the concomitant changes in policy and legislation. The focus was less on radical change during that period, as the work of reforms arose directly from the political revolution leading up to 1994. Luxemburg (1930, p.56) states: €during every historical period, work for reforms is carried on only in the direction given to it by the impetus of the last revolution•.

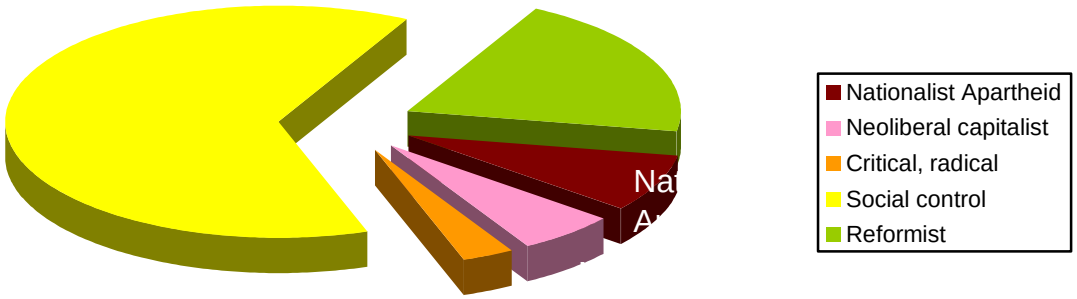

Figure 7: Ideological positions regarding society and social change

Overall, the social-control ideology predominates (63%) among the titles. Issues of social control, regulation of societal order, maintenance of status quo and support during periods of crisis, are in keeping with the historiography of social work as a profession globally and in South Africa, where it emerged as a discipline which grew from the ƒ social hygiene, and eugenics movement constructed aroundsocial Darwinism, which maintained that some people were beyond help due to their weak genetic inheritance (Ferguson and Woodward, 2009, p.18). In addition to its founding in the eugenics movement, in South Africa the Afrikaner nationalist ideology and liberal and racist capitalism further shaped the nature of social work.

The foundations in social work in the maintenance of the racist capitalist order and entrenched class positions, is further manifested by the early contributions to formal discourse (written sources and policies) which reflect these positions (Carnegie Commission of Inquiry into poor-white poverty; evolution of the state Departments of Welfare within the Apartheid system; segregated educational institutions and various laws) (Earle, 2008). Such discourses seem to continue into the present.

| | 1965-1969 | 1970-1979 | 1980-1985 | 1986-1993 | 1994-1999 | 2000-2009 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nationalist Apartheid | Alcoholism: a state issue. Louw, E. F.<br>Training of SW students to serv the needs of a changing South African Bantu society. Bopape M.[4] | The Bantu Ex Prisoner. Bodenstein, J.W.[5]<br>The Carnegie Poor White Investigation: Its Origin and Sequels. Malherbe, E. G. | Relapse of white alcoholics in South Africa. Thomas, A.<br>White South Africans knowledge and utilization of marriage counselling. de Burgh, C. | Black social workers in focus Muller, R. (Afrikaans)<br>The plight of the Coloured Aged. Theron, E. | - | SW in SA: In search of early role models. Hough, M |

[4] Bopape, M. (1967). Training of social work students to serve the needs of a changing South African bantu society. Social work/Maatskaplike werk. 3 (1), 24-27

[5] Bodenstein, J.W. (1970). The bantu ex-prisoner: Some cultural patterns in his reaction to imprisonment and their relevance regarding rehabilitation. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 6 (3), 144-146

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Trumpelmann, C.M. | | | |
| Liberal, Neo-Capitalist | Hire purchase. Steyn, H. | Poverty as a sub-culture. du Toit, J. B. (Afrikaans)<br>Heartaches of the hire purchase system. Croudace, G. | The role of the private sector in the promotion and peaceful development of A. Steyn, J. (Afrikaans)<br>The farm worker community of the Western Cape. Kotze, G. J. | Marketing orientation and the adequacy of funding in WO. Pitt , L.F. and Dekker, H.J.<br>Some Perceptions of the public concerning privatisation + community participation. Snyman SA | Fiscal implications of the White Paper on social welfare Van der Berg, S<br>Organisational Funding: A Development Perspective. O`Brien, F. | Exploring the eco spirituality in the lives of poor black women. Kruger, S.P. Williams, R.C.<br>The socio-economic reality of being a day-labourer in Pretoria. Blaauw, P., Pretorius, A. Louw, H. and Schenk, C. |
| Critical, radical, revolutionary | - | - | Community Theatre. Ferrinho, H.<br>An Appraisal of Critical Social Work and SA Social Problems Slabbert, M[6] | Powerful talk and talking power: Dilemmas in the construction of Socio-cultural diversity course in the South African social work curriculum Mackintosh, I.O<br>Apartheid, Poverty, Social Transformation: A pilgrimage to non-racial democracy: challenges for SW in South Africa. Louw,[7] L. | Social work and politics. Gray, M.M.A.<br>The RDP: Implications for SW prac and Social Welfare poldev in South Africa. Sewpaul V | SW-political participation: A South African study. Gray, M.M.A and Van Rooyen, C.A.J.C<br>Economic globalisation and social policy reform: SW curriculum in the South African context. Sewpaul, V.<br>Social services Cape Town: An analysis using political ethics of care. Bozalek, V., Henderson, N., Lambert, W. Collins, K. and Green, S. |
| Social order and status quo | The role of the volunteer in correctional services. Toussaint van Hove, T | The role of the social worker in drug dependency. Norval, M.E<br>Casework principles in family life. Shaw | The influence of the family and the home on children's behaviour. Ramphal, R.<br>Social work and foster care in | Cognitive Behavioural Intervention for Spouse Abuse Welch, G.J.<br>Divorce Mediation and Custody | Social stability and the strategic relevance of health and welfare in S van Delft, W.<br>Forensic social work with specia | Indigenous SW field practice education: an eco-systems perspective. Engelbrecht. L.K<br>Story of the life satisfaction of a |

[6] Slabbert, M. (1984). An Appraisal of Critical Social Work and SA Social Problems. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 20 (2),114-116

[7] Louw, L. (1991) Apartheid, Poverty, Social Transformation: A pilgrimage to a non-racial democracy: challenges for Social Work in South Africa. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 27 (1), 22-27

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F.C. | terms of the Child Care Act 74 of 1983. De Bruyn, M | Evaluation: Fundamental Differences. Hoffman, W. | reference to the forensic social work services of the SA police services. Stutterheim, E. Weyers, M.L. | group of retired domestic worke in South Africa: qualitative study Cronje, E.M |
| New Directions Social Work Education and Practice. Muller C. | Community Development: Can Social Workers meet the Challenge. Hare, I. S. | Planning for social development. Fourie, H. P..<br>Anatomy of the Unrest and Idea for Reform. Steyn, J. H. | A possible process for amalgamation between racially segregated welfare organisations. Kalis, A.C.<br>Can social welfare agencie meet the challenges in a post-apartheid SA? A planners perspective. Ramphal, R. Moonilal, R. | Community practice: opportunities for community building. Green, S[8]<br>Empowering women in government in SA as a tool towards achieving social development goals. Letsebe, MA. | Impact of social services on human and socio-economic development an the promotion of human rights in A. Lombard, A.<br>Trying to read the writing on th wall: Immediate and imminent impact of national policy. Coughlan, F. |

Reformist

Table 7: Examples of ideological positions of titles

A further set of categories denoting ideological positions that were identified, related to the theme around the nature of the profession, forms of practice denoting disciplinary power and control; and various forms of oppression and social work responses. These themes could also be described as the politics of identity (Fraser, 1997), social work disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977) and subjectification and qualification (Therborn, 1980). Examples of evidence of such oppressions within social work discourse itself, responses to or attempts to deal with forms of oppression across various time periods are given in the tables below.

[8] Green, S. (1998). Community practice: opportunities for community building. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 34 (4), 362-368

| | 1965-1969 | 1970-1979 | 1980-1985 | 1986-1993 | 1994-1999 | 2000-2009 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| €Race• and racist discourse | Welfare Services for the coloured population group in the Western Cape. Heydorn, G<br>Training of social workers to serve the needs of a changing Bantu society. M Bopape | Contact and association between coloureds and bantu in the Cape Peninsula. Lategan, E.<br>The Carnegie poor white investigation Its origin and sequels. Malherbe, E.G.<br>The Bantu Ex-Prisoner. J.W. Bodenstein | Relapse of white alcoholics in South Africa. Thomas, A.<br>Some Coloured and Indian attitudes towards alcoho related matters Rocha Silva, L. (Afrikaans) | Black social workers in focus Muller, R.<br>The black middle class family in th city. Rautenbach, E.A and Kellerman, A.P.F (Afrikaans)<br>The Changing Role of the Black Family and its adaptation to the present needs Maforah NF | An overview of the characteristics o self-help organisations among blacks ir SA: A historical perspective. Molefe, S.F.<br>Consequences of urbanization and westernization on black family life in SA Bester CW | Perspectives of elderly blacks on institutional care. Ryke, E, Ngiba, T and Strydom, H.<br>Transracial placements identi and needs of SA rainbow families. Ledderboge, U.F. van Rooyen, C ar Colin, A.J. |
| Gender | - | - | - | Social change with equity: Policy considerations fo promoting social justice in gender relations. Osei-Hwedie, K. | Women and social development: Global opportunities fo gender conscious transformation i the new millennium. Jones, N.S., Perry, T.E.<br>The relevance o feminism in modern SW education. Makofane, M.D.M. | Feminist and ethical aspects of assisted reproductive technologies (ARTs): Challeng for SW. Sewpaul V. |
| Indigenisation and cross-cultural | - | - | - | Kinship Networks: An analysis on the use of kinshi systems for the promotion of mental health among the Ngur Tshabalala, M.<br>Working | The contents of a course in multi cultural social work. Strydom, H.<br>SW practice in cross cultural situations: some guidelines for | Indigenous SW field practice education: an eco systems perspective. Engelbrecht. L.K.<br>Cultural diversity and development needs in S |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Together: An experiential programme dealing with cross-cultural awareness. Bernstein, A. and Gray, M.<br>The movement towards indigenization of social service delivery in SA. Taback, R. | practice. Sikhitha, T.M.<br>Socio-cultural factors and their importance in working with patients with AIDS in SA. Berstein, A.J. and Van Rooyen, C.A.J. | Implications for social work education<br>Strydom, H. (Afrikaans).<br>Cross-cultural practice and the indigenisation of African SW. Gray M and Allegritti, I |
| Emancipatory practice | - | Alternatives for prison sentences. Labuschagne, J.J. | Youth development works. Atmore, E.<br>A critical perspective on community service sentencing in SA. Van Gass, I.G. | Uprooting Poverty. Joubert D.<br>Apartheid, poverty, social transformation: A pilgrimage to a non-racial democracy. Challenges for social work in SA. Louw, L.R. | Social work in the new South Africa: Which way for justice and development? Ferguson Brown H. and van Staden, S.M.<br>Participation, Civil Society and SW Practice. Gaithiram, N | Assessment of communities: Promoting an equitable society through inclusion and empowerment. Nel, H. and Roestenburg, W.<br>Combating child labour: A SA challenge. Veera D.L. |

Table 8: Forms of oppression and social work forms of practice across periods

Regarding various forms of oppressions and social work,s responses, knowledge and practice responses took the form of ƒindigenisation, and ƒculture,, featuring prominently in the 2000 to 2009 period, while race and identity were consistently reflected throughout the various periods. There did seem to be a peak in concern with issues of race or identity in the 1960 to 1979 period. The adoption of a perspective claiming the need for indigenisation may serve to further discourse that masks the perpetuation of racist or liberal positions antithetical to the social justice project. While ƒindigenisation, or ƒcultural sensitivity, as a discourse may obscure racist and discriminatory practices, some authors argue that ƒindigenisation, is an anti-colonial project (Gray, Coates and Yellow Bird, 2010). However, such an interpretation of indigenisation practice completely fails to deal with the oppression and the consequences of the extractive capitalism, ƒrace, based class structure and psychological denigration wrought (and many would argue still occurs) by the

[9] Gray, M and Allegritti, I (2002). Cross-cultural practice and the indigenisation of African SW. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 38 (4), 324-336

imperialist colonial project. The popular surge in ƒindigenisation,and ƒculture sensitive, South African social work discourse in the post 1994 period and in the current international context (Gray and Allegritti, 2002; Gray, Coates and Yellow Bird, 2010; Dominelli, 2012) may be indicative of such ideological obfuscation.

#### 6.2.2.3 Levels of intervention

General social work epistemology defines practice in terms of intervention at the individual level (micro), relational and group level (meso) and community or structural level (macro). These levels of intervention may indicate a knowledge and practice focus on agency or structure and is therefore important when analyzing trends in the titles or articles.

| | PERIOD | TOTAL | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| Level of intervention | Micro level | 308 | 27,4% |
| | Meso level | 42 | 3,7% |
| | Macro level | 481 | 42,6% |
| | SW Profession Education | 296 | 26,3% |
| | Total | 1127 | 100% |

Table 9: Levels of intervention

It is interesting that the predominance of the macro level intervention (overall, 42,6%) rather than the micro level focus (27,4%) of content (other than in the 1965 „ 1969 period) is in contradiction with claims that the focus of South African social work discourse was historically that of casework or micro-practice (McKendrick, 1990; Ntebe, 1994). It seems therefore that although there was a majority of individualist-reformist perspectives and discourse, linked to liberal and rational economic policies and status quo maintenance, with a pathology and self-help or self-reliance focus, these were not levelled at knowledge and practice with individuals or families and groups. These individualist-reformist perspectives tended to be expressed in discourse around macro levels of intervention. The alignment of these titles therefore with individualist-reformist views, at macro rather than micro level, is significant. It seems to indicate that dominant social work discourse is around policy and structural interventions aimed at status quo maintenance and regulatory ideological

perspectives, meeting social and political demands for social order. This combination points to arguments that the ideological project of social work in the South African context was and continues to be around macro and social engineering and in the preservation of the class-based capitalist order.

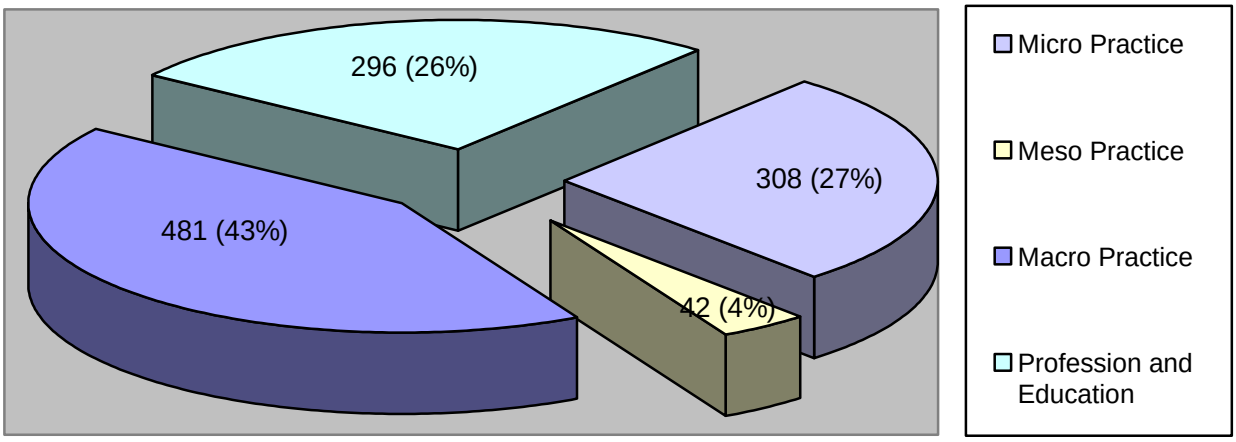


Figure 8: Social work knowledge and practice levels of intervention

| PERIOD | MICRO | MESO | MACRO | SW PROFESSION A EDUCATION |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1965, 1969 | | Group work as an intervention for the aftercare of past prisoners. Botha, D. | Welfare Services for tl Coloured Population i the Western Cape. Heydorn, G | TheConflict between theory and practice in Social Casework. Seawright, T.[10] R |
| 1970, 1979 | The bantu ex-prisoner: Some cultural patterns his reaction to imprisonment and their relevance regarding rehabilitation. Bodenste J.W. | Family Diagnosis and Treatment. Mason, J. | The changing welfare scene in Southern Afri and the contribution o Social Workers. Therc E. | Marjorie Hofmeyr, SA first social worker. Lategan, E and Therc E (Afrikaans) |
| 1980-1985 | Relapse of white alcoholics in South Afri Thomas, A. | How to work with grou A conceptual framewc Anstey, M | Community Work on farms in the Western Cape. Kotze, G.J. (Afrikaans) | Toward a code of ethics. Swil, I. |
| 1986, 1993 | Intervention with the Terminal Client. Welch, J. | None | Social Work and Mass Poverty. McKendrick, | Thoughts on Making Social Work Educatio Relevant to S Needs. Small, A. |
| 1994, 1999 | Assessment of the Psycho-Social Needs of Clients with Physical Disabilities. Green, S. | Survivors of woman abuse: A support group experience. Angless, and Shefer, T. | The consequences of urbanization and westernization on blac family life in S Bester, CW | The professional development of Socia Workers. Van Zyl, R. and Botha, N.J. |

[10] Seawright, T. (1965).The Conflict between theory and practice in Social Casework. Social work/ Maatskaplike Werk, 1 (1),10-16

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2000, 2009 | The appropriateness ar necessity of short-te therapy in the context o the Employee Assistan Programme. Taute, F.M | The use of music durir group work with addic Kruger, Kruger, S.P. a Pieterse, L. | Impact of social servic on human and socio economic developmer and the promotion of human rights in AS Lombard, A. | Operationalising a competence model of supervision to empow social workers and students in SA. Engelbrecht L.K. |

Table 10: Examples of titles at micro, meso and macro levels of intervention

### 6.2.3 Fields and content areas of titles

Perusing all the article titles enabled the identification of general themes. Approximately twenty-six themes were identified, which offered useful categories in which the articles could be placed. In this way, a breakdown could be made of the frequency of articles according to the various historical periods, and enabling a juxtaposition of the articles with the historical and political context of those periods . Various content areas identified were as follows:

| |
|---|
| Social Work profession, SW education |
| Practice method and theory |
| Social development, community work |
| Children, Child protection, Adolescence |
| Poverty, Economics |
| Disability, Medical, Team work |
| Family, Marriage, Divorce, Parenting |
| Welfare organisations and welfare sector |
| Statutory, Policy, Law |
| Aging |
| Crime and criminal justice |
| Religion, Culture, Race |
| Politics and social change |
| Research |
| Unmarried parent, Abortion, Birth control |
| HIV/AIDS |
| Alcohol and drug abuse |
| Psychiatric, Mental Health |
| Gender, gender orientation |
| Adoption |
| Education |
| Ethics and confidentiality |

| |
|---|
| Death and bereavement |
| Rape, sexual offences |
| Military |
| Problem Family |

Additionally, two themes were also included:

| |
|---|
| Race/State |
| Post-Apartheid discourse |

Table 11: Content areas of titles

It is evident that a very broad range of areas of social work fields of intervention, were covered by the journal over the somewhat 45 years of publication. The fields which received the attention of the journal thus enabled both social work academic, students and practitioners, to engage with knowledge and practice, in any area of interest to themselves. The categories of fields are listed in order of frequency in each of the periods reviewed.

1965-1969

The 1965-1969 period seemed to launch the journal with a predominance of titles relating to professional training and the profession itself. This would be in keeping with the launch of a professional journal, aiming to gain acceptance as an academic publication as well as in its attempt to give social work as a profession a formal discourse.

| Frequency of categories | Comment | Examples |
|---|---|---|
| Social work profession and education (24,5% | This category is most prevalent during this period. The journal positions itself around the professional image within a whi Afrikaner nationalist discourse | The significance of social work and the social worker ir changing world. Smalley, R.E.<br>Some aspects of social work as a subject for the Bantu Warnich, P.C. (Afrikaans)<br>An historical review of university education for social w |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | South Africa. Muller, A. |
| Practice method and theory (11,5%) | Micro level intervention is predominant, with a focus on casework• or individual and fam work. | Treatment of the cli social environment of the client. Kamphu<br>The client-centred therapy of Carl Rogers. Theron, J.S. (Afrikaans)<br>The history of the client in the casework interview. Le P.O. |
| Family, marriage, divorce, parenting (7%) | There is a familist and christian nationalist focus. Personal responsibility and blame for difficulties is evident in the discourse around €problem fam | Religion and marriage. De Villiers, J.L. (Afrikaans)<br>Divorce procedures, Immorality hearings and publicity. Grange, P. (Afrikaans)<br>The treatment of the problem family. Uys, M. |
| Statutory, policy, law (7%) | There seems to be an embraci the existing statutory framewor with an explanatory rather thar critical stance | Our state department. Van Rooyen, J.J. (Afrikaans)<br>The department of Coloured Affairs. Hoydorn, G<br>The social implications of the application of the immora Heydenrych, J.J.F.C. (Afrikaans) |
| Gender, politics and social change,<br>rape and sexual offences | These areas receive no attentic There no critical engagement w issues around social justice dur the period 1965-1969. | |

Table 12: Trends among categories of titles in 1965 „ 1969

The first edition of Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk appeared in 1965. The 1960s had seen greater entrenchment of Apartheid policies and increased power of the regime. The ANC, SACP and PAC had been banned in 1960 after the Sharpeville shootings. Tertiary education and social work also experienced the impact of the increased levels of repression, through, for example the consequences of the Extension of Universities Act 1959 which had an important impact on social work training institutions, leading to the provision of separate educational institutions along racial lines, restricting the admission of other-than-white students to ƒnon-racial, universities and forcing students to attend institutions established for their ƒown, group (McKendrick, 1991). It was also during this period that the Jan Hofmeyr College of Social Work was closed, due to the purported undesirability of admission of ƒalien, black students from outside South Africa and claims by government officials that the educational level was unnecessarily high (Lowe, 1988, p. 27).

Apartheid objectives around the preservation of Afrikaner identity and securing white supremacy and economic privilege (Lester, 1996), seem to be reflected in the content of the journal articles. Given the political and economic developments of the time, the absence of any challenging discourse related to injustice, repression, racism and racist capitalism is significant. Perusing the titles of articles from this

period therefore, reveals a seeming pathological silence in respect of external social reality, other than the pursuance of white supremist status quo maintenance.

1970- 1979

| CATEGORY | COMMENT | EXAMPLES |
|---|---|---|
| Social work profession, education (15%) | Most frequent category during this period | Supervision in social work. Botha, M. (Afrikaans)<br>Social Work Education in the Republic of South Africa.[11] Mull<br>The selection of students in social work. Hugo, E.A.K. (Afrik |
| Social development, community work (14%) | There seems to be an increased interest and sh towards a macro collective level of intervention | Community organisation and community work in a rural bar Heydenrych, J.J.F.C. (Afrikaans)<br>The helping process in community development. Hough, M (Afrikaans)<br>Community work as a factor in welfare policy and the private welfare organisation. Theron, E. (Afrikaans)<br>Community work: its scope and necessity. Shaw, F.C. |
| Practice method and theory (10%) | A pathology focus and medical model is predominant | Is casework the ultimum in SW? Du Toit ,A.S., Rocher, H.J. Jackson, E., Riga, U.<br>Social diagnosis in the seventies: A new challenge. De Vos, A.S.<br>Crisis theory and short term treatment. .Smit, S.J. (Afrikaan |
| Birth control, unmarried parent abortion (9,5%) | Birth control, population control, eugenics ideolog becomes evident | The Need for Population Control in South Africa. Cilliers, S.<br>The Population Explosion. Hare, I<br>Voluntary Sterilisation: An integral part and the best form of fa planning. De Villiers, V.P. |

[11] Muller, A. (1972). Social work education in the republic of South Africa. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 8(4), 263-267

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Poverty and economics | Discourse around povert relates to social work services among the white group, especially regardi emergency material aid. The Carnegie investigatic the basis of social work formation in South Africa still receives attention. | Emergency social relief. Visser, C.C.H. (Afrikaans)<br>Social relief administration in South Africa. le Roux, P.O. (A<br>The Carnegie Poor White Investigation: Its Origin and Sequ Malherbe[12] |
| Gender<br>Adoption<br>Ethics<br>Rape<br>Problem family | No attention to any of the content areas during this period. | |

Table 13: Trends of frequency of titles in 1970-1979

Similarly, the period of 1970 „ 1979 reflects a predominance of articles relating to the social work profession and education, social development and practice method. There is a complete absence of focus on social and political issues of the time. Conversely, an increase in preoccupation with birth control, ƒpopulation explosion,, population control and sterilisation, seems to reveal elements of a renewed eugenics and racist orientation. This content seems to interpellate social work readers as professionals that should be concerned with social hygiene and support of state policies.

The journal content therefore appears to continue the process of ƒqualification, of social workers as subjects (Therborn, 1980) by positioning them in a given way within their context. Therborn (1980) maintains that subjects are not only constituted by discourse and ideology, but there is a dual process of both producing subjects as well as the insertion of the subject into social relations. The process of formation of subjects ideologically, and then the way in which such subjects enter and are ƒinserted, into their social relations, is referred to by Therborn as the ƒsubjecting, or producing of subjects, and the ƒqualification, of subjects (Wright, 2002).

[12] Malherbe, E.G. (1973). The Carnegie Poor White Investigation: Its origin and sequels. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 9(2), 81-90

1980 € 1985

| Category | Comment | Examples |
|---|---|---|
| Social work profession, educatio(13%) | Most frequent in this period<br>The history of the social work profession and a focus on accountability is evident | Effective self management for the increase of levels of effectiveness of the social worker. Verster, J.R. (Afrikaa<br>Fifty years of sa wk training at the University of Stellenbosch. Cronje, J. (Afrikaans)<br>Practical training for social wo rkers. Du Toit, A.S. (Afrikaans) |
| Practice metho and theory (15% | Practice method focuses main macro level intervention, with a focus on community work and development. There is however a noticeable lack of focus on soc action and structural change. | The social casework record as an accountability systen practice. Wood, J.<br>The helping process in community develo pment. Hough, M.A (Afrikaans)<br>The Psych-Social Model. Dlamini, N |
| Social development, community worl (12%) | There is a beginning interest a focus on community driven approaches. | Community Theatre. Ferrino, H.<br>Community work on farms in the Western Cape. Kotze,<br>Actualising Community Work Theory in Practice.. Swil, |
| Children, child protection, adolescence (10%) | Child protection becomes an important focus in social work intervention during this period. Surveillance, anxiety about risk children and child protection receives significantly more attention. | Decision making regarding custody and access of mino some aspects from a systemic perspective. Uys, C.J. (A<br>Child abuse in South African Law with special reference Child Care Act 74 of 1983. Van Oosten, F.F.W. (Afrikaans<br>Issues in residential care of children. Ramasar, P. |
| Poverty, economics (8% | Residual welfare requires maximum individual, family and community responsibility for welfare. The content of these t indicates this focus | Housing for the masses: state provision or self-help? Fouche, I (Afrikaans)<br>The role of the community in the alleviation of poverty. I (Afrikaans)<br>The shebeen industry in the Coloured township of Eest Pretoria: a subculture? Basa, L. (Afrikaans)<br>The second Carnegie Inquiry into poverty and developr Wilson, F. |
| Religion, Cultur<br>Race, Education<br>Gender, Death, Bereavement<br>Problem family | No titles in these categories du this period | |

Table 14: Categories in 1980-1985

In the period during the most violent Apartheid repression and state of emergency, it is significant to note that there is an absence of discourse around race, oppression and anti-oppressive, antiracist forms of practice. There is little evidence to detect that the nature of the socio-historical context of the time.

1986-1993

| Categories | Comment | Examples |
|---|---|---|
| Practice method and theory (17%) | This category is still the most predominant. Practice method relates substantially to individual and family work. | Assessering in Maatskaplike Werk. Francis-La Grange, F and Joubert, H.J. (Afrikaans) (Assessmnet in social work)<br>The single system design in social work research. Stryd (Afrikaans)<br>The Carhhuff model of helping approach in social work intervention with individuals. Du Plessis, M.J.M. and So |
| Social work profession, education (9%) | Social work education itself receives scrutiny, with a more critical approach to education practices. Racialised discourse is taken for granted | Black social workers in focus. Muller, R. (Afrikaans)<br>Rewriting the future of social work education. Bernstein<br>A model for social work education. Botha, N.J. |
| Welfare organisations and welfare sector (9%) | A focus on capitalist and the welfare system, with concerns around distribution. However, little said about equity and anti-racist practice. | Marketing Orientation and the Adequacy of Funding in V Organisations. Pitt, L.F. and Dr, H.J.<br>Unequal distribution of services by the private welfare sector. Kalis, A. (Afrikaans)<br>Some Perceptions of the Public concerning Privatisatio community participation. Snyman, S.A. |
| Children, child protection, adolescence (8%) | An increase in discourse around child protection, child abuse and to children. | Incest: a family problem. Spies, G.M. and Uys, C.J. (Afrikaans)<br>Khayu Lethu: An abortive attempt at dealing with Street Children. Bernstein, A. and Gray, M.<br>Physical and sexually abused children: a comparative analy 200 reported cases. Collings, S.J. |
| Politics and social change (6%) | There is very little evidence of social commentary on social change, social justice or the role of SW during social periods. Where they do appear these relate mainly to status quo maintenance. | Workers' Day: A day of conflict Kotze, D (Afrikaans)<br>We quote from our Leaders Page.<br>The Evolution of a Democratic Welfare Policy for a Pos apartheid South Africa. Patel, L. |
| Race (6,4%) | Where race appears as a category it serves mainly to provide a function of stratification rather than a transformational focus. The race category still serves to promote Apartheid ideology | Black social workers in focus. Muller, R (Afrikaans)<br>Plight of the coloured. Theron, E<br>The monitoring of progress achieved by South Africa's Population development. Gouws, N.B. |
| Poverty (4%) | Poverty and economics receives minimal attention. Given the transitional political context, it is surprising that social work discourse deals so minimally with such socio-economic realities. | Social work and mass poverty. McKendrick, B<br>Uprooting poverty. Joubert, D.<br>Poverty and relevant social work services. Weekes, M.<br>Social work services to farmers in drought stricken area G.J. and Theron E. (Afrikaans) |

Table 15: Trends in content of titles during 1986 - 1993

1994-1999

| Category | Comment | Examples |
|---|---|---|
| Practice method and theory (15,5%) | Most frequent category. T focus of practice method seems to have shifted towards an emphasis on €indigenisation• and cultu diversity. | Guidelines for the use of computers in Social Work programme management. Van De Watt, M.F. and Cronje, J. (Afrikaans<br>Empirically based micro practice. Green, S.<br>Social work practice in cross cultural situations: some guid practice. Sikhitha, T.M. |
| Social development, community work (11,5%) | Developmental social welf becomes the focus during period, with the promulgat of the White paper for Soc Welfare with its developm focus in 1997. | Promoting a development perspective in social welfare: The contribution of ASSW. Midgley, J.<br>Developmental social welfare in A: A theoretical framework. Lombard, A<br>An overview of the characteristics of self help organisation blacks in AS a historical perspective. Molefe, S.F. |
| Social work profession, education (8%) | The focus in social work education becomes-self reflective and shifts toward accountability and relevan in a society in transition | The challenge of quality assurance in the education and tr social work manager. Van Biljon, R.<br>Making social work curricula relevant for apartheid AS Ramphal, R.<br>Social work education and training: from preparing for apa society to training for a developing democracy. McKendric |
| Welfare organisations and welfare sector (8%) | The focus on content relati to the welfare sector is on funding and financing of welfare, in keeping with th neo-liberal shift in government policy in 1996 GEAR | Privatisation and decentralisation of welfare services in S meanings and realities. Woods,<br>Fiscal implications of the White Paper on social welfare. Va Berg, S.<br>Organisational Funding: A Development Perspective. O`Brien, F. |
| Politics and social change (3%) | This category once again accounts for very little attention to social change. Rather, it tends to focus o the impact of social chang and politics on the social worker | SW in politically and areas in SA: Lessons for SW educatio training€ Letsebe, M.A |

Table 16: Trends in content of titles from 1994 - 1999

2000-2009

| Categories | Comment | Examples |
|---|---|---|
| Children, child protection, adolescence (12%) | Child protection is the most frec category | The innercity streetchild: A profile of the dilemma and some guidelines Smit, G. and Liebenberg, L.<br><br>Social workers evaluation of the residential care system go in Gauteng Province. Mashego, P. and Lombard, A.<br><br>Combating child labour: A South African challenge. Veeran |
| Poverty, economics (9%) | The neoliberal capitalist environment of the South Africa socioeconomic context means t social work discourse pays mor attention to poverty and inequa However, solutions are framed within the same discourse as th context of the problems that develop. | Entrepreneurship in Africa: Social work challenge for human social and economic development. Lombard, A.<br><br>Poverty alleviation: The need for a knowledgeable, activ empowered civil society. Gathiram, N.<br><br>Social work an economic partner in social development. Lombard, A.[13]<br><br>The scope of financial literacy education: a poverty allev in Social work? Engelbrecht, L.<br><br>Pursuing a social development agenda in the context of globalisation: a SA perspective Tregaardt, J. |
| Social work profession, education (9%) | There seems to be a move towa a redefinition and professionalization of social wo There is also some nostalgia fo early Afrikaner nationalist socia work ideology and practice | Social work and the new social service professions in S Africa. Gray, M.M.A<br><br>Social work in South Africa: In search of early role mod Hough, M<br><br>Standards for social work qualifications in South Africa. A.,Grobbelaar, M. and Pruis, S.<br><br>The professional status of social work. Lombard, A. |
| Practice method and theory(8,5%) | There seems to be an increase focus on assets, capacity and strengths. Instead of focusing o transformation, inequality, oppression and racial stratificat there is a focus on issues of "m culturalism" and diversity | The strengths perspective in Social work: Lessons from prac Van Rooyen, C., Gray, M., Colins, A.J.<br><br>Assessment of communities: Promoting an equitable so through inclusion and empowerment. Roestenburg. W.<br><br>Cultural diversity and development needs in South Africa: Implications for social work education). Strydom, H. (Afr |
| Politics and social change (3%) | Very little focus is on transform and social change. | Enhancing a human rights culture through SW practice training. Lombard, A. |
| Race and state | In the category about race, no attention is paid to issues of transformation and racism. Rather race still appears as a stratifier in social work discours without any evidence of critical engagement | Working with black SLE patients: A challenge to the medical SW. Modisane, D.S. and Carbonatto, C.L.<br><br>Story of the life satisfaction of a group of retired domesti in SA: A qualitative study. Cronje, E.M |

Table 17: Most frequent categories in 2000 -2009

[13] Lombard, A. (2008). Social work an economic partner in social development.Social work/Maatskaplike werk. 44 (2), 121-142

Further, all of the 1127 article titles were perused for an indication of apartheid, racialised, or post-apartheid content. This was undertaken to explore the extent of discourses complicit with and supportive of or in opposition to state policies and the apartheid regime.

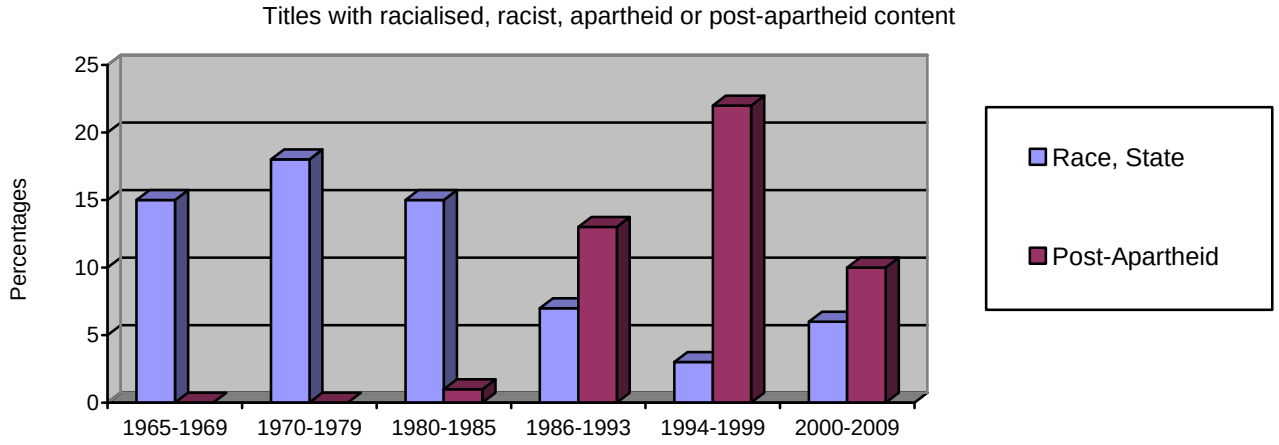


Figure 9: Frequency of apartheid and post-apartheid focus

It is clear that post-apartheid or a challenging of apartheid only occurred after the transition to democracy. Formal social work discourse completely neglected content around social justice, racism, apartheid ideology and structural change. As discussed earlier, the content of post-apartheid discourse also tended to related to reform as led by the state itself, with policy and legislation change being a natural consequence of the transition and political ƒrevolution,.

| Period | Apartheid status quo content | PostApartheid focus |
|---|---|---|
| 1965-1969 | The Department of Coloured Affairs. Heydorn, Ge | - |
| | Some aspects of social work as a subject for the b (Afrikaans) | |
| | Welfare services for SA Indians. | |
| | Family planning among the coloureds. | |
| 1970-1979 | The bantu ex prisoner. Bodenstein, J.W. | - |
| | The Carnegie Poor White Investigation: Its origin sequels. Malherbe, E.G. | |
| | Welfare work & the voice of the coloured. Lategan, E (Afrikaans) | |
| | The poor white problem an economist`s perspective Roux, Pieter | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1980-1985 | Relapse of white alcoholics in SA. Thomas, Adele | Anatomy of the unrest and ideas for reform. Steyn, |
| | Psychiatric SW with black patients. Olivier, Brend | |
| 1986-1993 | The changing role of the black family and its adap the present needs. Maforah, N.F. | Beyond Apartheid: An alphabet of challenges for sc education McKendrick, Brian |
| | Black social workers in focus. Muller, (Afrikaans) | Apartheid, poverty, social transformation: A Pilgrima |
| | The plight of the coloured aged. Terblanche, Erica | non-racial democracy: challenges for SW in South Africa. Louw, Lionel |
| | | Social Services in the New South Africa. Breytenbach |
| | | The evolution of a democratic welfare policy for a P apartheid South Africa. Patel, Leila [14] |
| 1994-1999 | The consequences of urbanization and westernizat black family life in SA. Bester, C.W. | SW in ‚rainbow' nations: Observations on a trouble relationship. Bar-On, A.A. |
| | An overview of the characteristics of self help organisations among blacks in SA: An historical perspective. Molefe, S.F. | Making SW curricula relevant for a post-apartheid SA. Ramphal, R. |
| | | SW in the new SA: Which way for justice and devel Ferguson Brown, H and van Staden, S.M |
| | | Social stability and the strategic relevance of health welfare in South Africa. Van Delft, W. |
| 2000-2009 | Perspectives of elderly blacks on institutional care E, Ngiba, T and Strydom, H | The cross-cultural ravine: Why the bridge is necessar how to go about building it. |
| | Exploring the role of spirituality in the lives of poor women. Kruger, S.P., Williams, R.C. | Indigenous SW field practice education-systems perspective. Engelbrecht. L.K. |
| | | Cross-cultural practice and the indigenisation of Afric Gray, M and Allegritti, I |

Table 18: Apartheid and post-apartheid focus

## 6.3 Conclusion

There are clear trends evident in theoretical perspectives, ideologies, fields and problem areas evident from the titles of articles. It is these titles that serve to guide the reader's choice in selection of content with which to engage. The titles themselves therefore perform an important screening and filtering of content. The discourses of the titles themselves thus invite a further exploration of ideological operation and discourse analysis of the texts under scrutiny. This is the focus of the following chapter.

[14] Patel, L. (1991). The evolution of a democratic welfare policy for a Post apartheid South Africa. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 27(2), 154-164

# CHAPTER SEVEN: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS: ANALYSIS OF SELECTION OF TEXTS

## 7.1 Introduction

As stated earlier, an important part of the study aimed to uncover forms of ideological inscription and metanarratives, exposing origins of views and knowledge that are €sedimented and accepted as truths• (Lincoln and Guba, 2000, p.177). Working from the chronological periods identified to be useful for analysis because of their historical socio-political significance, formal social work documents and texts were identified from both the initial overview and from the analysis of titles from the journal, Social Work/ Maatskaplike Werk and South African social work texts relating to social change. A total of thirty texts as well as a summary of a curriculum from 1940 (See Appendix I: Curriculum of the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work), were selected covering each of the chronological periods. These were selected for how reflective they were of aspects of the theoretical framework for social work theory and discourse constitutive of social change (See Figure 5) which had been based on the review of extant literature, themes around ideologies and their operation, areas of ideological contestation and forms of social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change (See Appendix H: List of texts for analysis). The selection of these texts was firstly based on how adequately their titles and secondly, upon perusal, how adequately their contents, were reflective of the themes, ideologies, theoretical perspectives and fields of service relating to knowledge and practice constitutive of social change. These included texts:

- From the early period of the formalization of social work knowledge which includes extracts from the Report of the Carnegie Commission of Inquiry into the Poor White Problem (1932); the inaugural lecture of Professor John Gray, the first Head of the Department of Social Work at the University of the Witwatersrand (1937); a description of the first social work curriculum of the Jan Hofmeyr College (1941); and the Report of the National Conference on the post-war planning of social welfare work, held at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (25 „ 29 September, 1944)

- From the 1960s and 1970s, as this was the first period of formal publication of social work academic writing in South Africa (nine articles from the Social Work Maatskaplike Werk journal)
- From the period 1980-1985, which covers the period of heightened resistance against apartheid and its repressive regime (three articles)
- From the period 1986-1994 (five articles), which saw the beginning of transition and the emergence of global neo-liberalism;
- From the post-apartheid era after 1994 (nine articles from the Social Work Maatskaplike Werk Journal) and the submission from the Welfare Sector to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1999)

The various texts mentioned and the articles from the journal, Social Work/ Maatskaplike Werk, relating to social work knowledge and practice relating to social change were selected firstly by their titles and then perused for the usefulness of their contents, for purposes of analysis. The criteria used to include articles were that they (a) had to be representative of the trends identified during the analysis of all the article titles of the specific chronological periods during which they were published; (b) reflect ideologies and knowledge constitutive of social change or the nature of society and (c) relate to the implied response for social work

A fundamentally qualitative, critical thematic analysis was used to explore the selection of texts. Having developed the theoretical framework for the purposes of this study (See Figure 5: Theoretical framework of social work knowledge and discourse constitutive of social change) this was used in a manner which was both theory driven as well as a data driven and used to explore discourse around ideologies and knowledge; ideological processes such as ideological interpellation and processes of subjectification and qualification (Therborn, 1999); modes of operation of ideology (Thompson, 1990); conceptual determinations evident in the texts (Meszaros, 2010); and critical processes; areas of ideological contestation (power and privilege, *f*race,, racism, and racist discourse; agency and structure; and specific ideologies and knowledge) and the nature of social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change. The textual analysis as well as the narrative data analysis were both characterised by this methodologoical approach.

Excerpts from the various texts are provided for purposes of illustration of the above areas of exploration.

## 7.2 Selection of texts from the period prior to the 1960s

### 7.2.1 Introduction

In the absence of formal South African social work journals during this period, texts which were reflective as well as formative of social work knowledge and practice were to be found mainly in the reports of commissions, conferences, state departments and non-governmental organisations. The texts selected from this period to offer insight into the ideologies and knowledge development of social work, included the Carnegie Commission (1932) report on the joint findings and recommendations into the €The poor white problem in South Africa•, a brochure containing a description of the Social Work curriculum of the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work of 1940 (Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work Brochure, 1940), the iInaugural lecture of Professor John Gray (1937), Head of Social Sciences and first Head of Social Work, University of the Witwatersrand and the report of the South African National Conference on the Post-War Planning of Social Welfare Work held at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg on 25th to 29th September 1944

### 7.2.2 Report of the Carnegie Commission of Inquiry : The Poor White Problem in South Africa: 1932

Formal social work education began in 1926 at the University of Cape Town, however it was the Report of the Carnegie Commission of Inquiry (The Poor White Problem in South Africa, 1932) which led to the establishment of the Department of Social Welfare in 1937 and the rapid development of courses of social work training at all South African Universities for the social work profession (McKendrick, 1990). Although the Report of the Carnegie Commission itself performed a formative and constitutive role in social work discourse and the creation of the Department of Social Welfare, it should not be credited with the development of the welfare state that had developed by the end of the 1930s which had already started providing social security in the form of old age pensions in 1928, for poor ƒwhite, and to a lesser extent, ƒcoloured, people (Seekings, 2008). Indeed, Seekings (2008, p.1) argues that the recommendations of the Carnegie Commission €were hostile to

programmatic state-building and gave expression to a backlash against the prior, nascent growth of South Africa,s welfare state• and rather than support a more professional social work, called for a form of *f* scientific charity,. This was seen to be a departure from the already existing programmes of welfare provision prior to the Carnegie Commission, such as old age pensions. Seekings (2008) gives excerpts from the report of the Carnegie Commission that reflect its ideological underpinnings:

> €a part of the poor white class is characterized by one or more of such qualities as improvidence and irresponsibility, untruthfulness and lack of a sense of duty, a feeling of inferiority and lack of self-respect, ignorance and credulity, a lack of industry and ambition, and unsettledness of mode of life. Some evince poor social heredity (especially of home training and discipline), are of poor intelligence or suffer from some physical infirmity, or have failings of character, such as tendencies to intemperance or crime.• (Carnegie Commission, 1932, paragraph 53).

Its focus is on the personal and the psychological, rather than on the structural nature of poverty and social relations. The strong focus on self-help and individual responsibility is clear throughout the report.

> €The Commission is convinced that much of the assistance is given in such a way as to have a demoralizing effect on poor whites and so increases the difficulty of their rehabilitation. It causes loss of independence and may imbue them with a sense of inferiority, impairs their industry, weakens their sense of personal responsibility, and helps to make them dishonest. Direct material assistance without an equivalent service in return on the part of the recipient should be reduced to a minimum• (Carnegie Commission, 1932, paragraph 101).

A further section of the report, co-authored by one of South Africa,s early leading social workers, M.E.R. Rothman (a journalist and organizing secretary of the ACVV [Afrikaans Christian Women,s Organisation] and member of the Carnegie Commission), relates to a concern around dependency:

> €The detrimental effects of the idea that State aid can take the place of personal effort and initiative are considerable. The sense of responsibility for supporting oneself, one*f*s parents or children, is immediately weakened, and very soon the poor man is tempted to shirk all responsibility. In this way all desire for honest labour is eventually lost, and he is tempted to resort to all kinds of deception and trickery. His disposition becomes one not only of unthankfulness but of continual dissatisfaction, because in his opinion too little consideration is shown him. In the worst cases he becomes a shameless parasite on society without any desire or power to support himself, and as such becomes the despair of the social reformer• (Carnegie Commission, 1932, p. 75).

It is therefore evident that one of the most important guiding and formative documents for social work and welfare policy in South Africa, is rooted in conservative ideology, playing a significant role in producing a coercive, individualist-reformist form of social work knowledge and practice. However, according to Seekings (2006, p. 31) €the Commission did not stop the growth of the welfare state, nor did it succeed even in reorienting social policy around the *f*poor white, rather than the unemployed or the elderly. The Depression, a rapid improvement in public finance and a change of government all served to encourage the expansion of state provision. Building on the Carnegie Commission,s findings, however, the Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereeniging (A.C.V.V.) and academics led by Verwoerd were able to promote a professional social work component within the nascent welfare state.• These academics were to play a leading role in formalizing social work discourse in the decades that followed for example, Erika Theron, who edited the Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk journal from its inception in 1965.

### 7.2.3 Inaugural lecture of Professor John Gray, University of the Witwatersrand (1937)

An insight into the thoughts and ideology of the first Head of the Department of Social Work at the University of the Witwatersrand, is found in the transcript of the Inaugural Lecture of Professor John Gray (1937) as Head of the Department of Sociology. He was an economics graduate from Edinburgh University and in his role in the Department of Sociology, motivated for the establishment of the first Department of Social Work at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1937 (Hare and Hoffman , 1987). In this inaugural lecture he outlines the problems facing South Africa as a €new country• and among others, refers to social and economic problems. In this regard he criticizes the Carnegie Commission of Inquiry (1932) insofar as it extolled the virtues of self-help and he argues that legislative and environmental changes should not play a subordinate role in preventing poverty and ƒsubnormal welfare,.Although critical of the lack of ƒrecognition of the equal value of the souls of men, he describes how:

> €we have the growth ofnew forms of group exclusiveness, largely cultural in origin, inimical to extending the area of common humanity. To them must be added colour prejudice and sensitivity to racial differences, real or assumed• (Gray, 1937, p. 276)

Prof Gray uses typically colonial (racist) discourse and refers to ƒthe native problem, as it differs in South Africa from other imperial and colonial situations, as is evident in the following excerpt:

> €The Bantu-speaking peoples are not even aboriginal to most of the Union's territory. Far from wishing to exterminate them, we actually import them from outside our boundaries for work on the mines. Even the Native Reserves are largely nurseries of labourers. The role of the Bantu is, in fact, that of a great servile caste, an integral part of the domestic social economy. We may compare them with the Russian peasantry before the abolition of serfdom or with the untouchables of Hindu India.• (Gray, 1937, p. 275)

He is critical of the capitalist/imperialist project and indicates his position regarding the pernicious consequences of capitalism and oppressive class relations. He criticises the chaos of social welfare schemes which do nothing to prevent poverty or effect rehabilitation and laissez-faire policies.

> €The absence of a genuine socialist movement has been a great misfortune for South Africa. It would have shown that the bulk of poverty and other kinds of misery proceeds from the working of private capitalism and class monopoly, as well as from cheap and servile native labour. How can self-help assist those thrown out of employment during a cyclical depression? Can it enable slum dwellers to find decent houses to live in? Will it make farmers better able to earn a living on poor and dear land or persuade sweating factory owners to be more humane? Will it enable the mentally retarded to obtain a footing in the unskilled labour market or ex-prisoners to take up the threads of independent existence? (Gray, 1937, p. 278)

He then describes the beginnings of more rehabilitative work associated with what may be seen as early forms of social work.

> €Relief and emergency schemes, public or private, are not rehabilitative in effect and seldom in intention. In the work of bodies concerned with child welfare and mental hygiene, of school and municipal clinics, of our developing public health service, of probation officers and of the Special Service Battalion, may be seen the beginnings of a genuine effort to equip people with the ability to lead an independent and useful existence. On the other hand, systems of social insurance which provide whole groups of economically weak persons with incomes from civil rights are still in their infancy. Regulations designed to prevent evils arising in the course of industrial employment suffer from the lack of an adequate inspectorate. A late start has been made with slum-clearance and re-housing, but town planning is backward in the extreme. Until we accept the goal of progressive taxation as a means of redistributing wealth and enriching the community's economic possessions, little will be done to raise the general level of welfare in the community.• (Gray, 1937, p. 279)

Ideologically therefore, there is interpellation towards an ideal which is seemingly egalitarian and socially just, free from limiting conceptual determinations arising from the capitalist order. He is critical of the lack of a socialist movement which would expose the ƒmisery of poverty, as a result of capitalism. He uses a reformist approach and makes a plea for not only the alleviation but also the prevention of poverty with a focus on rehabilitation towards a ƒuseful and independent, citizenry. However, racist colonial conceptions andtaken-for-granted ƒrace, categorizations indicate a disciplinary subjection (Therborn, 1980) into a racist position of superiority and domination. Racist relations of domination and subjugation are therefore reproduced in this discourse, contributing to the early disciplinary discourse in social work education.

### 7.2.4 Social Work curriculum (1940) of the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work

The brochure outlining the Social Work curriculum of the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work of 1940 (See Appendix I: Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work Brochure, 1940) describes the social work training programme for ƒBantu, social workers at the college, under the directorship of the Rev Ray Philips and affiliated to the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. Among those on the Committee of the college included Dr. A.B. Xuma, president of the African National Congress from 1940 until 1949. An excerpt from the first year curriculum shows that emphasis was placed on a liberal and individualist conception of life, with courses such as €interpretation of social maladjustments•, and €privileges and obligations of the individual as a member of society• and €mental hygiene•. A pathologising discourse was also evident, such as contained in the course on €institutions for physically and mentally defective children and adults•. Echoing the ƒsettlement movement, of early social work history, there were also courses on €settlements, community centres, clubs, youth organisations, Young Mens, Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.), Young Womens, Christian Association (Y.W.C.A)•. The Introduction to sociology course represents a focus on social control, status quo maintenance and a racialised perspective. This included €individual motivations and social controls•, the €Makeup of the population in South Africa•, €Problems of stabilizing socially acceptable

behaviour patterns in each population group• and €Bantu folk-ways; their functions in tribal life and present status•; €Modern social institutions; home, school, church, industry, hospital, the court, correctional institutions, leisure-time organisations, inter-racial societies• and €The creation, adaptation and extension of these social institutions to the requirements of Non-European society in the Union•

The course on South African economic problems included €The industrial revolution, and the growth of towns•, €Division of labour•. A concern around population control and movement as well as urbanization was evident, as reflected in courses named €South Africa: population, drift to town, occupational and place mobility of labour•; €Employment open to Africans• and €Differential wages for skilled and unskilled labour•. A capitalist orientation was also evident, with courses such as €Determining prices•; €Laws of supply and demand, buyers, and sellers, considerations•; €State control of agriculture• and €Methods of dealing with surpluses in U.S.A. and the Union•.

Substantial attention was also paid to €Native Administration• with studies on €The Native Urban Areas Act, Native representation, The Senate and House of Assembly; Native Representative Council; Local government; Transkeian and Ciskeian Councils; Local Councils in Transvaal; Indirect rule; The Protectorates; and Industrial and social legislation affecting Africans•. A Christian emphasis with the role of the family and the home as the central unit was presented, with €Problems of family life;. Social pathology; Biblical introduction and Christian social teaching; Group organisation; Arts and crafts; Cookery and needlework; Personal Health and Hygiene; Dramatics; and Physical education•

It is clear that this curriculum was fully congruent with a conservative and liberal ideology, positioning the social work student as an agent of social control and social hygiene. The taken for granted racist determination of social relations was evident and uncritically incorporated into constitutive knowledge for the trainee social worker.

Another text relating to the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work, a newspaper report titled €School of Social work• in €The Bantu World• (13 July 1940), describes the efforts being made to €improve the social conditions of the African people•.

Reflecting the colonial inferiorisation of indigenous culture, internalized oppression and how the impact of Western civilization led to the uprooting from €the anchor of the ancient life of our race, and thus created social problems that can only be dealt with by trained men and women•, the writer goes on to state:

> €While admittedly there is something worthy of preservation in the system of our fathers, nevertheless we do not see how our return to this system can solve the problems created by the changes of our economic life. In our opinion the way of salvation lies in the training of men and women for social service. In the economic life of today, some of our ancestors ƒ customs and laws have no place. That is to say we have outgrown them. This, of course, does not mean that others can not be incorporated in the new ways of life. But we must face the stern realities of the situation. In the economic life of today we cannot go back but must march with the times; we must adapt ourselves to the conditions now prevailing and face them calmly but with the determination that we shall eventually fit ourselves into this new life•
> (Bantu World, 1940)

Through reification, such discourse naturalises the economic context of exploitation and discrimination, described as ƒ these new ways of life,. Fragmentation also occurs through ƒ expurgation of the enemy within, (Thompson, 1990), which is the self that adheres to ƒ the old ways, and traditions of the ancestors. It isin relation to such €fitting• into the €new• way of life resulting from the consequences of capitalism and racist policies, that social work would play an important role in the context of the time, through its ideals of social control, regulation and maintenance of the status quo.

### 7.2.5 Report of the South African National Conference on the Post -War Planning of Social Welfare Work, 1944

The Report of the South African National Conference on the Post-War Planning of Social Welfare Work held at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg on 25th to 29th September 1944, records the proceedings of a five-day gathering of 1500

people to consider social welfare needs, plan for a post-war welfare system and €pool resources in order to deal with the many difficult and intricate problems• facing the country in the post-war world (Report of the Post-War Welfare Planning Conference, 1944, p. 1). This text provides an insight into discourse and the operation of ideology which was not only reflective of the South African context and its welfare planning, but also would become determining and productive of ideology and knowledge in the field of social work.

In the foreword, the Secretary for Social Welfare describes the soberness and ƒrealistic approach to social phenomena, which was evident at the conference. The advance of social work was only possible with €simultaneous progress on eœonomic lines• and the conference had  expressed the view that family allowances, which had not been recommended by the parliamentary Select Committee on Social Security, should be €included in the adumbrated social securitylegislation of 1945•. This is consistent with Seekings, (2006) view that the Carnegie Commission had heralded a retreat by the state in welfare provision and had €contributed to the making of a somewhat bifurcated welfare state in which the expansion of welfare programmes was retarded.• (2006, p. 1).

However, having made a plea for greater state intervention in the lives of the poor, the Conference Secretary goes on to describe the importance of approaching problems from the point of view of the individual, casework angle and maintains that €to achieve maximum effectiveness it is necessary that we make a scientific study of our problems and of the measures we adopt for the adjustment of the individual in the community• (1944, p.1). Earlier she displays the conceptual determination associated with the class based character of the capitalist epoch, of a negative determination of social theory (Meszaros, 2010) and ideological interpellation into a position of a limited notion of ƒwhat is possible, (Therborn, 1980) when she describes being €impressed by the ...soberness of the trend of the discussions. Nobody called for the moon or for the creation of a Utopia by the wave of a magic wand• (1944, p.1)

The areas covered by discussions at the conference focused predominantly on welfare services and specific social problems that had arisen as a result of the particular context of the time, using a dominant discourse of crudely racist social formations, capitalist, white supremist nationalism and a global world of war impacting on national and local circumstances.

However, among the dominant discourse some progressive and contradictory discourse appears, being a general call for improved social security and for more progressive reform, as evident in the following statements:

> €One would expect a young country like South Africa to be a land ready to embark upon great social reforms. One would think that South Africa would be among the first to adopt a really bold scheme of social security but no, our experts …with a few honourable exceptions …show extraordinary timidity and a complete lack of crusading spirit.• (Captain H Sonnabend, lecturer in Social Science, University of the Witwatersrand, Report of the Post-War Welfare Planning Conference, 1944, p. 58)

> €Since harsh methods [ofsentencing] have failed, I suggest it is time we learn the clear lesson that the history of the criminal law teaches, namely, that more humane and enlightened methods of coping with crime are in actual practice more effective than savage and vindictive methods. It is on that ground, not for reasons of soft sentiment, that one advocates them. No doubt the man in the street (who gets his ideas about crime from scanty Press reports), will not believe it, but it happens to be true that when the rigours of punishment are relaxed, crime has decreased, not increased.• (Mr. J. Lewin, Lecturer in native law and Administration, University of the Witwatersrand, Report of the Post-War Welfare Planning Conference 1944, p.167)

A general theme also related to the ƒproblem, of migration of the ƒnon-european, from rural to urban areas and the problems of ƒsocial hygiene, and economic burden placed on the Europeans as a result. However, it does seem that part of this concern

about the ƒmaladjustment, of the urban Native, relates to the fear around the depletion of a massive rural, migratory workforce:

> €Our economy rests upon a migratory Native labour force. The specific native legislation has entrenched this principle by attempting to stem the urban-rural migration of native peoples, by giving no incentive towards permanent urbanization• (Dr Ellen Hellman, Report of the Post-War Welfare Planning Conference 1944, p. 70)

A voice providing counter-hegemonic discourse, was that of Rev. Ray Philips (founder of the Hofmeyr School of Social Work), in his address making a plea for the training of social workers entitled ƒThe Non-European as a Social Worker,:

> €Not all the social problems in South Africa are traceable to this cause [i.e. migration to urban areas], nor have all maladjusted individuals come from the country districts. We are concerned with the fact that the bulk of these people …most of them Native Africans, and many of the others …coming from backgrounds which had ill-prepared them for life under urban industrial conditions, are hindered and frustrated in the attempts they make at adjustment by an overload of legal barriers, of class and racial prejudice and group attitudes on the part of the Europeans.• (Report of the Post-War Welfare Planning Conference, 1944, p. 131)

The racism of the capitalist-nationalist project, is reflected in the input regarding ƒSocial Security,, by Professor R Burrows the Dean of the Faculty of Social Science from the Natal University College, who was reporting on the work of the Social Security Committee:

> €ƒSocial Securityƒ, which suffers from its name nearly as much as it suffers from some of its friends, has become a confused panacea. To some, it heralds the doom of private enterprise, to others it is a safe, if not the only, democratic alternative to Nazism or Socialism....• (Report of Post-War Welfare Planning Conference, 1944, p. 36)

And further:

> €One of the most important points in any discussion of the principles and practice of social insurance is the level of benefit rates...The European basic rate set by the Committee was therefore a little below the level of the amount required to live at a „civilisedƒ standard, i.e., to enable one to pay for minimum food, shelter and certain conventional necessities, the European rates being †60, †54, and †48 a year respectively for city, town and country. So much for the Europeans. But social security would be a mockery in this country if it did not include non-Europeans, if only because as employees and taxpayers, they would contribute to the national income and to the cost of European social security...Unfortunately, however, our country is not in a position to afford European benefit rates to everyone. Hence the benefits for Coloured and Asiatics living in a city are to be three-fifths, and those of urban Natives two-fifths of the European rate, and in towns half and one-third, respectively of European rates.• (Burrows, 1944, p. 38)

The reproduction of oppressive power relations evident in the above taken-for-granted inequality and discrimination, couched in benevolent discourse, is sharply contrasted by the words in the opening address of the Prime Minister, Field Marshall the Rt. Hon. J.C.Smuts (1944):

> €This gigantic warhas brought about a great, far-reaching transformation. It has carried us to the depths, it has sounded the depths of human nature, it has deepened our humanity. It has not only uncovered hideous evil, but it has also struck hidden reefs of gold …hidden sources of good, of good will, of sympathy and human kindness. But it is for us now to conserve and to develop the good that has been revealed, the measures of human fellow-feeling which it has brought to light. It is for us to capitalize this new sense of humanity, and to build on it the new world of our visions and our hopes for the future. Let the pent-up forces of human emotion, sympathy, fellow feeling, be released for the shaping of the new peace and the new social order. Let that be the meaning of this war for us. We can only save the future from a repetition of the horror which has overwhelmed us in our day, if we become

> more human, more social minded, more anxious to give and to serve, rather than to take and to hoard. This is the message of this war to us. It is no other than the Christian message which is the most precious heritage of our civilization.• (Report on Post-War Welfare Planning Conference, 1944, p. 3)

The contradiction between professing a liberal ideology through claims of a sense of humanity, human kindness, good will, sympathy and hopes for a transformed world, in the context of a conference examining a welfare system characterized by legislated oppression, racism and inequality, requires extreme forms of disassociation and denial. It may be argued that such contradictory discourse is productive of a collective psychosis with isolation, anxiety, paranoia, stereotypical and delusional thinking, among the ruling class. Social workers were also interpellated into these contradictory ideologies, necessitating a ƒsplitting off, of their professional, personal and political selves in order to maintain cognitive integrity. It may further be argued that in this constitutive text in welfare and social work, that to be human, or a to be child, meant being ƒwhite,, as formal discourse around social wellbeing and welfare legislation and policy used such terms only in relation to ƒEuropeans, and excluded ƒNatives,.

The liberalist ideology of blame of the individual for the social circumstances in which they find themselves was a continual theme echoed by contributors. In an excerpt of the report of the conference deliberations on €Training and research in social work•, Professor O. Wagner (Report on Post-War Welfare Planning Conference, 1944, p. 110) states:

> €Now there can be no doubt that social work is primarily directed at helping our fellow-beings, to use a popular phrase. This need arises in the first instance because we firmly believe that the individual has intrinsic moral value, that he is worthy of being helped, however degraded he may be socially, that he has an inalienable right to become the best he has in him to become. For this reason I have always regarded social work as resting on moral and spiritual basis.•

> €It is however not only for moral or spiritual reasons that we feel it our duty to stretch out a helping hand to those in trouble. There are also certain considerations of social expediency, especially in these times of stress and strain and the rapidly approaching problems of the post-war period. No State can afford, or indeed wants to have on its hands, a large number of individuals who have become or are in the process of becoming socially inefficient. Now all of us are at some time or other called upon to face up to problems of life. Most of us have the necessary intelligence, character, social experience or background to solve our own difficulties and so make the necessary social adjustments. But in every society, particularly during or after a war, there are always as a number of individuals or families who for various reasons are unable to help themselves. They have to be helped.•

The ideology of isolated individualism, reification through naturalization of the consequences of oppressive capitalist and racist power relations (Thompson, 1990), and discourse reminiscent of eugenics theory, is evident in this excerpt around self-help, weakness and failure. On the other hand, Professor J. L. Gray, during the same session of the conference, contests such ideologies and argues that there should remain a €hope of genuine social advancement• and pleads for the involvement of social workers to achieve such social change:

> €I do not for a moment neglect the fact that the obstacles to the realization of these projects are formidable. Many of them would involve vast consequential redistributions of the national income. Many would involve bitter political struggles. But at least a part of the resistance offered to them is due to ignorance and apathy. To dispel ignorance and apathy is a task in which the social worker, organized in a proper profession, has a vital role to play. ...We must be on our guard against the danger that social science in South Africa may become an agreed myth to serve the needs of the white ruling caste as a whole or of any section within it• (1944, p. 120)

## 7.3 Selection of texts from the 1960s and 1970s

### 7.3.1 Introduction

During this period Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk was launched at the University of Stellenbosch under the editorship of Erika Theron, at a time of when social work education was positioned to achieve the racist and nationalist apartheid ideals of the state. Universities had been separated racially (Extension of Universities Act of 1959) restricting enrolment of black students at established universities. Universities for ƒBantu, coloured and Indian students, were described as €having the task of preparing their students to serve their own people. This is essential, because it is a fact that the needs of these various population groups differ in some respects from those of the Whites.• (Muller, 1972, p 265). The launch of the journal in 1965 from within an Afrikaans, white academic institution, situates its content within this ideological framework of Afrikaner nationalism. Furthermore, the 1960s may therefore be described as the period of formalization of discourse for social work in South Africa, with for example the first conference of teachers of social work being held in 1968 in Kimberly, chaired by Professor Erika Theron, who had convened the meeting.

This period had seen the violence of the Sharpeville massacre (1960), the conclusion of the Rivonia trial in 1964 and life imprisonment of leaders of the ANC. People had been detained and imprisoned under the Suppression of Communism Act (44 of 1950) which banned any activity promoting social, political, economic or industrial change through disturbance or disorder. An atmosphere of violent repression and control had thus emerged.

As a consequence, a common theme during this period was that of Afrikaner nationalist discourse and white supremism. Theoretical descriptions of intervention focused mainly on micro level intervention, with a focus on casework or individual and family work. Conservative ideologies of social hygiene and paternalism were evident, with the caseworker presented as an instrument of social control. Paternalistic references are made to the tasks and roles of the social worker being similar to parenting; rescuing; acting as instruments of social control; and upholding

values in relation to the care of children. Furthermore, there is a familist and christian nationalist focus. The €problem family• received much attention and there is much evidence of various operations of ideology in this regard, with personal responsibility and blame for difficulties evident in this discourse.

Into the 1970s, there was an increase in divisions within the social welfare sector (both statutorily and ideologically), social work had become professionalized and new laws had been passed to regulate activities. This period was characterized by the highest proportion of titles reflecting individualist reformist perspectives of all the time periods. As in the 1960s, a large proportion of titles reflect a nationalist, apartheid ideology, with the proportion of titles higher than in any other period relating to surveillance, disciplinary power and technology. The largest proportion of titles, relate to professional socialization and education and social development, while practice method and theory reflect a pathology orientation. There is evidence of a social hygiene and eugenics ideology and discourse around poverty relates to social work services among the white group, especially regarding emergency material aid. Macro level interventions sharply increase with an increased proportion of community focused and social development related titles. There is a sense when perusing the titles, that social work discourse completely denied and ignored the social realities of the socio-political context in South Africa at the time, in keeping with the typical conceptual determinations characteristic of the entrenched hegemonic force of the ruling class (Meszaros, 2010).

### 7.3.2 Discussion of selected texts

#### 7.3.2.1 Seawright, T.R [15]. (1965). The conflict between theory and practice in social casework. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk , 1(1), 10-16

[15] Dr Thelma Seawright was a senior lecturer, University of the Witwatersrand under the leadership of Professor Wagner, at the time when the Social Work Department was still known as the Department of Sociology and Social Work. Dr Seawright had been in the position of €Supervisor of Field work• (Hare and Hoffman, 1987). This article refers to training of social workers and casework intervention by predominantly white social workers, as the author was writing from the University of the Witwatersrand, which had become subject to the Extension of Universities Act of 1959, which provided for the €separate university education for African, coloured and Indian people• (McKendrick, 1990, p. 184).

In this article, the writer protests the incorporation of certain values, ideals and beliefs into social work theory and makes a case for a more discriminate use of these values and principles Examples are given, using sarcasm, of how €acceptance of the client‚s unique personality• would not be appropriate with certain types of delinquents and how €self-realisation• should not be encouraged when people are being manipulated (1965, p.13). She argues that the application of theory (and specifically as this theory is expressed in values and principles of social work) in practice may be problematic, depending on the client and the situation.

A narrative is then given of a case whereby few of these values and principles of theory outlined earlier in the article, were observed. She shows how self-determination was dispensed with, a superficial diagnosis was made, only practical advice was offered and no ƒparenting function, was performed. She claims that in spite of this, progress was made, and comments that this may have been due to the family being given attention and time, the antagonistic relationship having potentialities for constructive action, or due to the threat of prolonged separation from the children.

In the narrative, Mrs A is portrayed as a victim of her husband, Mr A, who is consistently portrayed as blameworthy and irresponsible for ƒdeserting, his wife to look for work. All the statements and descriptions about him are negative. The children were removed and placed in care. The case had a positive outcome as the family settled and Mr A found employment and the family was paying off a house that they had bought. Mrs A was described as a good mother and efficient housewife. The case was closed after 12 months.

This article uses references only from American and British Journals and books. There is substantial evidence of various ideological processes in this text (Therborn, 1999; Thompson, 1990). The article interpellates the reader (the social worker) to be drawn into a superior position of judgement over ƒthe client, and keeper of the social order, even dispensing with accepted professional values and principles when confronted with a deviant client. The social work professional role is qualified as requiring gratitude from the service recipient and the social worker is called upon to

identify deficits within the client who is seen as personally responsible for the lack of management of structural problems. These themes of judgement, blame, personalization of clients, difficulties and superiority of the social worker, are underlying and at times overt, in the knowledge claims of the article.

7.3.2.2 Uys, M. (1965). Die begrip problem gesin: ‚n Literatuurstudie. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk , 2(3), 9-13[16] (translation: The concept of the problem family: A literature study)

The author makes an argument that there is agreement about the existence of the phenomena of €the problem family•, but that it is difficult to define She goes on to review literature from America and Britain, about the problem family. She relies mainly on definitions from the Charities Aid Association of New York, which purport that such families are characterized by a multiplicity of problems; chronicity of problems; resistance towards treatment and constraining attitudes. The second set of descriptions are from the St Paul‚s project, which claim that there are differences between the ƒnormal, and the ƒproblem family, which relate to the mother having married at a young age, the father being absent, children born out of wedlock, existence of divorce, neglect, behaviour deviations, psychiatric deviations, a high incidence of institutional care and an absence of family solidarity. The article goes on to describe various categorizations and descriptions of ƒproblem families, with labels around being inadequate, egocentric, asocial, chronicity of problems and inability to seek help (and conversely an overdependence on community support)

The author maintains that this all points to an unstable family which indicates personal and social disorganization. The writer concludes that based on the various opinions, there are families in society, who as a result of social, environmental, personality and genetic factors, are not able to fulfil their required roles as heads and members of families. This finds expression in poor intra-familial relationships and physical and economic welfare of the family and an inability to utilise normal resources available to them. The author states that it is important to recognize that

[16] Mary Uys was Director of the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society during the time that Winnie Mandela worked there as a social worker in 1962 (du Preez Bezrob, 2003, p.131), a period of great social upheaval.

these families are heterogeneous and that they should be individualised. A plea is made to increase knowledge about such families for intervention purposes. This article appears to offer various views regarding ƒproblem families,, including the view that such a label ought not to exist. However, when examined for operations of ideology, it is clear that familist, individualist, personal blame and responsibility for structural problems as well as the corrective function of the social worker, are predominant. The social worker is interpellated (Therborn, 1999) towards a greater social construction of ƒthe problem family, with the call towards greater knowledge development about the ƒproblem family, in order to render more effective service. The habitus of the social worker (Bourdieu 2003, Garret 2007) is thus further constructed as one of having dispositions or inclinations towards the client which define the client as responsible and blameworthy, rather than becoming conscious of the structural factors such as stratification by class and race, may have in producing a family which is unable to function effectively. This article relies on sources references from the USA, Britain and the Netherlands.

7.3.2.3 Blignault, A.P. (1966). Psychiatric problems and treatment for low - income groups. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk , 3(2), 77-78[17]

In this article the writer, holding a significant position of power in his knowledge presentation as the editor of the South African Medical Journal (Bourdieu cited in Calhoun, Gerteis, Moody, Pfaff and Virk, 2002) describes the problems associated with the treatment of psychiatric problems among ƒpoor and ignorant, classes, who according to him, are €unable to use or benefit from modern individual psychotherapy• (1966, p.77). He ascribes the frustration of psychiatrists to the barrier caused by dealing with the non-intellectual mind and the precedence taken by economic survival. He proposes alternatives as being psychotherapy that should be ƒdeintellectualised,; ƒsocio-therapy and family-community oriented approach and health education.

[17] According to the journal in which the article was published, Dr Blignaut was the Editor of the South African Medical Journal and this article was published with his permission obtained shortly before his death. He was a trained social worker, his contributions to the medical journal articles are described as being interesting, stimulating, visionary, of value to social workers.

The article justifies inadequate and inferior service provision for the poor by positioning the poor as being of low intellect, uneducated and unable to make use of more expensive psychotherapy. The operation and consequences of classist and racist ideology and oppressive socio-political structures are exonerated by blaming the victims of these structures as being *f* unable to benefit, from particular services. The social worker is interpellated by the ideologies operating in the text as belonging to categories of non-poor, intellectual, *f* white, or *f* coloured, and offering discriminatory and selective therapeutic interventions according to class and race. The race and class based oppression and injustice of the Apartheid context is disregarded while being fully implicated in the content and knowledge claims of the article. It is an example of what Eagleton (1996, p.13) describes when he claims that €questions of epistemology are deeply bound up with matters of political history•.

7.3.2.4 Bopape, M. (1967). Training of social work students to serve the needs of a changing South African bantu society. Social work/Maatskaplike werk , 3(1), 24-27[18]

The writer refers to the welfare needs that emerged from the community development programmes that had been initiated after South Africa left the commonwealth in 1961. In an uncritical acceptance of the status quo, Bopape (1967) maintains that *f* Bantu, communities were undergoing rapid change, and that this change was impacting on welfare needs, which according to him flowed mainly from economic development. This in turn meant urbanization, industrialization, automation and mechanism. He refers to €stagnation resulting from the absence of welfare services by Bantus• (Bopape, 1967, p. 24) and that the roots of conservatism and inertia must be destroyed. In addition, such development according to Bobape (1967) was alien to the traditional heritage of Bantu communities, which leads to maladjustment and emotional problems. In keeping with the social work and welfare

[18] The article is a paper presented at a National Conference of the South African Non-European Social Workers, Association at Fort Hare University College, on the 4th September, 1966. In the same period, various Seminars on Apartheid are organised by the United Nations Division of Human Rights. Two days later Verwoerd is stabbed in the House of Assembly. Earlier in the decade in 1961, Umkhonto We Sizwe was formed to organize and accelerate the armed struggle (O,Malley archives, Nelson Mandela Foundation)

discourse of the period, he describes the other important area of welfare needs as relating to family planning and population control (Bopape, 1967).

He further describes the need for practice experience in student social work training, and that there should be a partnership between training colleges and social work agencies. He stresses that areas of knowledge that a student requires include the area of common human needs, the study of social structure and social change, the historical development of social policies as a response to peoples, needs. Secondly, a thorough study of human behaviour is required and thirdly the method of social work. He then finally makes a plea that agencies receive subsidy from the state to offer such placements; that refresher courses should be provided by institutions; that universities and social agencies should embark on research projects in various ƒBantu areas,; and that local governments should co-operate with social work agencies for the welfare of people in their areas.

7.3.2.5 Bodens tein, J.W. (1970). The bantu ex -prisoner: Some cultural patterns in his reaction to imprisonment and their relevance regarding rehabilitation. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk , 6(3), 144 -146[19]

The article on €the Bantu ex-prisoner• (Bodenstein, 1970), is a useful example of discourse common during this period. The writer addresses a gathering of the €Bantu Prisoners, Aid Committee of Social Association of South Africa• (1970, p.144) about the cultural differences between black and white prisoners, law, crime, punishment and imprisonment. As a ƒwhite, person addressing what seems to be a ƒblack, audience, he positions himself as someone who has a keen understanding of €bantu

[19] This paper is a summary of an address to the Second Annual General Meeting of the Bantu Prisoners, Aid Committee Social Association of South Africa, Durban, 27th September 1969. The address was made at the end of a decade which had seen the passing of some forty three of the most draconian Apartheid legislation, such as the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act 1960 (legislating the use of public and natural resources); the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, 1965 (curtailing movement of black people and expulsion of black people from white areas); Terrorism Act of 1967 (which provided for arrest without warrant for any suspected, widely defined ƒterrorist, activities) and the General Laws Amendment Act of 1969 (which gave the Bureau of State Security unlimited power over admission of evidence. Discourse around the rehabilitation of the ƒbantu prisoner, (O,Malley Archives, Nelson Mandela Foundation)

culture•, why ƒbantu, people do not respond well to the consequences of coming into conflict with the law, and how best the so-called cultural factors should be taken into account when dealing with ƒbantu, people.

He maintains that the intended purpose of imprisonment is not achieved with €the bantu• due to cultural factors as i) there is an absence of guilt due to different cultural standards and being unconvinced of the necessity of various laws; ii) the survival motive of the bantu leads to selfish, irresponsible and anti-social behaviour; and iii) loss of cultural identity in a changed environment produced a labile and permissive bantu society; iv) minor offences are committed by the bantu unwittingly who therefore has an absence of the moral component of guilt; v) in some cases a prison sentence gives added social prestige.

The writer then argues that education is needed for the ƒbantu, to understand the behavioural demands during a €post-industrial revolution•; for the necessity of making concessions on the cultural level for the sake of law and order; and to encourage social responsibility to increase the value of stigma as a deterrent. He argues however that rehabilitation is facilitated by the absence of victimization and blame of ex-prisoners and openness to forthright confrontation. He ends with the patronizing assurance that ƒwhites, do not wish to deny their responsibility and will continue giving advice and assistance (to organisations such as the one being addressed), but that ultimately, efforts must come from €your hands and your hearts•. He then asks for God,s blessing on €this service of love• (1970, p.154).

This article is typical of the racist, condescending approach found in the ƒhelping, discourse during the Apartheid era, and especially during the 1960s and 70s when Apartheid policies were forcefully applied. The liberal, charitable notion of the role of the helper towards the ƒnoble savage, (and most often the ƒnot so noble, in the case of South African politics) is evident here. This manoeuvre of expurgation of the other through valorising and generalising cultural or other characteristics, achieves and justifies racist €othering•. Denial is then used as defence against the racist oppression and injustice because its operation arises from a seeming positive attribution.

When considering the oppressive socio-political context of the decade in which this address occurs, any discourse around the rehabilitation of the ƒbantu prisoner,which effaces that context, should be seen as a gross distortion of reality and therefore an expression of the interests of those in power. This is an example of perpetuation of ƒfalse consciousness,, described as €ideology dominating the consciousness of exploited groups and classes which at the same time justifies and perpetuates their exploitation• (Blunden, www.Marxist.org).

7.3.2.6 Cilliers, S.P. (1971). The Need for Population Control in South Africa. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk , 7(1), 20-22[20]

This article was seen to be representative of a number of such articles during this period. It was a presentation at €the opening of a seminar for Coloured welfare leaders organized by the Family planning Association and the Department of Social Work, University of the Western Cape (Cilliers, 1971, p.20). In keeping with the dominant discourse of population control and social hygiene, the writer states that €We live in an era in which the most pressing and urgent problem confronting the world as a whole is that of effective population control• (Cilliers, 1971, p. 20). He then goes on to argue that the reason for the ƒinability, of governments to provide for those living in conditions of hunger, illness and squalor, €derives primarily from the high growth rate of the relevant populations• (Cilliers, 1971, p. 20). This high rate of ƒhuman reproduction, is then blamed for a high dependency ratio, and the solution to breaking out of the ƒvicious circle, of high reproductivity and low productivity is proposed to be the lowering of the birth rate.

It is positioned within a racist framework referring to the problem of ƒpopulation explosion, relating to the ƒnon-white, population groups. Various statistics are provided about economic activity and dependency ratios, presenting an argument that the ƒcoloured, group is most ƒfertile, and least economically active. Population control through family planning is then proposed as part of a broad programme for social and economic advancement, among all sectors of the population. Cilliers

[20] S.P. Cilliers, a professor from Stellenbosch University, was the first president of the Association of Sociologists of Southern Africa. He was considered to be a liberal in his time, and became and ƒexpert, in ƒcoloured affairs, in the Western Cape (Groenwald, 2002)

(1971, p. 22) ends the article by stating: €In previous times man (sic) had no effective means at his disposal of preventing emotional and sexual expression from being divorced from procreational action. Modern science and technology have provided man with this ability. We must now only learn that responsible parenthood involves basically the ability to subject to rational control, decisions in regard to procreational activities.• (Cilliers, 1971, p. 22). This article is a particularly useful example of discourse around population control and racism within capitalist power relations during Apartheid South Africa.

7.3.2.7 Theron, E. (1972). The changing welfare scene in Southern Africa and the contribution of social workers. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 8(3), 184-188[21]

Erika Theron, a forceful figure in South African social work (not least due to the relationship with Verwoerd), was both a contributor and a gatekeeper of social work discourse, through the editorship of the journal for social work as well as through policy formation and social work education leadership. This article is a paper read at the €first meeting of the Catholic Welfare Council of Southern Africa in Hammanskraal, 1971• (Theron, 1972, p.184). In the article, Theron (1972) describes the welfare issues facing countries of Southern Africa, highlighting the commonalities, areas of concern, general trends in needs and problems, and the contributions that social workers can make.

Using a regulatory, social control and status quo maintenance perspective she distinguishes between the social problems and needs of the ƒ industrialized regions, (increase in number of aged, adequate care for children of working mothers, problems of unmarried mother and children ƒ born out of wedlock,, prevention of juvenile delinquency and treatment of offenders and of other ƒ socially maladjusted children and youths,, alcoholics and drug addicts) and the ƒ developing areas,

[21] Erika Theron, editor of the journal Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, was Professor and Head of the Department of Social Work at the University of Stellenbosch. She played an important role in the knowledge development of social work in South Africa and was a significant contributor to policy development, especially regarding ƒ coloured people,. She was considered to be an €Afrikaner academic for apartheid,, having worked closely with Verwoerd on the establishment of the social work department at the University of Stellenbosch (Hugo, 1998)

(services for masses of entire groups of children, mothers, youths, migrant workers, shanty town inhabitants, the handicapped; aspect of health, education, home economics and agricultural extension; poverty, ill-health, lack of adequate education, inadequate housing, population pressure, apathy and lack of incentive for bringing about change; and the obstacles encountered by welfare programmes because of lack of financial resources and shortage of trained personnel.

She maintains that social workers, training in Southern Africa was largely based on the North American, British and Dutch models, which may be considered as €irrelevant and sometimes dysfunctional to the resolution of the major issues that beset poor nations• (Theron, 1972, p. 187). She states that she agrees with Heydenrych (1971), who stated in a presentation to a conference of the South African Bantu Social Workers Association that €Firstly, I have a notion that there is an inclination among African social workers to appraise and follow the so-called Western model of social work and to apply it as the White man found it suitable, necessary or simply convenient• further arguing that the African social worker should not have the €inclination to strive for White expertise•. (Theron, 1972, p. 187). She concludes by stressing that social workers should be trained to take an active role in community development; that the €problem of the population explosion is one of the most serious which confronts mankind today• and which requires a change in people,s views of birth control and family size; and lastly that professional social workers should be trained how to make use of ƒwomen welfare power,.

7.3.2.8 Muller, A. (1972). Social work education in the republic of South Africa. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk , 8(4), 263-267[22]

In this article the writer reflects on the ƒissues, facing social work education in South Africa, in the context of minimal South African social work literature since the inception of education for social work during the 1930s. She describes the

[22] Annette Muller was Professor and Head of the Department of Social Work at Stellenbosch University, having completed her doctorate on social work education there in 1965. She worked closely with Erika Theron. Her study into social work education in 1965 was considered to be of critical importance to social work in the country as it identified the generic and limited casework nature of social work training (McKendrik, 1990, p.185)

importance of the annual conference of social work educators, thanking Prof Erika Theron for her initiative in this regard. She goes on to list some of the €current dilemmas• of social work education in South Africa. These include the need for the extension of the curriculum from three to four years; the need for minimum standards for curriculum content; the need for €our universities to take the lead and start courses in supervision for selected social workers•; the necessity for more time to be spent on fieldwork instruction; the need for the creation of ƒlaboratories, attached to training centers; the need for an increase in post-graduate specialization courses; importance of separate training of the various non-white population groups at universities of their own in order to €serve their own people• (Muller, 1972, p. 265); and the imperative for more research to be undertaken. The article is reflective of the drive for professionalization of social work practice and training, presented in an a-historical and decontextualised manner.

7.3.2.9 Malherbe, E.G. (1973). The Carnegie Poor White Investigation: Its origin and sequels. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk , 9(2), 81-90[23]

This article is a reflection by the author of his participation in the Carnegie Poor White Investigation (funded by the Carnegie corporation from the ƒDominions and Colonies Fund, for projects of educational and social research), the methods of work, its focus on the ƒpoor whites, and its consequences. He begins by describing the hardship and sometimes ƒdanger, of the circumstances of travel and doing research, for the participants involved, such as €discomforts of very primitive boarding houses and hotels• and having to share rooms with one another (Malherbe, 1973, p. 82). In a somewhat humorous fashion he describes the antics of his fellow commissioners and then goes on in a similar vein, to describe in fond terms, the €ingrained hospitality• and €quiet dignity• of even €the poorest Poor White• in sharing the modest

[23] Professor E.G. Malherbe was one of the members of the Carnegie Commission on the Poor White Problem (1929-1932) in South Africa. He is described in the introduction to the article as being a €well known educational leader in this country•. As one of the initiators of the Investigation, he had motivated its funding by the Carnegie Foundation, having stated in an earlier article (Fleisch, 1995, p.360) €Today we have over 100,000 so-called 'Poor Whites'. They are becoming a menace to the self-preservation and prestige of our White people, living as we do in the midst of the native population which outnumbers us 5 to 1€ He was also principal of both the University of Cape Town and later the University of Natal

family midday meal (Malherbe, 1973, p. 82). He generalizes while at the same time inferiorises ƒthe poor, by describing ƒthem, as if they were a spectacle:

> €While working in the field naturally we dressed very informally. I always found it remarkable how quickly we got a rapport with those people, particularly the poor. Indeed, as soon as they found that we were interested in them they became exceedingly communicative. Sometimes they did not hesitate even to tell us about even the most intimate details of their sex life.• (Malherbe, 1973, p. 82)

Malherbe (1973) explains in clear ideological terms, that the causes of poverty are a €problem in human ecology• whereby the €Poor White was often a victim of his environment. But at the same time the cause of his deteriorating environment•. He argues that it is especially the mental attitudes that militate against being helped, that played an important role, and that projection was the means by which the poor blamed others for the state of their self-inflicted poverty and €hardly ever did anyone suggest: ƒThe fault dear Brutus, is not in the stars but in ourselves, that we are underlings,.• (Malherbe, 1973, p. 83). He typically invokes religious arguments for the existence of poverty €Every country has its poor people. Even Christ had said that the poor will always be with us. ƒPoor, is essentially an economic concept. It has no colour. Yet we find that where black and white live and work in the same country, poverty of the white man causes more concern that poverty in a black man.• (Malherbe. 1973, p. 82).

Contradicting his own assessment of the cause of the problem, he then goes on to claim that the problem of poor-whitism was €dissolved• through the development of industry and infrastructure in the form of improved roads, and communication, opening up the rural areas, improved educational facilities and increasing mobility.

The roots of the Carnegie Commission,s investigation are described in racist and nationalist terms, using an eugenics argument, stating that €the conservation and development of its human resources is a Nation,s supremest (sic) duty...Today we have over 100 000 so-called poor whites living in our very midst and a menace to the self-preservation and prestige of our white people, living as we do in the midst of a

native population which outnumbers us 6 to 1.• (Malherbe, 1973, p. 87). The eugenics motive of the ƒdiagnosis, and intervention is even more evident when he describes how in spite of endogamy, little ƒmental deficiency, was foundas €the original stock must have been sound• (Malherbe, 1973, p. 84). The article, written in 1873, has no reservation in its racist and white supremist approach.

The task of the Commission was to focus on ƒfacts, rather than recommendations. However, he stresses the important recommendation of the establishment of a government Department of Welfare as well as claim that the outcome of the Commission was the achievement of social change through follow up conferences on The Poor White Problem, organized by the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa in Kimberly in 1934 and a National Conference on Social Work in Johannesburg in 1936, which had led to the establishment of the Department of Welfare in 1937 (Malherbe, 1973).

### 7.3.3 Ideologies and discourse evident in selected texts during the 1960s and 1970•s

Characteristic of this period, is the strength of the hegemonic discourse producing and reproducing relations of power and privilege, perpetuating and supporting conceptions and categorizations of ƒrace, and racism, and apartheid, nationalist ideologies around the liberal role of social workers as superior, charitable benefactors; and the importance of agency and personal, individual responsibility and consequent scapegoating of the vulnerable in understanding social problems. These ideologies are produced and reproduced through various operations in the form of legitimation, fragmentation, dissimulation, reification and unification (Thompson, 1990). ƒWhite, supremacy and superiority is taken for granted and remains unchallenged, while relations of domination and oppression arte legitimized. In some instances, there is evidence of critical processes.

In many examples, legitimation was used to defend the social control and status quo maintenance functions of social work. For example, case work theory is presented as existing on a narrow continuum from self-realisation and freedom of choice, to the social control interventions in order to uphold social values. This legitimizes the more

narrow view of what is possible in social casework, as if other more progressive or consciousness raising approaches are outside of the scope of intervention:

> €at the one extreme we would find those in which the client ƒs freedom of choice and self realization are primary considerations...At the other end of the continuum we would find those theories in which the caseworker is seen as an instrument of social control• (Seawright, 1965, p.10)

Another such instance occurs when Uys (1965) argues that because of the existence of the opinions and arguments quoted in the article, it may be concluded that such problem families exist:

> €Op grond van die voorafgaande beskouings kan die gevolgtrekking gemaak word dat daar wel gesinne in die samelewing is ... wat nie in staat is om die rolle wat van hulle...verwag word, na te kom nie€ (Uys, 1965, p. 13) (Translated: €On the grounds of the aforementioned opinions, the conclusion can be drawn that families do exist in society that... are not able to fulfil the roles... that are expected of them•

The divine is invoked to further legitimize the role of the ƒwhite social worker, Bodenstein (1970), addressing a conference on ƒThe Rehabilitation of the Bantu ex-prisoner, invokes God‚s blessing on intervention that is being proposed (i.e. the work done by ƒblack, people themselves for other ƒblack, people), guided and advised by the writer and other whites, the writer presents this work as legitimate and €worthy of support• (Thompson, 1990, p.61). The apartheid regime‚s law enforcement and ƒrehabilitation, of the ƒbantu, offender, is further legitimated as being a God-ordained given, justifying racist and inhumane policies:

> €We [„whites‡] shall be happy to give advice and assistance and guidance... but ultimately the planning and action must flow from your hands and your hearts...May God bless you in this service of love!• (Bodenstein, 1970, p. 154)

Relations of power and domination are frequently obscured. For example, Uys (1965, p. 65), when describing how the category of ƒ‚inadequate problem families,

constantly rely on others for support and problem solving (while it is also acknowledged by the writer that these families, problems often relate to financial difficulties and child care. These descriptions therefore mask the asymmetrical power relations between the classes)

> €Hierdie gesin is geneig om geduring op ander staat te maak vir bemoediging, leiding en hulp om probleme op te los• Translation: €This family constantly tends to rely on others for encouragement, guidance and problem solving• (Uys, 1965, p. 10)

The racist-capitalist project of apartheid (and earlier) South Africa, rested on powerful forms of dissimulation. For example, in the article by Blignaut (1966), about ƒpsychiatric services for [Bantu] low-income groups,, the racist and unjust context of racialised poverty and the role of structural Apartheid policies of inferior education are dissimulated. The ƒpoor,and ƒblack, asare displaced as ƒthenon-intellectual, or uneducated mind, and the poor are constructed as simple and ignorant and posing a problem in the form of €the barrier of dealing with the non-intellectual mind• (Blignaut, 1966, p.77). The contribution of poverty and stress relating to living in such conditions is also dissimulated. The writer quotes statistics that show that there is a disproportionately greater incidence of psychiatric illness among the ƒlower social class, without exposing the cause of the correlation:

> €There is more psychiatric illness among persons in the lower social class, in fact more than three times as much as in the higher social class.• (Blignaut, 1966, p. 78)

ƒ
The other, is then defined in generalized terms and the writer states:

> €The poor differ from the „well-to-do in that they reflect a special subculture which renders its members unable to use or benefit from modern individual psychotherapy• (Blignaut, 1966, p. 77)

The reader is therefore interpellated into ideologies of domination, discrimination, racism and classism, while being positioned in the expert, ƒin-group, with privilege and professional power.

Euphamism as a form of dissimulation, occurs frequently whereby relationships of power, racism and oppressive interventions are ƒredescribed for positive evaluation, (Thompson, 1990). According to Dubow (1985, p. 5), patterns of paternalism and prejudice have been deeply embedded n the collective mentalities of white South Africans, for whom superiority, exclusivity and hierarchy exist as more or less conscious 'habits of mind'. Together they comprise a folkloric amalgam of popular beliefs and traditions in which the idea of human difference has been accepted as natural and incontestable." In the article about ƒThe bantu exoffender,, relationships of power between the ƒwell meaning person, (i.e. the helping professional, most often white) and the errant bantu, which permit confrontation and correction, are dissimulated through euphemism and distortion to exist due to the noble qualities of the ƒbantu, themselves. Forthright confrontation about delicate and intimate problems is reframed and distorted as being €deeply liberating•.

> €The Bantu...will allow almost any well meaning person to confront him ...by comparison this type of forthright (and usually deeply liberating) confrontation is regarded among whites as taboo.• (Bodenstein, 1970, p. 154)

Criminal behaviour is related to irreconcilable cultural standards rather than to political and economic injustice and relations of domination and oppression.

> €Often the reaction of the Bantu is simply one of confusion, because the factors that lead to his imprisonment are motivated by cultural standards which he has not reconciled with his own.• (Bodenstein, 1970, p. 145)

The reader is therefore interpellated into views of racism and inferiority as a natural discourse.

Fragmentation is a theme throughout the articles. In the article by Blignaut (1966), ƒothering, and fragmentation between ƒus, (the psychiatrist and the reader) and ƒthem,

(the patient need psychiatric help), occurs along dimensions of race, class, education, intellectual ability and therapist/patient. In the first instance, the ƒBantu, is the other while the reader is included with the writer as being part of the ƒColoured and White, community. Secondly, the ƒpoor, are ƒotherised, as being part of a subculture and being ignorant and uneducated. This reinforces the power relationship between the classes as well as the helper (psychiatrist) and the reader and on the other hand, those to be helped.

ƒThe poor, are inferiorised anddescribed as intellectually simple and unable to benefit from psychotherapy (Blignaut, 1966). They are said to manifest disturbances in physiological symptom patterns, which need to be treated differently through psychotropic drugs to alleviate such cases, rather than expensive and time consuming therapeutic approaches:

> €For those who come for help and who need psychotherapy we can only offer limited and superficial psychotherapy which, in lower income groups...should not deal with abstract concepts that are not intellectually comprehended• (Blignaut, 1966, p.78)

Unification as an ideological operation to present a form of unity to embrace individuals in collective identities irrespective of divisions that there may be, are especially evident in the article about ƒthe problem family• (Uys, 1965). The writer emphasizes that although ƒproblem families, are heterogeneous and that it cannot be stated that they all have one single attribute, the article then proceeds to find common descriptions and definitions, thus creating the perspective that ƒproblem families, have a collective identity, namely that of being inadequate and a failure in social functioning:

> €Die term „probleemgesinƒ is „n wye begrip en baie definisisies is eintlik „n beskrywing van die eienskappe van „n groot aantal probleemgesinne• Translation: €the term ƒproblem family is a wide concept and many definitions are actually descriptions of the characteristics of a large number of problem families• (Uys, 1965, p. 9)

Reification, whereby transitory states are represented as permanent, natural or outside of time, eclipses the sociological and historical character of events and phenomena (Janks, 1998, p.208) occurs in all the selected texts. In the text about the €Problem family• (Uys, 1965), the writer claims there is agreement about the phenomenon of ƒthe problem family, and therefore reifies the socially constructed ƒproblem family, by using naturalization to present it as natural and inevitable

The writer,s choice of words denigrates and depersonalizes clients by referring to them in a derogatory and even sarcastic manner as ƒdelinquents, and ƒthese types of families,

> €For example, the values associated with „acceptance of the client ƒ and „client self-determination ƒ may in certain instances be more harmful than helpful. Thus certain types of delinquents would not be helped by tacit acceptance of their „uniqueness of personality ƒ..• (Seawright, 1965, p.13)

An example of the use of passivisation as a form of reification, occurs in the article by Blignaut (1966) where the writer deletes the agency of ƒthe poor, by referring to them in the passive voice. The poor are described as being rendered unable to benefit; by describing symptoms as being somatised and being described as being made not to seek help.

> €psychiatric illness remains hidden in the community where these people are contained and are not made to seek psychiatric care and treatment• (Blignaut, 1966, p. 78)

Similarly, in the article by Bodenstein (1970), the writer, while acknowledging the impact of the forces of history on society, claims that he and others have been placed in this situation, not through his own or other,s volition, but through a passive subjection to external forces of ƒprovidence,. He effaces Apartheid social relations of class and race by describing these as being related to differences in cultural standards. He also assumes and interpellates the reader into the ƒin-group, of privileged ƒwhite, by positioning the reader with himself as ƒWe,:

> €We in South Africa today have been put by Providence into a situation not of our own choice or manufacture, but one that has historically evolved, a situation in which the problems we are discussing are characterised by the dilemma arising from the confluence of different streams of cultural standards.• (Bodenstein, 1970, p. 144)

Subjectification into a professional roles of paternalism, dispensing of charity, the kind and liberal benefactor or the agent of social control, occurs throughout the texts. In most cases the reader is ƒhailed, into the ƒin-group, as a ƒwhite,, knowledgeable expert dealing with the problems of ƒthe other,, consisting of those maladjusted individuals who are unable to function adequately.

In the article by Seawright (1965), certain functions of social workers such as ƒrelief, work, are problematised as being ƒthankless, and the ƒnumbers, too great, implying that recipients of social workers, services should be ƒgrateful,, and that social workers should only perform ƒmanageable, duties Overt references are made to tasks and roles relating to parenting and paternalism; rescuing; conservatism; acting as instruments of social control; and upholding values in relation to the care of children:

> €An example of this type of theory [in which the caseworker is seen as an instrument of social control] is the parenting theoryƒ...in which the caseworker assumes certain parentalƒ functions• (Seawright, 1965, p.10)

The extent to which discourse is performative of subjectification, is also related the legitimacy of the actor in knowledge production (Rose, 1999). In some instances the editor increases the legitimacy and power of a particular writer through providing support and praise for his/her work. In this way, the work of Blignaut (1966) is described as being visionary and valuable, thus compelling the reader (social worker) to accept the positions and perspectives of the writer:

> €His interesting, stimulating and often visionary introductory articles in his journal are also valuable for social workers.• (Theron, 1966, p.78)

The professional subjectification of the reader into the role of charitable yet racist helper, is frequent, and evident for example In the article by Bodenstein (1970). Here the liberal discourse and the distortions masked by the valorisation of difference in the ƒother,, as well as the inclusion of the social worker as the ƒwe, being the ƒwhite, helping professional, positions the social worker as a charitable, liberal and culturally intelligent helper. The reader is included in those ƒwhites, who are aware of their responsibility to help and advise those who are not yet competent to manage:

> €..I see you growing inevitably into a strong and autonomous organisation dedicated to this noble service among your people. Not that we as Whites wish to pull out, or deny our co-responsibility; we shall be happy to give advice and assistance and guidance as long as is necessary.• (Bodenstein, 1970, p. 154)

However, some contradictory discourse is also evident, such as in the critical processes which are evident in some instances. Some writers reflect a reflexive and critically aware stance, where attempts are made to acknowledge the existence of divergent views, thus allowing the reader to read both with and against the text (Janks, 2005). Providing a critical perspective on discourse adopted in a particular article, encourages debate and encourages the reader to engage at a deeper level rather than accept positions superficially. This is the case in the article about ƒthe problem family, (Uys, 1965):

> €...opinions differ on the best course to adopt. Some feel that we should get rid of the term or, at least become very much more careful in its use• (Philp and Timms, 1957, cited by Uys, 1965).

There is another example of a more critical position in an article by Maqashalala (1975, p.155)[24], one of the few articles written by a ƒblack, author, who describes the difficult position of ƒblack, social workers who find themselves with €divided loyalties• between the employer and the community and therefore €finds himself powerless

[24] Maqashalala, T.N.V. (1975). The changing role of social workers in a changing society. Social Work/ Maatskaplike Werk, 11(3),151-157

under the auspices of his agency and the all-powerful• (Maqashalala, 1975, p. 155). He calls on ƒblack, social workers to address themselves as a body to decision makers and to develop self-confidence to discuss matters that affect them on a €equal footing•: €It is my serious contention that it is high time social workers broke away from their cocoons and articulated their problems along established channels• (Maqashalala, 1975, p. 155). It is clear therefore, that there is still an element of restraint and acceptance of the status quo, by not imploring social workers to adopt a more radical stance.

There is little evidence generally however, of a critical engagement with social problems and taken-for-granted, hegemonic discourse prevails. It is clear that there is a strong ideological project of creating social workers who respect the status quo and embrace the ideological position of the journal, its editor and its authors

### 7.4 Selected texts from the period 1980 € 1985

#### 7.4.1 Introduction

The period is characterized by violence, resistance and the most intensely repressive period of the apartheid regime. Towards the end of the 1970s the black consciousness movement had strengthened, and in 1983 the United Democratic Front was formed. By 1985 a State of Emergency had been declared by the State President, legalizing violent repression and human rights violations such as detentions without trial. There was a silence about these circumstances and the turmoil remained generally undescribed in the journal. The journal itself would however have been subject to the restrictions on the publication of any ƒsubversive, or challenging content. In spite of this, some discourse around reform and social change did emerge, such as €Social Work and politics in South Africa• (Atmore, 1981); €The role of the private sector in the advancement of peaceful development in South Africa• (Steyn, 1981); and €An appraisal of critical social work and South African social problems• (Slabbert, 1984).

Practice method and theory as well as social work professionalization and education once again accounted for the highest proportion of titles during this period, focusing

on subjectification, qualification and professionalization (Therborn, 1999). During this period, Afrikaner nationalist discourse formed the basis of professional subjectification, with some evidence of nostalgia for the social work training of the past (such as €Fifty years of social work training in South Africa, Cronje, 1981). Liberal capitalist discourse is common (such as in €The role of the private sector in the advancement of peaceful progress in South Africa• by Steyn, 1981). Theoretical perspectives from the individualist-reformist category were predominant, with an ongoing preoccupation around blaming the poor for their circumstances (such as €Meeting the needs of troubled families•, Ramphal, 1983). For the first time there is (albeit minimal), evidence of more radical, socialist-collectivist and social change perspectives (such as €An appraisal of critical social work and South African social problems• (Slabbert, 1984) and €Community theatre• (Ferinho, 1980). Articles relating to social change however generally adopt a reformist rather than revolutionary approach of the nature described by Luxemburg (Le Blanc and Scott, 2010) as opportunistic and reformist change within the existing order.

### 7.4.2 Discussion of selected articles from the period 1980 -1985

#### 7.4.2.1 Steyn, J. (1981). Die rol van die privaatsektor in die bevordering van vreedsame vooruitgang in Suid Afrika. Social Work Maatskaplike Werk , 17(2), 86€92[25] [The role of the private sector in the advancement of peaceful progress in South Africa ]

This article is an example of liberal capitalist ideology, reflective of a ƒwhite, Afrikaner liberal shift towards a discourse of social justice, reform and equality. It remains characterized however by an avowal of racism, with a free-market ideology, liberalism, and discourse of self-help, personal responsibility and blame. The article deals with the role of the private sector in relation to development, greater social

[25] Mr Jan Steyn was a Supreme Court judge and Head of the Urban Foundation, an organisation formed to persuade €the government to encourage the growth of an African middle class, as an ally for the whites and a bulwark against socialism• (Oakes, 1988). Educated at Stellenbosch University, from a ƒfamous family of Afrikaner leaders, and carrying full support of South African business such as Anglo American, De Beers and many international institutions (Butler, 2007), Judge Steyn,s contribution to the journal would have been considered as being of extreme importance and value, thus contributing in a powerful way to ideological interpellation in social work.

justice and the reform process to which the South African community €will be subjected• (Steyn, 1981, p. 86). This reform would occur in one of two ways: €through the harassing baptism of fire of ongoing unrest and internal uprisings, or through a tedious but determined process of goal directed evolutionary change• (Steyn, 1981, p. 86). Steyn (1981) explores various perspectives on social justice, concluding that justice is the creation of a social space for personality development with equal opportunities to make use thereof and which should include a) impartial treatment before the law; b) impartial treatment in politics in the sense of the right to vote and representation and participation in decision making processes; c) impartial treatment in the social context insofar as it relates to equal social opportunities in the variety of societal groupings and impartial treatment in respect of educational facilities and d) fair economic treatment. He states that the law alone does not equate with justice, and argues that characteristics of a just dispensation include liberty and order; freedom of access to an independent judiciary; freedom from poverty and deprivation; press freedom and a free economy.

In clearly liberal and capitalist ideological terms, he extolls self-responsibility and self-help and states:

> €Materiele welsyn is opsigself nie „n eindoel vir die strewes van die mens nie. Tog is die beperking van armoede tot sy minimum noodsaaklik vir ‡n regverdige bestel, want armoede beroof die mens so dikwels van die geleentheid tot self- vervulling en die geluk wat dit meebring. Gepaardgaande hiermee is daar geen groter trots dan om die beklemmende bande van armoede te verbreek deur eie poging en self-hulp nie. Dit is die verantwoordelikheid wat die eweknie van die vryheid is.€ (1981, p. 89)
>
> [Material welfare is not in itself the end goal of people,s striving. Even so, limiting poverty to its minimum is necessary for a just dispensation, because poverty so often robs the person of the opportunity for self-actualisation and the happiness that accompanies it. In addition, there is no greater pride than to break the constricting bonds of poverty, through self- effort self-help. It is responsibility that is the equal of freedom.]

He argues for the preservation of capitalism and the free market system and he quotes various capitalist writers and thinkers such as Milton Friedman and Irving Kristol (described as a leader of neo-conservatism in the United States of America during the 1970s). He argues that the private sector and the free market should ensure that there is sufficient access to opportunities in order to improve the welfare of people. He goes on to discuss the housing shortage in the country, especially in respect of the *f*blackman,, and argues for the right to ownership of private property He concludes by making a plea that South Africans must participate in the creation of a more just system.

7.4.2.2 Ramphal, R. (1983). Meeting the needs of troubled families. Social Work/ Maatskaplike Werk , 19(3), 162-163[26]

This article is an example of an uncritical, decontextualised study perpetuating oppressive structural relations of domination, classism and inequality. The *f*problem family, is a taken-for-granted category defining those families finding themselves in a low socio-economic class with its complex set of difficulties and resultant poor levels of coping, as being a *f*problem,. Seventy five such *f*problem, families were compared with seventy five *f*non-problem, families in relation to various areas including family size, parents, state of health, parents, occupation and income, living conditions, frequency and forms of punishment used, leisure time spent at home. Poverty is claimed to be €an important factor in family tensions• (Ramphal, 1983, p. 162), but no attention is paid to the causative factors which may have contributed to the family difficulties in the first place. The €unattractiveness of the environment and the pressures on the family members• are described as being exacerbated by the €greater amount ofdisorderliness and lower cultural standards in a number of homes• (Ramphal, 1983, p. 162). Reification is used to *f*eclipse, the sociological and historical nature of processes of marginalization and impoverishment (Thompson, 1990).

[26] Mrs Ramphal was a lecturer at the Department of Social Work, University of Durban-Westville, at the time of writing the article. This was a University established for *f*Indians, during the Apartheid era, and was a site of major anti-apartheid struggle (UKZN

Mention is made of the need for €Improvements in the conditions of disadvantaged families through broad social reform• (Ramphal, 1983, p.163) which would enable parents and children to live more satisfactory lives and which would assist in breaking the ƒvicious cycle, of deprivation. However, the writer goes on to describe the problems of ƒover-romanticised picture of parenthood, as a contributory factor to people having families that are too large and having high expectations of how easy parenthood would be. Claims are made that children in ƒproblem families, tend to spend less time at home because of lack of space and that parents failed to make the home an attractive place for their children and their companions• (Ramphal, 1983, p. 163). The inability of parents to provide such an ƒattractive home, due to financial and resource constraints, is not discussed.

Finally, rather than examining the causes of inequality and poverty, but reverting to a ideology of eugenics and blame of the ƒguilty poor,, it is stated that

> €It is common knowledge that overburdened parents with limited money and perhaps limited skills cannot cope with many children. Family planning is therefore a basic necessity...The knowledge that large families in poor circumstances make serious difficulties for themselves and for the community should be widely disseminated through all educational channels including clinics, government information services and the mass media. In this was a climate of opinion favourably disposed to birth control can be created.• (Ramphal, 1983, p. 171)

The writer concludes that no money spent on social interventions will play as important a role as efforts directed towards improving family life, thus negating the earlier statement about the need for social reform.

7.4.2.3 Slabbert, M. (1984). An Appraisal of critical social work and SA social problems. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk , 20(2), 114-116[27]

[27]Mana Slabbert, at the time of writing this article, was attached to the institute of Criminology at the University of Cape Town

In this article of a counter-hegemonic nature, the author makes an argument for the adoption of a critical perspective, which she describes as a relatively new development in the social work profession. She argues that the reason for the growth of such a critical perspective is that €professionals and academics started realizing that traditional approaches may be out of step with reality and specific socio-historical developments• (1984, p. 114). She cites Bailey and Brake (1975) and argues that welfare agencies are seen as crucial to the preservation of western society by their role in ameliorating its €less pleasant symptoms• and that social workers may find that they are required to maintain the €social and economic system that is the cause of the ills they are employed to confront and to which they are fundamentally opposed• (Slabbert, 1984, p.114).

She argues that social workers should take into account broader level issues, namely the relationship between social welfare and the state and the validity of social work methods and principles in resolving people,s problems. The discussion that she offers to illustrate the negation of human welfare by the state relates to unemployment as a serious social problem. High levels of unemployment and the resultant social problems such as ƒillegal economic activities, are linked to specific labour practices such as influx control regulations. Another example of a problem area arising from state policies, is the breakdown of family life and the ƒresultant disruptive effects, (1984, p. 115). She argues against the adoption of traditional social work approaches which have an individualistic and pathologising focus. The critical approach however challenges the label of deviance and €the conflicting value systems which developed as a direct or indirect result of ideological domination• (1984, p. 115). Interventions need to be seen in the context of the wider political and structural implications of social problems. She concludes by arguing that individual reform is merely a vicious cycle if the need for societal reform is not recognized. Individuals therefore need to be seen not only as part of communities but also as part of broader society.

Throughout the article, references to ƒrace, are placed in inverted commas and prefixed with the word ƒso-called,, indicating an attempt to counter the validity of and uncritical categorization according to ƒrace,. This is a departure from the overall trend

in the journal to perpetuate and reflect dominant racist and nationalist/capitalist discourse.

However, there seems to be some slippage in her argument ideologically, from the declared critical and radical perspective. The reference to the €political minority groups who are the clients of many social welfare organisations•, may indicate a negation of the fact that the disenfranchised groups to which she refers, are by far the majority of people (at least 80% of the population at the time). Further, it seems that a somewhat liberalist position is taken:

> €We know from studies and observations that the end result is often the development of illegal economic activities such as running of shebeens, prostitution, and drug-selling. Unemployment as a result of specific labour practices (such as influx control regulations) contributes towards creating conditions within which social welfare benefits are sought, or illegal activities occur.• (1984, p. 115).

Such a liberalist position tends to label these activities which result from unemployment as ƒillegal, or leading to the seeking of welfare benefits, as if these are undesirable. Ideologically, it indirectly then represents a position of status quo maintenance or social control function as these activities are uncritically labelled as illegal and undesirable. For example, the running of shebeens was only deemed to be illegal in the context of punitive, racist legislation banning the sale of alcohol in the townships, while it may have been argued that it formed an important part of the informal economic sector (Webster, Benya, Dilata, Joynt, Ngoepe, Tsoeu, 2008)

### 7.4.3 Ideologies and discourse in selected texts during the period 1980 -1985

Given that this period was of the most repressive ideologically and politically in South Africa‚s apartheid history, exclusion of commentary and silence in these texts on the levels of structural violence, repression or the liberation struggle, is startling. This was during the time of the intensification of the liberation struggle, armed conflict by Umkhonto We Sizwe (the armed wing of the ANC) and extreme and violent repression, by the South African government. At the beginning of 1984 the ANC

called €for a people,s war based on four pillars „ ANC underground activity, united mass action, MK attacks and an international campaign to isolate the apartheid government• (South African History Online, 2011). This period could therefore be described as the most intense period of civil war in South Africa.

The formal discourse of this period therefore provides an insight into the prevailing ideologies shaping social work and its relations to the state, the status quo and social change as well as professional subjectification of social workers. There is, in spite of the ongoing conservative nature of articles in the journal, a slight shift of ideological interpellation around what is ideal and what is possbile (Therborn, 1980) towards descriptions of a vision of society beyond the existing social order. These descriptions include discourse around development and reform, although without any support of, or positioning towards revolutionary processes. Ideological interpellation towards the ideal relates to a reformed society in which there is justice, participation, freedom and order and a ƒfree, economy (Steyn, 1981), equal opportunity and access to employment and a state actively engaged in human welfare provision (Slabbert, 1984). However, there is still much evidence of racist, familist and individualist discourse and what seems to be a preoccupation with population control, ƒtroubled, and singleparent families and ƒproblem, children (Ramphal, 1983).

In this regard, Janks (1997) hypothesises that during periods of transition such as in South Africa in the 1990s, hybridity of discourses occurs, where pre-transformation and post-transformation discourses occur simultaneously in texts. It seems that there is evidence of such hybridity already during the earlier 1980s in these social work texts, evidenced by the widely diverse content ranging from blame and judgement of the individual for social problems, through to a liberalist ideological position extolling the free-market and personal responsibility, to a more critical perspective of the role of social work in relation to social change.

In the text on the role of the private sector in the advancement of peaceful change (Steyn, 1981), social change and peaceful progress are described in liberalist and capitalist terms, with strong appeals for involvement by the ƒprivate sector,. The socially just community is describd as consisting of free access to an independent judiciary; freedom from poverty not through provision of charity but through

education, self determination and freedom of choice; individual freedom and development; equal opportunity and access to wealth; a free market and self-responsibility (Steyn, 1983):

> €Hiervolgens le regverdigheid in die skepping van „n sosiale ruimte vir persoonlikheidsontwikkeling met gelyke geleenthede om daarvan gebruik te maak• (1983, p.88) [€Accordingly, justice lies in the creation of a social space for personality development with equal opportunity to make use thereof•]

Revolutionary social change and transformation is warned against and described in metaphorical terms as a ƒbaptism of fire, and a clear ideological position of capitalism and reform rather than revolutionary change is presented as occurring in either of two ways: €through the harassing baptism of fire of ongoing unrest and internal uprisings, or through a tedious but determined process of goal directed evolutionary change towards a more just community• (Steyn, 1981, p. 86 [translated from Afrikaans]).

The reformist and more progressive nature of the discourse in this article relates to calls for a more socially just society, requiring a departure form racist apartheid policies towards involvement of the ƒblackman, and recognition of the permanence of the ƒurban black,.The racist nature of the calls are however obscured by the liberal discourse and claims by the writer that the private sector has an exceptional contribution to make towards social development due to its will, expertise and being unbounded by ideology € (Steyn, 1981, p. 91)

Dissimulation is frequently evident in these texts where contexts and injustice is minimized through discursive strategies such as euphemism for example in describing the role of welfare agencies in €ameliorating the less pleasant symptoms of western society• (Slabbert, 1984) and a claim that €‚n bewustheid bestaan het van ongewensthede in ons gemeenskap woorkom wat ontevredenheid, onmin en bitterheid veroorsaak.• [an awareness existed that there are undesirable factors in our community that cause dissatisfaction, dissent and bitterness] (Steyn, 1981, p. 86). These examples conceal and obscure relationships of domination and

injustice, and represent these in a way that deflects attention away from these relations by describing them in terms lesser than the true extent of human suffering (Thompson, 1990).

Reification is also evident, especially in the article on ƒtroubled families, (Ramphal, 1983) where ƒproblem families‚are naturalized. Although poverty is named as a causal factor in such families, difficulties, such structural relations are not addressed as requiring change to alleviate these difficulties. Rather, €disorderliness and lower cultural standards• is described as adding to pressures on family members and that €the failure of parents to make the home an attractive place for their children and their companions• is a reason for poor integration of ƒproblem children, into the home (1983, p. 163). Solutions are described in terms of provision of adequate open spaces and parks, education of parents about children‚s emotional needs and the early treatment of needy families, chronic ill health and its contribution to a €gloomy or morbid• home atmosphere, and finally the provision of family planning and birth control services (Ramphal, 1983, p. 163). Unification occurs through the discursive strategy of standardization by describing certain families as ƒproblem families, and contrasting them with ƒnon-problem families‚.

Evidence of a more critical stance also begins to emerge in some of the articles, with a plea for rejecting the status quo and working towards social justice and social change. Critical processes, such as critical conscientisation emerge in discourse around awareness of the role of the social worker in status quo maintenance, in questioning social work methods in the context of social reality and in identifying the causal relationship between social problems and state policies (Slabbert, 1984). However, such critical awareness still seems to be framed within a liberal ideology, referring mostly to the need for social reform and social issues, obscuring the economic relations of domination and inequality related to the capitalist economic order.

## 7.5 Selected of texts from the period 1986 € 1993

### 7.5.1 Introduction

The beginning of this period saw the most intense period of apartheid repression, characterised by socio-political conflict, states of emergency, violent silencing of dissenters and ongoing trauma and fear. Globally, welfare systems had shifted towards the €new right• after the adoption of neo-liberal economic policies in keeping with the 1987 Washington consensus. In South Africa there were renewed moves to privatize and secure resources for the retreating white nationalist government (Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004). It was also during this period that the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa was conducted and documented by Wilson and Ramphele (1988) and revealed the shocking scope of poverty in South Africa including an unemployment estimate of 35%-50% and at least one-third of all ƒblack, children malnourished (Louw, 1991).

The emergence of a progressive and radical social work is evident during this period, especially in response to the heightened violent repression and human rights abuses of the period. Ntebe (1994, p. 42) who was the chairperson of the South African National Welfare Forum[28], mentions significant contributions towards the progressive and transformative discourse in social work such as protest actions, advocacy and social; action. Conferences at the time included those at the University of the Western Cape, "Social Welfare at the Watershed" (1987); at the University of the Witwatersrand, "Towards a Democratic Welfare System - Options and Strategies" (1989); the Maputo conference on "Health and Welfare in Transition" (1990); and the

[28] A National Welfare Summit was convened in Johannesburg in 1993, attended by 700 delegates, which mandated the Ad Hoc Committee to mobilise, educate and organise all stakeholders towards the formation of a welfare forum. This National Welfare Social Service and Development Forum was launched in 1994, aiming to contribute to the ongoing improvement of the South African social welfare within a developmental framework; develop consensus in decisions regarding the reconstruction of the social welfare system; identify priority welfare development areas; promote community participation in the social welfare care sector; and to ensure transparency in the process of change. (National Welfare, Social Service and Development Forum, 2011)

University of Western Cape conference on "Peoples' Health and Social Services" (1991) as well as the work of the of the Co-ordinating Committee against Welfare Policy, Johannesburg, and the Welfare Policy Committee in Durban (Social Workers Forum, 1989);

Although the titles of articles during this period remained generally silent about the socio-political conflict, violence and human rights abuses and the more progressive and radical social work that had emerged, they reflected both an apartheid focus and some shift towards a transformed post-apartheid context, in keeping with an emerging, more hopeful vision of a post-apartheid South Africa. Although these texts adopt a reformist rather than radical or revolutionary perspective, there are examples of a revolutionary position such as in the article by Louw (1991). There is still evidence of racism with references to the racialised €other• placing the reader in the subject position of being white, English and/or Afrikaans speaking and South African. During this period race is used predominantly as a stratifying tool rather than in a transformational context. Although issues of poverty receive some attention, a liberal and neo-liberal rational-economic approach is evident, with the role of the social worker generally positioned within a (state) non-interventionist, liberal free-market environment. There was still substantial attention devoted to fields of intervention relating to children and child protection, family and marriage, as well as functioning of welfare organisations and the welfare sector.

The characteristic hybridity of ideological discourse is evident during this period (Janks, 1997) and the more radical perspective that emerges, such as the articles by Small, 1987; Louw, 1991 and Patel, 1991, indicate a slight shift in editorial selection towards the forecasted and predictable impending political change. It is the article by Louw (1991) however, which seems to bring the first shift towards radical discourse in this journal.

The selections of texts therefore reflect a range of ideological perspectives, including the 1986 address by Adam Small (1987) to the Social Work Educators, Conference of the Joint Universities, Committee on Social Work; the report by the secretary of that Committee of the same conference (Pelser, 1987); and articles by Lionel Louw of the University of Cape Town (1991) on apartheid, poverty and social

transformation; Leila Patel (1991) on the evolution of a democratic welfare policy for a post-apartheid South Africa; and Andrea Bernstein (1993) on rewriting the future of social work education.

### 7.5.2 Discussion of selected texts from the period 1986 -1993

#### 7.5.2.1 Small, A. (1987). Thoughts on making social work education relevant to South African needs. Social work/ Maatskaplike werk , 23(1), 5 € 12[29]

In this exceptionally forthright (compared with the general tone of other writings in the journal) and ingenious text, Small (1987) describes social work and social work education,s response to South African needs. These needs are described as consisting of two broad categories. The first category are those peculiarity of needs which are a function of apartheid, while the second category are poverty-related needs of every kind „ both material and non-material, health, education, and those of the rural and urban contexts.

Small (1987) provides important counter-hegemonic discourse for social work, by openly articulating the destruction and impact on South Africans of the *ƒ* hell on earth, that is apartheid. He constructs a role for social workers, which takes into account structural issues and which may be described as transformative and radical practice.

He warns of the future consequences of apartheid:

> €There is no getting away from it: apartheid is the mould and matrix of South African society, with sadly …but truthfully …all the terrible ugliness of it, the hell on earth in varying degrees that it has meant and means for people …in fact really all people …in the country. Apartheid, it is said, is

[29] Adam Small was the Professor and Head of the Department of Social Work at the University of the Western Cape from 1983 until 1997. He is an acclaimed poet and a persistent theme in his work is the depiction of the lives of oppressed people and the working class, under apartheid. He had been involved in the black consciousness movement and in the students, organisation, SASO (Van Wyk, 2006). This article is the text of a paper that he presented at the 1986 Social Work Educators, conference of the JUC (Joint Universities, Committee).

being phased out now. The truth is that whatever happens to it from now on, by way of „reform", of „revolution" or shades of it, the impact of the thing will be with us, also in its aftermath, for a long, long time … like the impact of Nazism was with the people of Germany for long after the Nazis, and so on: another twenty, twenty-five, fifty years? Even more? The truth is that the general weather in the wake of a storm (the kind of storm that apartheid was), or the general landscape following an earthquake (the kind of earthquake that apartheid was), just does not change to sunshine and calm and beauty overnight. Instead, the terms and formats involved are of an historical order." (Small, 1987, p. 7)

He pleads for "compassionate imagination, from those for whom the hell on earth of apartheid is experienced at a distance and quotes from "The surplus people: forced removals in South Africa, (Platzky and Walker, 1985) to emphasise the reality of South Africa as a "shattered society,. He recommends a social work practice and education of €conscious construction „ social construction" (Small, 1987, p. 8) of a society for the next period of time.

In a courageous public stand of resistance (given the repressive nature of the apartheid regime of the time), he raises an issue relating to apartheid policy regarding welfare. He makes a call for a €total rejection of the findings of the most recent government-sponsored enquiry into welfare policy and planning in South Africa" with its apartheid „ orientation and which is characterized by the principle of "differentiation, in welfare (Small, 1987, p. 9).

Three principles for social work education are described. The first is a consciousness of the necessity for construction, the second is the need to regard social work in terms of a philosophical insight as being indispensable in human life and creating a sense of hope, and the third principle is one of "against method, and openness to experience of the "other, in terms of €not labelled in advance, not categorized to start with" (Small, 1987, p. 11). The social work curriculum should include themes of social policy and planning, poverty, philosophy of social work, an ontology and axiology of social work, and meanings of €being-a-person" with a fully cultural perspective and €mutual aid" as described by Peter Kropotkin (known for his

contributions to theories of anarchism, mutual aid, and his position against social Darwinism [Shatz, 1995]).

In a visionary comment appropriate for current times of neo-liberalism, Small (1987) argues that social work is anything but ƒmanagerial technique,. He concludes: €Social work and social work education,s concern ƒrelevant to South African needs, is fully harmonious with its concern in terms of universality: a putting right... the miserable condition of alienation among men that obtain in a selfish world which, yet, is the only one we have and know, and in which much that is beautiful, and in worthwhile social work terms, helpful, also happens.• (Small. 1987, p. 12).

7.5.2.2 Pelser, M. (1987). Die Agtiende Algemene Vergadering van die Gesamentlike Universiteitskomitee vir Maatskaplike Werk en Dosentekonferensie, 1987. [The eighteenth general meeting of the Joint Universities Committee for Social Work and Social Work Educators • Conference] . Social Work / Maatskaplike Werk , 23(1)[30]

This report on the conference of social work educators seems to be completely disconnected from the great levels of human suffering, political violence and repression of the prevailing socio-political context. There once again seems to be an almost pathological dissociation from the realities of the context. The only reference to society relates to ƒsocial needs, of ƒpeculiar and unique social needs, of people and the caution against confrontational rather than ƒconstructive, social change. It is unclear as to whether the summary report of the conference itself consists of such denialism and avoidance, or whether the discourse of the conference itself was characterized by these ideologies. The address by Professor Adam Small (reported on in section 7.5.2.1) seems to be misrepresented in terms of its position regarding social justice, the destructiveness of apartheid and the need for urgent social change. His input seems to be reduced to a discussion about different (ƒracial,)

[30] The Joint Universities, Committee had held its first meeting in 1967 in Kimberly, convened by Erika Theron and was a body representative of all the social work training institutions in South Africa. This article was the report compiled by the then secretary, Ms Magda Pelser, who later completed her PhD at the University of Pretoria in 1988 in the area of social work supervision and its role in respect of increased demands on the productivity and effectiveness of social workers

groups, peculiar and unique needs, rather than a reflection of the urgency he expressed regarding €the miserable condition of alienation• (Small, 1987, p. 12).

The report examines the theme of the conference as to how relevant South African social work education is which had been explored by training institutions and welfare organisations. The place of the social work profession, its contribution, the work that is done by social workers as well as the problems and dilemmas facing the profession in the then current context.

The addresses by Prof Adam Small (as described and analysed in the previous section 7.5.2.1 above) and Prof Brunhilde Helm from the University of Bophutatswana[31] are said to have €emphasized the importance of social work intervention and training• (translated from the Afrikaans (Pelser, 1987, p. 59) and that social work would have to ƒmove, in order to remain relevant. The most important findings of the conference are then described.

The first of these relate to the needs of South African society and social work education. These needs are reflected are said to reflect clearly through the composition of different races, groups, homelands[32] and socio-economic trends. It is argued that social work educators must develop their own models in order to make social work relevant for ƒeiesoortige behoeftes, (this term, common in apartheid South African discourse means the ƒpeculiar or unique needs, of specific ƒrace groups,). The importance of community development is also emphasized, with a focus on economic and political development.

The second area is described as the area of social upheaval or dislocation. It is argued that urgent attention should be paid to the relationship between socio-cultural dislocation and social reconstruction. The social work student must be trained to be

[31] University of Bophutatswana (one of the ten ƒhomelands, or Bantustan territories which were set aside for ƒblack, South Africans as part of the apartheid policy) later became the University of the North-West and finally merged with the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher education in 2004

[32] The fact that ƒhomelands, are included in this description implies the approbation and uncritical support of the apartheid status quo.

able to do thorough community needs assessments in order to link socio-cultural aspects with not only with political but also with the social context.

Thirdly, social work policy and planning is discussed. It is stated that this aspect is inadequately covered in social work courses. Furthermore, it is argued that although the issue of ƒpeculiar or unique needs, had been highlighted, that a more universal and more scientific approach should be developed so that social work is able to participate in policy formulation.

The last theme reported on is that of research, which is seen as essential, important and continuously encouraged. There is a call for participatory research, to include members of disadvantaged communities in order to make such research relevant. However, there is a caution that research about basic needs and attitudes of communities should be handled with care. Areas indicated for social work research included social dislocation and change; the consequences of discrimination on welfare service provision; the revision of socio-cultural aspects and the consequences thereof for communities; self-help groups and self-help programmes; the implications of extensive violence and arson in communities and the impact on individuals and families; the results of withdrawal and elimination of resources in communities.

By way of summary it is stated that there had been good interest and fruitful engagement by participants in the conference, and that important guidelines had been established for social work education „ which would make the profession more relevant for the needs of the modern time. However, both the methods of training as well as the content of curricula were important. The importance of adult education and a healthy learning environment for students was emphasised. The importance of respecting the status quo and abiding with structures and policies of organisations was stressed, with a caution about change needing to be embarked on constructively (and by implication cautioning against any confrontational or ƒdestructive, methods of bringing about change):

> €Die noodsaaklikheid om studente te leer om binne die raamwerk, beleid en struktuur van die organisasie te werk en diens te lewer, is noodsaaklik. Indien

verandering ten opsigte van die beleid en struktuur aangebring moet word, moet maatskaplike werkers in staat wees om dit op „n konstruktiewe wyse te laat plaasvind€(Pelser, 1987, p. 62) [€The importance of teaching students to work and render services within the framework, policy and structure of the agency, is essential. If change in relation to policy and structure has to be made, social workers must be able to let this happen constructively•]

7.5.2.3 Louw, L. (1991). Apartheid, poverty, social transformation: A pilgrimage to a non -racial democracy: challenges for social work in South Africa. Social Work/ Maatskaplike Werk , 27(1), 22-27[33]

As one of the first significantly radical articles in the journal, this text by Lionel Louw (1991), provides an historical political context of what he describes as the ƒheritage, and ƒsocial transformation, of South African society during the preapartheid and apartheid periods. Discourse is counter-hegemonic and seems to be without the severe restraint and denial evident in the journal previously. It is significant to note that this article appears in the time immediately after the unbanning of the ANC, the South African Communist Party and other political parties as well as the release of political prisoners in 1990. This meant that for the first time material such as this could be published without reprisal. The article is hopeful and almost celebratory, as is evident in his declaration that:

> €All efforts to maintain the apartheid system have failed. South Africa has reached its moment in history when a new, non-racial constitutional dispensation has become inevitable. The movement towards a negotiated settlement in the country is taking place at breathtaking spead. The process has become irreversible.• (Louw, 1991, p. 25)

He starts the article with a clear anti-colonial, anti-capitalist position:

[33] Lionel Louw, at the time of writing this article, was a lecturer at the University of Cape Town, and Professor and Head of the Social Work Department from 1999-2004. He later became Chief of Staff in the Office of the Premier of the Western Cape Province in 2004 until 2008. He was also the President of the South African Council for Social Service Professions.

> €Since the settlement of European traders at the southern tip of the African continent in 1652, there has been violent conflict between them and the indigenous population. Local resistance to the dispossession of their land was met with brute force and the sophisticated weapons of the settlers finally subjugated the original inhabitants of the land• (Louw, 1991, p. 22)

This brief description of early South African history is in sharp contrast to that of another description of early colonial history by writer Brian McKendrik (1990)[34], who by virtue of his role as Head of Social Work at the University of the Witwatersrand, represented a more ƒprogressive voice, in South African social work and yet obfuscates the power relations identified by Louw (1991):

> €The [Dutch East India] Company did not come to an unoccupied land. Immediately, the whites encountered Khoi („Hottentots ƒ), and although initial contacts were friendly, stock thefts committed by the Khoi led to a war, followed by an attempt on the part of whites to define a boundary to the land which they occupied. This was South Africa ƒs first attempt at separate development.• (McKendrick, 1990, p. 6)

In this text Louw (1991), in a manner not previously seen in this journal, traces the history in terms of both the economic and socio-political context of colonization, white supremacy and subjugation of South Africa‚s peoples through the racist capitalist and imperialist project of both British and Dutch settlers. Providing counter-hegemonic discourse, he describes how during the period of 1899 - 1902 the British and the Dutch colonists struggled for supremacy, both groups perceiving that they had the common interest of keeping black South Africans subjugated, and that €the dye was caste to pit white nationalism against black nationalism• (Louw, 1991, p. 22). The Carnegie Corporation funding of the investigation into the South African poor white problem then led to the first state department of welfare in 1937. Apartheid was implemented after the post-World War II elections by the Afrikaner

[34] Emeritus Professor Brian McKendrick was Professor and Head of the Social Work department at the University of the Witwatersrand from 1984 till 2003. His contribution to social work in South Africa included various monographs and edited texts such as €Introduction to social work in South Africa• (1987) and €Social work in action• (1990), utilized extensively in Social work education programmes.

nationalist government whose ideology then dominated the political landscape. He goes on to state that €After 42 years of this vicious system it is not only being dismantled but its disastrous consequences have to be redressed.• (Louw, 1991, p. 23). One of the consequences of South Africa‚s history and apartheid is described as the abject poverty of the vast majority of South Africans. A further study into South African poverty and a conference in 1984 was the Second Carnegie Inquiry into poverty and development in South Africa, reported on by Wilson and Ramphele (1989), indicated extreme disparities were indicated in income distribution between ƒpopulation groups,, showing the ƒwhite group, at 15% of the total population, earning 64,9% of the total income while the ƒAfrican group,, at 73% of the total population, earning 24,9% of the total income. Other statistics showed unemployment at between 30% and 50%, discrepancies in per capita education expenditure and pupil teacher ratios. The election of the Nationalist party in 1948 had €marked not so much a turning point in South African history, but the intensification of a process which had been going on for three hundred years• (Louw, 1991, p. 24).

He then calls for mass mobilization for a transformed and non-racial democracy in South Africa. He describes the Defiance Campaign as an example of such mass mobilization and quotes from the Freedom Charter of 1955 as €a statement of the alternative society which is now experiencing its birth pains• (Louw, 1991, p. 24):

> €The people shall govern. All National Groups shall have equal rights. The People shall share in the countryƒs wealth. The land shall be shared by those who work it. All shall be equal before the law. All shall enjoy equal human rights. There shall be work and security. The doors of learning and culture shall be opened. There shall be houses, security and comfort. There shall be peace and friendship.•

The repression and violence of the apartheid government of the time that followed and resistance from the people then led to €protests which engulfed the whole country• (Louw, 1991, p.25). From a position of solidarity with the liberation struggle he describes the €waves of protest• which mobilized people and the violent repression of the security forces. However,

> €the idealism and fearlessness of the youth coupled with the strengthening support from the community, constituted a formidable moral force which could not be conquered by the violence of repression.• (Louw, 1991, p. 26).

He then goes on to describe alternative structures which had arisen after the initial inertia following ƒmass relocations and other apartheid practices,. These included civic organisations, street committees, action groups and community advice offices, with increased €social action confrontations• around human rights and social justice. These ƒhuman service organisations, usually affiliated to the United Democratic Front which meant an €umbilical chord to the political mainstream•, played an impœtant role in meeting varied needs of victims of the security forces and government. He also describes the critical role of church as an arena of political struggle, and mentions various forms of resistance action which had mobilized people such as the Dependents Conference of the Council of Churches, the Inter Church Aid programme, the Victims of Apartheid programme and other community based organisations (Louw, 1991).

Social work is then argued to have been challenged by the emerging needs and imminent return of exiles. The social work profession is called upon to ƒreorientate itself, as expressed by resolutions taken at a 1989 conference €Towards a Democratic Welfare System• which include a commitment to become change agents, to forge linkages with the democratic movement in the struggle for democracy, peace and justice; to contribute to and promote appropriate social welfare policy, training, research and community education; to support trade union demands and to explore the possibility of establishing a national union. Social work training institutions are urged to consult with progressive organisations €to develop curricula that will respond appropriately to contemporary community needs.• (Louw, 1991, p. 27).

It may be argued that the publication of this article was editorially expedient, as it was a radical departure from the hegemonic discourse consisting of racism, liberalism, status quo maintenance and white supremacy found in the journal until then. The other South African social work journal, the Social Work Practitioner-

Researcher, had published an article by Louw (1990) entitled "Possible Models of a New Social Welfare Dispensation in South Africa" during the previous year and the editors of Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk would have been aware of the need to demonstrate their support of the impending changes in the South African socio-political landscape.

7.5.2.4 Patel, L. (1991). The evolution of a democratic welfare policy for a post apartheid South Africa. Social Work/ Maatskaplike Werk, 27(2), 154-164[35]

At the time when the transition to a democratic South Africa had started, this article examines proposed welfare policy, largely conceived by the author of the article herself. It is written in the context of the RDP (Redistribution and Development Programme), a broadly socialist policy document characterized by redistribution and social justice principles. Ideologically, the article takes an anti-racist and anti-capitalist position, describing the socio-political context as one of civil war which €has taken its toll of the economy and which has brought untold suffering to millions of people who have been attempting to live in a society which has institutionalized racial domination, and in which a white minority has benefitted disproportionately from the wealth produced by the society as a whole• (Patel, 1991, p. 154). Radical and transformative processes are described which indicate a shift towards social and distributive justice and towards ƒsecure egalitarian development, (Patel,1991, p. 154). Social welfare policies are seen as redistributive and playing a mediating role in class conflicts, between the market and human needs, and between different social forces and institutions in society. She also argues that social movements will play an important role in the evolution of an appropriate social development policy.

Social welfare during apartheid is described as being premised on the principle of privatization with limited state responsibility and neo-conservative economic policies.

[35] Leila Patel was a lecturer in Community social work and social policy in the School of Social Work at the University of the Witwatersrand. As an ANC activist and consultant to the Department of Welfare, she provided primary input into the government,s developmental social welfare policy (The Welfare White Paper of 1997) and became the Department,s chief administrator (Midgely, 2002). Professor Patel now heads the Institute for Social Development in Africa, at the University of Johannesburg.

Personal responsibility for meeting needs through market mechanisms is encouraged and individuals are expected to protect themselves against the ƒcontingencies of life,. Privatisation is seen as being a major contributory factor in the inequalities in health and welfare. The welfare system of the time is described as being a first world model of service delivery, curative, specialized and based largely on urban areas with highly trained staff and state security limited to a small sector of the population.

Popular resistance to apartheid by mainly the African National Congress (ANC) is described from an historical perspective with a focus on the social development initiatives of the resistance movements. She draws on the freedom charter as well as the constitution of the ANC and consultative conferences to outline a welfare policy arising from democratic processes which rest on non-racism and the building of a new society. She argues that the proposed model of service delivery is democratic, participatory and rights based. The strategy will be egalitarian with state interventionism in the economy and in social service provision. Appropriateness of the policy will need to be ensured through the incorporation of a ƒnew set of values specific to the practice of social work, which include equity, democratization and empowerment of individuals, groups and communities and organisations, a belief in people as the driving force of transformation reconciliation and nation building (Patel, 1991).

She concludes with a description of the challenges facing a post-apartheid government, namely scarce resources, skills shortage, the conservative, white character of civil servants running the bureaucracy, the restoration of political and social stability, social disintegration and tensions between central authority and local democracy. Social welfare policy will therefore play an important role in improving the material conditions of the population and the enactment of the future government,s transformative vision (Patel, 1991, p.163).

This article is an example of transformative, radical social work knowledge and discourse, indicative of a shift in ideology and discourse in the journal in keeping with the transition in South African society.

7.5.2.5 Bernstein, A.J. (1993). Rewriting the future of social work education. Social work/Maatskaplike Werk, 29(3), 268-278[36]

This article examines a vision for the future and for the role for social work in South Africa, describing the appropriate curriculum for social work in order to prepare social work graduates to be responsive to the context of a changed society. The writer begins with a description of the dual origins of social work in the Charity Organisation Movement in 1869 in England (focusing on poor individuals who were seen as a risk to the stability of the social system and causing moral degradation) and the Settlement Movement in England and America (focusing on people being affected by unjust social economic and political conditions in which they lived). She then goes on to describe the €quest for professionalization• (Bernstein, 1993, p. 279) and how this contributed to a reduction of interest in social reform as social workers became €stigmatised as servers of the poor• and thus an increase inclinical practice with €people of higher standing• (Bernstien, 1993, p. 270).

She links social power with professionalization and bureaucratisation and argues that there is a need to move towards ƒhumaneness and caring,, humility and the willingness for social workers to learn from their clients rather than being the expert.

Bernstein (1993, p.272) cites C Wright Mills (1974) and calls for the involvement of social workers in both ƒpersonal troubles and public issues, and urges a position which does not ƒblame the victim,. Bernstein (1993) also argues that social work values flow from humanitarian ideals and provide the moral framework for decision making. It is these ideals that €provide the vision• for social work of the future.

In terms of descriptions of mutability (Therborn, 1980), Bernstein argues that there are various ways of achieving such social change and transformation. These include empowerment and self help. She cites Rappaport (1984) and describes empowerment as a process €by which communities give direction to their lives• (Bernstein, 1993, p. 272) although for some empowerment leads only to a ƒsense of

[36] Andrea Joan Bernstein was Professor of Social Work at the University of Natal at the time of writing this article. This article is the inaugural lecture of Professor Bernstein on 31 March 1993.

control, while for others it leads to real and practical control. Power is then explained as the ability to get what one wants, secondly as €the ability to influence others in ways that further one,s own interests• and thirdly as political power. She cites Freire (1970) and describes powerlessness as a state of non-participation, disenfranchisement and economic vulnerability, with alienation from any influence over resources. She argues that the teachings of Freire (1970) from Latin America around adult literacy, cultural action and conscientisation are important tools for empowerment.  By referring to these authors, she is introducing a counter hegemonic discourse for social work, in keeping with the context of social and political transformation of the time.

Bernstein (1993) then turns to the work of Foucault (1980) around the understanding that knowledge and power are one and uses this perspective to argue that clients should be involved in processes of gaining knowledge and be seen as collaborators and participants. This leads her to her ideological position around self-help as the second method to achieve the ideals of a transformed social work of the future.

Rather than focus on structural inequalities and relations of power and dominance, she then calls for the €integration of service delivery systems• as an approach to increasing social pressures. She states the €in a developing country, such as ours, and one in which expenditure on social welfare cannot meet existing levels of need, it is essential that formal welfare services join with informal sources of help, particularly self help groups. She uses discourses of collectivity, constructive action and empowerment, but with the aim of liberal ideological interpellation into self-help, personal responsibility and development. Bernstein (1993) therefore conflates notions of conscientisation, social and political power and collective action, with liberalist ideologies of self help, personal responsibility and agency, returning to the hegemonic discourse of social work of the time.

She concludes by summarizing the themes of her writing as consisting of a shift from dualism to divergence (the focus of social work on the individual rather than both individual and community); from professional to participant (the need to shift towards greater participation from the client); from personal troubles to public issues (a vision of holism and integration); and from empowerment to development (the

reconceptualisation of practice as empowerment and human rights). The curriculum of the Department of Social Work at the University of Natal is then described as consisting of the beginnings of an empowerment model to social work education, with the inclusion of a focus on community work and community development; economic co-operatives; action research and participation; reflexivity among students; and transferable educational programmes of skills and knowledge.

### 7.5.3 Ideologies and discourse in the selected texts of the period 1986 - 1993

The latter part of this period sees a shift from previous ideologies evident in this journal and in other formal social work discourse such as in the various reports on conferences and welfare planning initiatives (Social Workers, Forum, 1989; Patel, 1989; Louw, 1990; Ntebe, 1994). There is however evidence of hybridity in the texts scrutinized, as hypothesized by Janks (1997, p.34) in which pre-transformation and post-transformation discourses appear simultaneously and which are seen as a feature of South African discourse in the 1990s. According to Janks (1997), this hybridity may be expected to continue across texts over a period of time until the society stabilizes and until new discursive hegemony replaces the old.

The ideological interpellation (Therborn, 1980) in this group of texts seems to ƒhail the reader, into a description of the ideal or ƒwhat is good,, namely a just and equal, non-racist society, with a clearer hope for a vision of mutability or ƒwhat is possible, (Small, 1987; Pelser, 1987; Patel, 1991; Louw, 1991; Bernstein, 1993). However, the hybridity of ideologies evident in these texts range from a conservative interpretation and discursive collusion with the apartheid status quo (Pelser, 1987) through to a radical and progressive counter hegemonic discourse (Louw, 1991). For example, there is a very conservative tone in the reporting on the conference of the Eighteenth general meeting of social worker educators, obfuscating and underplaying the confrontational content of Small,s (1987) address at the same conference of the need for transformation and social justice:

> €these needs are reflected clearly by the composition which consists of different race groups, homelands and socio-economic tendencies and phenomena• (Pelser, 1987, p.59)

Small (1987) had been bold in the context of the harsh repression of the time in his statements about the needs of people that arise from apartheid:

> €There is no getting away from it: apartheid is the mould and matrix of South African society, with sadly but truthfully …all the terrible ugliness of it, the hell on earth in varying degrees that it has meant and means for people...The truth is that whatever happens to it from now on, by way of „reform*ƒ*, of „revolution*ƒ* or shades of it, the impact of the thing will be with us, also in its aftermath, for a long, long time …like the impact of Nazism was with the people of Germany for long after the Nazis.•
> (Small 1987, p. 6)

The hegemonic conservative and racist discourse evident in the official summary of the conference by Pelser (1987), regarding descriptions of the context and transformation processes required in South African society, are typically subjected to the €constraining limits of the common structural framework• (Meszaros, 2010) which consistently articulate those fundamental interests. Such limitations and conceptual determinations describe social relations without reference to any temporality and rely on the race and class base of society for their explication. Obfuscation of power relations and the social and historical character of the context, also occurs in descriptions of socio-economic inequalities as *ƒ*differences in needs,, allowing for the maintenance of racist apartheid ideology. Similarly, in the article by Bernstein (1993), the progressive calls towards a socially just and transformed society are made from a position of liberal, individualist ideology. It seems that the tendency to conflate discourses of social justice and transformation, with conservative and liberal discourses of personal responsibility and self help, is a consistent trend and theme in formal social work discourse, enabling obfuscation and reproduction of structural power relations and inequalities.

However, the counter hegemonic discourse emerging during this period provided alternative interpellation of social workers away from the conservative ideologies of the past towards a new conscientisation around social justice and the role of social work. The previously subversive and personal commitments to resistance and social action began to find legitimacy through the new discourse and professional subjectification (Therborn, 1980) towards activism, transformative practice and social action.

## 7.6 Social work discourse in selected articles from the post -apartheid period after 1994

### 7.6.1 Introduction

The new freedom, transition to democracy and political transformation in South Africa of the early post-apartheid context meant numerous policy and legislative changes. The transformation envisaged during the democratic transition had to be translated into new policies and laws (Patel, 2005), with a shift towards developmental social welfare (White paper for social welfare, 1997). This period is characterized by the euphoria of ƒwhat is possible, and therefore much social work discourse in this journal and other publications, revolves around social policy, planning and transformation. Initial articles embraced the new order and its commitment to redistribution and social justice, such as €Community intervention in a society in transition: social action• (Louw, 1994); €Violence and peace: The social worker‚s brief• (Sacco, 1995); and €Effective Intervention roles of South African social workers in an appropriate, relevant and progressive social welfare model• (Ntebe, 1994).

However, the new African National Congress government had soon departed from the RDP and in 1996 adopted the GEAR neo-liberal economic policy framework which included a renewed commitment to capitalist development, the free market and privatization. A shift occurred in social work and welfare towards entrepreneurial discourse, managerialism and the market, with the adoption of the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) and the new Financing Policy of the Department of Social Welfare (1997). This shift from a revolutionary socialist and redistributive programme

towards more conservative neo-liberal and developmental approaches, was also evident in social work texts, being positioned ideologically with the state policy developments in the broader welfare sector. During this period the important €Submissions from the welfare sector to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission• (1999) demonstrates critically reflective discourse on the role of social work in its collusion with the apartheid government.

As in previous periods however, the writings in the journal reflected general support and adherence to the vicissitudes of hegemonic discourse of the time, and so titles towards the end of the 1990s tended to relate to social development; funding issues; policy matters, social change, and poverty. The more radical approaches of the early 1990s became subsumed by developmental and reformist perspectives on social change. Professionalization also remained of central concern.

After 2000, although South African society had undergone political transformation, socio-economic realities increasingly reflected inequality, poverty, social injustice and increasing disillusionment. The long awaited freedom from socio-economic disadvantage and oppression seemed to have been attained only in ideal statutes such as reflected in the new laws and in the progressive South African Constitution (Smith, 2004). South Africa found itself faced with one of the highest gini-coefficients in the world, a low Human Development Index and anger at poor service delivery. The transformation of society which had been stratified along racial lines and the neo-liberal capitalist social formation further polarized the class based society, in spite of social justice ideals. In social work there was a general adherence to hegemonic discourses of social control and status quo maintenance. Neo-liberal discourse was frequently evident during the 2000s, with titles reflecting a return to individual responsibility and the power of agency rather than a critical approach and attention to structural dynamics. During this period there was an increase in titles relating to asset-based approaches, strengths perspectives and empowerment, while maintaining the status quo, such as €A human potential development perspective for community work• (Reynecke, 2006) and €The application of a large group intervention method based on the asset-based approach: A repositioning of training in community development• (Nel, 2006).

Socio-economic transformation seemed dealt with through discourses of multi-culturalism, indigenization and cultural diversity, rather than equality, social justice and anti-racism. The politics of identity are foregrounded while the politics of redistribution recede, evidenced in titles such as €The cross-cultural ravine: Why the bridge is necessary, and how to go about building it• (Jonker and Cronje, 2000); Indigenous SW field practice education: an eco-systems perspective• (Engelbrecht, 2001); €Towards culturally sensitive social work practice: re-examining cross-cultural social work• (Gray and Alligretti, 2002).

### 7.6.2 Discussion of texts from the period after 1994

#### 7.6.2.1 Louw, L. (1994). Community intervention in a society in transition: social action. Social Work / Maatskaplike Werk , 30(4), 295-298

In the context of the South African democratic transition and the liberty to explore alternatives to the hegemonic discourse of the past, Louw (1994), as a respected voice in South African politics and in social work, contextualizes social action as an important form of social work community intervention in South African societal transition. He situates the South African transition to a non-racial democracy in relation to societies in transition globally and describes the South African era as a time when €the ideals to which the majority of marginalized, disenfranchised, poor South Africans aspire are expected to be concretised• (Louw, 1994, p. 295).

Interfusing the activities of the anti-apartheid resistance movement with social action as a form of community intervention in social work and writing in the style of first person plural by referring to €us• and €we•, he successfully interpellates the reader into the position of progressive change agent and participant in the anti-apartheid resistance movement. He then normalizes such social work intervention for readers who previously would have read €against the text• from an estranged position (Janks, 1997, p. 330), due to their ideological positions of status quo maintenance, by quoting social work theorists familiar in South African social work discourse (Brager and Specht, 1973; Rothman and Tropman, 1987) and by positioning social action as the promotion of non-violent confrontation, on a continuum of €consensus building when we use collaborative tactics, to insurrection when resorting to violence as a

tactic• (Louw, 1994, p. 295). He then introduces Alinsky (1972), a radical theorist of social action, and introduces discourse of ƒconfronting the enemy,, ƒseizing power, and ƒmass mobilisation,.

The enemy is then explicated as €racism and economic exploitation as systematized in the unjust system of apartheid...personalized in the government of the day• (Louw, 1994, p. 296). The violent insurrection of the resistance movement is said to have constituted only one of the totality of several strategies in the continuum of social action, thus enabling those readers who would have rejected violence as a strategy, to identify with the general process of social action.

He goes on to trace the various forms of ƒlawful, social action activities engaged in by political formations, faith based organisations, students and non-governmental organisations which then €lent such buoyancy to the resistance movement that a defiance campaign was launched• (Louw, 1994, p. 297). This defiance campaign of occupations, breaking of restriction orders by individuals and a broad gamut of confrontational tactics, culminated in a ƒwatershed event, in 1989 of the 50 000 strong cross-section of marchers, and thus €social action had indeed made its irrefutable impression on South Africa• (Louw, 1994, p. 297).

The reader is then directed towards how the new status in societal relations achieved by the social action initiatives culminating in the 1994 elections, will be used to €promote justice, non-racialism, gender equality and support democracy• (Louw, 1994, p. 297). In conclusion the pursuance by all (once again using the inclusive discourse of €we•) of the goals of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994) is linked to the words by Alinsky (1972) that:

> €History is a relay of revolutions ; the torch of idealism is carried by the revolutionary group until this group becomes the establishment, and then quietly the torch is put down to wait until a new revolutionary group picks it up for the next leg of the run. Thus the revolutionary cycle goes on.•

In this way Louw (1994) reminds the reader that social action is never complete and that the pursuit of change is an ongoing obligation of the social worker.

7.6.2.2 Lombard, A. (1996). Developmental social welfare in South Africa: A theoretical framework. Social Work / Maatskaplike Werk, 32 (2),162-172

An argument is made in this article for a €comprehensive theoretical framework• for understanding the developmental context of social welfare. It is stated that the €switch• to a developmental approach to social welfare is supported by the South African government through the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) and is accepted internationally. Throughout the discussion reference is made to the work of Midgley (1995)[37] and the Draft White Paper for social welfare (1996). Lombard (1996) argues that all developmental social welfare policies and programmes require alignment to the guiding principles of the new social welfare policy of the South African government being €securing basic welfare rights, equity, non-discrimination, democracy, human rights, sustainability, quality services, transparency and accountability, accessibility, appropriateness and ubuntu• (Lombard, 1996, p. 162) and that Midgley,s text (1995) will be utilized to provide the required theoretical framework for the shift to a developmental paradigm.

The adoption of these two discourses as being constitutive of a developmental social welfare theoretical framework, positions the proposed theoretical framework ideologically as liberal, of a rational economic political philosophy, in support of the freedom of economic markets and therefore within the category of €status quo maintenance• (Payne, 2005, p. 11).

It may therefore be argued that the wholehearted embracing of the social development paradigm from a liberal and rational-economic framework and conceptually determined €horizon of the possible• being limited to capitalism (Alexander, 2011, p. 2), as well as the adoption of GEAR by the South African government in 1996, sets the course for the pernicious consequences of neoliberalism such as the extreme levels of inequality and social injustice that is

[37] James Midgely,s 1995 text €Social Development: The developmental perspective to social welfare•, had been enthusiastically embraced in South African social work discourse, especially in the context of post-apartheid social transformation, evidenced by the extensive citing in numerous social work texts that followed.

ongoing in post-apartheid South Africa. The Social Welfare policy of 1997, relatively weak on redistribution and social justice, €embodies numerous tensions.. with neo-liberal caveats dotted throughout the document, which prefigure the direction that macroeconomic policy was soon to take• (Hassim, 2008, p. 180).

Social welfare is said to reflect a €condition which connotes economic, social, political, physical, mental, emotional, spiritual, economic and recreational prosperity, well-being and health, as well as an opportunity for the development and self-actualisation of the nation, i.e. individuals, families, communities and societies•. (Lombard, 1996, p. 163). Lombard (1996, p. 164) cites Midgley (1995) and Zastrow (1993) and states that models of social welfare include the residual, which holds that causes and solutions for problems €lie within the individual• and the institutional view which reflects a belief that an individual,s difficulties are due to causes beyond his or her control•. To these two models she then adds the developmental approach, defined as a €process of planned social change designed to promote the well-being of the population as a whole in conjunction with a dynamic process of economic development• (Midgely, 1995). She then describes social work, together with social philanthropy, social administration and provision of social welfare services and social development, as approaches to social welfare, and maintains that these approaches are the means through which the three models of social welfare (residual, institutional and developmental) are implemented. The residual model is characterized by social philanthropy and social work, the institutional model is implemented through social administration and the developmental model is implemented through social development.

However, she defines social work from a conservative ideological position, stating that its functions are firstly the restoration of impaired social functioning, secondly the provision of resources for more effective social functioning; and lastly the prevention of social dysfunction. This description then locates social work within the residual model, while the overall framework is limited in its conceptualization to an ideological position within the continuities in the €physiognomy of the particular phases of development of the capitalist system• (Meszaros, 2010, p. 11). The situation of this theoretical position ideologically within the interests of the broader socio-economic interests of capital and maintenance of the socio-economic status quo, reflects how

theoretical transformations are subjected to the €constraining limits of the common structural framework• which consistently express or articulate those fundamental interests (Meszaros, 2010).

The social development approach, which focuses on the conscious and overt linking of social with economic development as €two interdependent and mutually reinforcing processes• (Lombard, 1996, p. 165), is then described in terms of an individualistic approach, a communitarian approach and government intervention. It is maintained that the individualistic approach provides excellent opportunities for the poor to engage in productive economic activities through small enterprises and the growth of the economy and that social work is €well placed to provide assistance in personal problems that impede individuals, capacity to cope• (Lombard, 1996, p. 167). The communitarian approach is described in terms of individualist, self-help and personal responsibility ideologies, that social development is best promoted by €people themselves working harmoniously within their local communities• (Lombard, 1996, p. 167). Strategies within the communitarian approach include community development, community action participation and development, and gender and social development. The need for redistribution is mentioned in the strategies for social development by governments and their specialized agencies, as well as meeting basic needs and sustainable development in terms of protection of the environment.

The institutional approach is then elaborated as a strategic approach that combines various social development strategies as it is inspired by €an ideological position that accommodates diverse beliefs• in conjunction with the process of economic development. The outcomes that should be achieved through the implementation of the draft White Paper for social welfare are then boldly described as being comprehensive and integrated services; an holistic approach to a restructured social welfare service delivery including social development, social functioning, social care, social work services, and social security programmes; intrasectoral social development; realization of the objectives of the Constitution and the RD; a balance between rehabilitative, protective, preventative and developmental interventions; and equitable and sustainable financing based on business plans and performance audits (Lombard, 1996).

The responsibility for such social development is said not to be solely that of government, but that there is a collective responsibility and co-operation through partnerships between government and organisations in civil society, communities and the private sector. Social development strategies will be €harmonized• with economic development and although rehabilitation and specialized interventions will be necessary for €high-risk groups• who are vulnerable to particular social problems, they are said not €to be appropriate in all cases• and will need to be refocused to have a €developmental function and foster economic growth•. (Lombard, 1996, p. 171). Citing the Draft White Paper (1996), poverty should be addressed through capacity building, promotion of competence, economic empowerment and community development programmes. Employment opportunities need to be increased as well as €social welfare programmes that facilitate literacy and access to economic and social resource systems that will promote self-sufficiency and independence•. There is a need therefore to reconsider all social welfare programmes and €creatively investigate whether they can be overturned and linked to economic development• (Lombard, 1996, p. 171)

In conclusion, Lombard (1996) overtly states the ideological basis for her argument and makes an appeal that there should be participation rather than resistance to change, and describes this as a choice between conservatism and liberalism, stating that €liberals believe that change is generally good, and that it brings about progress „ especially moderate change... Liberals generally adhere to an institutional view of social welfare.•

7.6.2.3 Green, S[38]. (1998). Community practice: Opportunities for community building. Social Work/ Maatskaplike Werk , 34(4), 362-369

In this article an argument is made that the efforts focusing on €repairing the individual at the psychosocial level rather than on structural change• have failed

[38] Professor Sulina Green is the Head of the Department of Social Work at the University of Stellenbosch

(Green, 1998, p. 362) and that social work practitioners should make a paradigm shift towards social development and translate it into practice. The White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) is described as a culmination of the shift to a developmental social welfare perspective €through which community assets should be mobilized to address social problems•. Social work is urged to stress community building and community practice in order to move into the spheres of social and economic development. Contributing to strengthening of families and communities through community practice at grassroots level is then said to be important in order to play a role in the transformation of society. A feeding project in the town of Stellenbosch is used to offer ideas for how community practice services may be strengthened and expanded. Children and families, whose wellbeing is threatened by what is described as risk factors such as unemployment and low income are the recipients of the project.

The exploratory study of the sample of ƒconsumers, of the feeding project is outlined describing the demographics, relating to language, marital status, literacy levels and employment conditions. An observation is made that the menial nature of the work such as €domestic servants, child minders, garden and farm workers, and factory workers• (Green, 1998, p. 364), was not consistent with the higher levels of literacy among the respondents. The interpretation that the nature of the work relates more to the labour market and high levels of unemployment is not made.

The nature of support systems was found to be mainly family and close friends, offering respondents emotional and material support when in need. The impact of community social problems on the development of children and families, was seen to be of concern.  Strengthening these families and building the community is described as being essential community development strategies. Social workers are called on to respond to €these needs of low-income families in ways that are proactive, advocate for vulnerable people, and emphasise and expand skills in community focused practice that connects capacity building strategies with social and economic development• (Green, 1998, p.365).

Although social justice and transformation discourse is used in this article, the position taken is nevertheless individualist and pathologising. The respondents in the

study are said to require information about job openings and opportunities and about how these jobs can be obtained. Furthermore, there is a need for more infrastructure for hunger and shelter programmes to provide security for residents, basic needs. Language of structural change and transformation is conflated with the individualist view that situates the remedy for social problems with those experiencing the consequences of structural social realities. With an ideology supporting the free market and capitalist relations of production, individuals and their families who find themselves victims of unemployment and low incomes are seen as needing strengthening and greater capabilities to make use of opportunities.

Communities may be built through shared tasks and activities that foster positive connections among individuals, groups, organisations, neighbourhoods and geographical and functional communities. Programmes which will empower and build communities include enhancing healthy child development and parenting skills, care of older children outside of school, youth focused programmes connecting community and economic development, family support and resource programmes, helping low-skilled youths and adults into the mainstream economy, and the promotion of the quality of life of women (Green, 1998). No reference is made to advocacy and transformative interventions in relation to structural racism and inequality nor the legacy of racist apartheid. In conclusion it is stated that social workers should implement the new welfare policy and a paradigm shift towards a developmental approach and strategies which empower families and communities and to preserve their capacity and dignity. The essential task of social welfare practitioners is "improving the quality of families, lives and building community and social justice". (Green, 1998, p. 368). The implication is therefore that social justice is to be achieved through effort and change within individuals and community members themselves rather than in the structural realities contributing to their social problems and experiences of levels of inequality.

#### 7.6.2.4 Submission from the welfare sector to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission [39] (1999)

[39] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission arose out of the final clause of the Interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No 200 of 1993)

The submission from the welfare sector to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, is regarded as an important historical record (Patel, 1999), and includes submissions grouped as those from the €Greater Johannesburg Welfare, Social Service and Development Forum[40]•; the South African National Council fro Child and Family Welfare[41]•; €The National Coalition for Social Services•; and the South African Interim Council for Social Work•. The submissions range from open acknowledgement of collusion and participation in apartheid policies and practices, to a more defensive and denialist account of such complicity. An overview is presented here of these various submissions.

## SUBMISSION OF THE GREATER JOHANNESBURG WELFARE, SOCIAL SERVICES AND DEVELOPMENT FORUM

The submission by the Greater Johannesburg Forum consists of a comprehensive description outlining the purpose of the submission, definitions, the historical context, the institutionalization of apartheid social welfare, apartheid legislation and structures, welfare financing and funding, apartheid practices within social services, personnel practices, training of social workers, repression and resistance, the national security establishment, organisations of social service workers, and the emergence of alternative services. It includes a number of individual submissions in the form of annexures, consisting of personal accounts; a submission by the Black Sash[42]; by SABSWA (South African Black Social Workers, Association); a submission by Social Work Educators at the University of the Witwatersrand; and submissions from specific welfare organisations such as Services for the blind and the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society.

[40] The National Welfare, Social Services and Development Forum, of which the Greater Johannesburg Forum is a part, was launched in 1994 after a National Welfare Summit in 1993, is a coordinating body in civil society on matters affecting social welfare in South Africa and beyond• (National Welfare, Social Service and Development Forum, 2012)

[41] The National Council for Child and Family Welfare (name recently changed to Child Welfare South Africa) is a co-ordinating body tasked with standard setting, lobbying, advocating, research and policy formulation, for all the Child Welfare Societies (non-governmental organisations) in South Africa, which at the time of this submission numbered approximately 180 organisations

[42] The Black Sash was formed in 1955 by a group of predominantly English speaking middle class women to work for social justice and equality initially known as The Women's Defence of the Constitution League. The organisation grew into an avenue for liberal women to oppose government policies by means of marches, convoys, demonstrations and vigils (SA History online, 2011).

In the introductory statements the purpose of the submission is stated to be:

> €to convey to the people of South Africa, particularly the impoverished and the marginalized, the unreserved apologies of the many practitioners, volunteers and organisations in the social services sector in greater Johannesburg who wish to publicly take responsibility for their sectorƒs contribution to human rights abuses. This apology is (a) for all social service practices which were destructive to the wellbeing and dignity of persons, families and communities, and (b) for the failure of individuals and of organisations to honour the stated principles of the sector by taking a firm stand against injustices; to enable our sector to contribute to the process of healing and reconciliation in our country; and to acknowledge the contribution of those individuals and structures who actively promoted positive social service values and principles, often at great cost to themselves and those close to them, and to pay tribute to those concerned.• (Truth and Reconciliation submission from the Welfare Sector, 1999, p. 1)

Through the use of inclusive language to refer to the whole social services sector, the discourse interpellates the reader towards a position of being co-responsible and accountable for both the commission and omissions of apartheid injustices. The section on the historical context is supported by the writings of McKendrick (1987) and Patel (1992), both acknowledged to be progressive writers of the time.

In describing the institutionalization of apartheid welfare, the difficulties associated with functioning as welfare organisations and social workers, given the legislated context of racially separated welfare societies. The extremely racist and patronizing policy discourse is quoted from Circular 29 of 1966 by the then Department of Social Welfare and Pensions, regarding the need for separate welfare societies:

> €that „non-White welfare societies should be established for the various racial groupsƒ and that these should be helped by their white counter parts to reach independence, and then to affiliate to separate national welfare

> bodies …thus they would „enjoy the benefit of White guidance and advice•
> (Truth and Reconciliation submission from the Welfare Sector,1999, p. 4)

This policy document had a powerful effect on service delivery which was further pressurized by the €security establishment• and the financial hold of thegovernment over subsidized welfare organisations. According to the submission, €dissenters were admonished not to mix social work with politics• (1999, p. 4), a mantra frequently encountered even in the current context.

Particularly in the statutory context such as child protection, within the state system of welfare, organisations and social workers had little choice but to render services within the apartheid framework of racist discrimination in relation to social security, Children,s Courts, racially separated welfare departments and fundraising. €All social legislation came to reflect the prevailing [apartheid] ideology• (1999, p.5). Specific apartheid practices within the social services included participation and assistance with the implementation of influx control in terms of the Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act, whereby people, especially from rural areas, were sent home; participation in bureaucratic classification procedures or failure to render services due to the potential €devastating consœquences• of exposure of €incorrect classification•; forced removals and the withholding of pensions to induce people to move off their land; aiding security police abuses through court testimony against political dissenters; and other examples of utilization of racist procedures and institutions.

Concluding the submission, the commitment of social service workers and their organisations to €a just and democratic welfare system which promotes the dignity and wellbeing of South Africans, especially the marginalized and vulnerable• is applauded. However a warning, as if prescient for the current context, is made:

> €despite these victories we are already seeing the danger that certain old patterns could repeat themselves. SO many of those who have always been without services continue to be in this position, and national budgetary priorities are determined in ways which threaten to keep the social services

marginalized, along with those who use them. (Truth and Reconciliation submission from the Welfare Sector,1999, p. 20)

SUBMISSION OF THE INTERIM COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL WORK FOR ACTIVITIES FROM 1981 - 1994

The submission of the Interim Council for Social Work details ways that it had participated in discriminatory practices. While these actions are acknowledged and detailed in the submission, it takes on a somewhat defensive approach, stating:

> €As a statutory body, the Council was sanctioned by the government of the day, and responsible to the Minister carrying the welfare portfolio. It is important to recognise that this sense a professional council always functions in a political context. All its actions are bound within the parameters of a statute, and several of its resolutions need to be endorsed by the Minister before they can be published as regulations. In this sense, such a body has to work with the government of the day, as it will simply not be able to act otherwise• (Truth and Reconciliation submission from the Welfare Sector, 1999, p. 1)

The submission then details the various areas within which it had operated, describing both those omissions and commissions relating to ƒ discrimination, as well as those instances when the Council believed it had acted justly and in a manner challenging the discrimination of the time. The first paragraph describing €ways in which Council participated in discriminatory practices• include for example both the acknowledgement that €people applying for registration being requested to indicate their race and sex•; and defensively that €rules relatng to unprofessional conduct regarded discrimination as unprofessional conduct•

Regarding the encouragement of the study of social work, efforts to facilitate the study of social work (albeit within the framework of apartheid education) are detailed as a positive effort on the Council,s part. The section concludes that €there was no specific campaign• to address the inadequacy of services to the Black, Coloured and Indian people lack of representivity of the social work population

Regarding social work policy, structures and services, the submission defensively details the various actions through memos and meetings calling on the various Ministers actions to address issues of unequal social workers, salaries; incomprehensible structure of welfare services; fragmentation; and its objection to the €Community Welfare Act•. Regarding the lack of €services to black people• it is stated that €no specific reference to this matter could be found [in the records of Council activities]...One issue that does have bearing can be found in the discussion of the Executive Committee with senior government officials...A plea was made to these officials not to plan as if Black people did not exist• (1999, p. 4).

Describing the relationship with the TBVC countries[43], it is stated that Council undertook to register social workers €who had qualified outside of the country•, thus adopting fully the discourse of the apartheid regime. The submission then acknowledges that no opinion had been expressed regarding the justness of the homeland policy and that this issue indicated how much €part of the system council was as a creature of statue• (1999, p.4)

Regarding social Workers, salaries, the submission once again highlights the efforts it had made to ƒaddress the matter, and thatissues with a €bearing on racial discrimination• included drawing attention through a memorandum (1981) to discrimination against Black social workers; differences in salary scales between men and women; curtailment of movement of black social workers.

An acknowledgement of silence relates to an interpretation regarding the expectation of leadership from Council expressed by practitioners in a memorandum following a public meeting in 1989 calling on council €to express itself on infant on issues such as the high infant mortality rate; detention of children; consequences of various draconian laws such as detention without trial; and the plight of the homeless•, to which Council had indicated their position as follows:

[43] The TBVC countries were the so-called independent homelands, or Bantustans of the apartheid era, within the borders of South Africa, namely Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

> €it did not want to become involved in party political matters, or become a tool in political action; it recognized that it did need to raise its voice on poor social circumstances, and it accepted the challenge to do so. It also believed that it was making a contribution to the battle for improved conditions by lobbying for the restructuring of social welfare services•

This was seen to be reflective of the typical view that €characterized much of social welfare thinking at the time, that politics and social welfare have little to do with each other•. Furthermore, there is an acknowledgement of the damaging nature of the disciplinary enquiries for social workers, alleged illegal political involvement, in spite of the social workers being found ƒnot guilty,. Various instances are then described where Council had refused to pursue such disciplinary actions.

In conclusion, the submission states that:

> €The review has detailed some of the ways in which Council implicitly and explicitly colluded with apartheid. As presently constituted, the Interim Council for Social Work apologises for this collusion, and deeply regrets the effect this had on clientele, practitioners and society as a whole.• it had

7.6.2.5 Sewpaul, V [44]. (2001). Economic globalisation and social policy reform: Social work curriculum in the South African context . Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 38(2), 309-323

This article represents a counter hegemonic discourse about the impact of macro-economic policies on social welfare and the need for social work educational institutions to include economic globalisation in their curricula. It critiques welfare formulations in South Africa in relation to key policies namely the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (1994), the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997)

[44] Professor Vishanthie Sewpaul was the Head and Postgraduate Programme Director of the School of Anthropology and Psychology Centre for Social Work at the University of Natal, Durban. She was also the Chair of the Global Standards Committee on Social Work Education and Training until 2004 which culminated in a Global Standards document that was adopted by the General Assemblies of the International Association of Schools of Social Work.

and Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) (1996). It further examines the extent to which the curricula of South African Schools of Social Work €interrogate the relationship between these policy formulations and the relationship between economic globalisation and policy reforms• (Sewpaul, 2001, p. 309).

A critical view is adopted to define globalisation in terms of its transformation of the relations between states, the universalisation of practices and the restructuring of modern capitalist relations. Although the benefits of globalisation are acknowledged, it is argued that its promises and opportunities are thwarted by €structural inequalities, economic imperialism of the North and the lack of integrated, holistic, inter-generational and eco-centric approach to sustainable development and justice• (Ife, 1995, cited by Sewpaul, 2001, p. 310).

The economic environment of countries is said to have an impact on social welfare policies, social work practice and social development and that development planning tends to prioritise economic rather than social development. It is argued that the structural adjustment programmes imposed by the World Bank and the IMF such as the abolition of subsidies, liberalization of prices, reduction of public expenditure and encouragement of the free market and privatization, do not augur well for social development. The negative impact in various African countries, of structural adjustment programmes, include diminished employment opportunities, decline in real wages, rises in costs of living and failures in attempts to alleviate poverty. Governments are said to be €mere executive agencies that administer the rules of the global market• (Bienefeld, 1996, cited by Sewpaul, 2001, p. 311), with world financial institutions and donors being the new colonial masters.

Data is provided €which bring into question the notion of redistributive justice• (Sewpaul, 2001, p. 312) in South Africa with its extreme rates of inequality evidenced by one of the highest Gini-coefficients in the world. The failure to implement redistributive policies and attain a socially just order is due to the €debilitating debt burden• and the World Bank,s negative views on redistribution (Sewpaul, 2001). There are furthermore, inherent contradictions in policy notions of participation, empowerment and development and that of the free market economy.

The post-apartheid South African context is then described, with its entrapment in the neo-liberal economic framework of GEAR with its €fiscal orthodoxy• and narrow fiscal approach (Sewpaul, 2001), linked to the demands of the global economic context. Trends include increased unemployment, a poor actual GDP growth rate and lack of achievement of GEAR targets. An inverted pattern occurs whereby the economy controls the polity and where €national governments support foreign direct investment and economic growth at the expense of the needs of local citizens• (Sewpaul, 2001, p. 315). The participatory approaches of the White Paper for Social Welfare are therefore unable to cohere with the macro-economic policy of GEAR.

The research study conducted with respondents from South African Schools of Social Work, found that they viewed economic globalisation as the most important aspect of globalisation for inclusion in the social work curriculum, due to rapidly changing social welfare policies with a shift towards the state being a €purchaser• rather than a €funder• of welfare services.

In a manner not generally seen in dominant social work discourse, a critical ideological position is taken which uncovers contradictions and structural realities which support the neo-liberal capitalist economic order. The Financing policy which was designed to promote the developmental state is said to €reflect internal inconsistencies with its market-related language that reflects capitalist principles• (Sewpaul, 2001, p. 316). The discourse of the financing policy is therefore said to centre around €market related forces, tenders, measurable outputs, efficiency, monitoring, outsourcing, business plans, control and sanctions• (Sewpaul, 2001, p.316).

The reasons cited for inclusion of macro-economic policy by respondents in the study, included the need to be able to integrate the micro with the macro levels of analysis and intervention, to understand the link between social and economic development and that economic globalisation constituted the context within which social work practice occurred. It was important for social workers to be able to locate €private troubles• within the public domain, and to locate social problems such as retrenchments and unemployment within economic discourses. It would also help

social workers to locate human agency within the globalisation process and adopt more radical and macro approaches in intervention.

The article concludes by stating that social workers would benefit by developing an understanding of the macro-political and „ economic factors that shape people‚s lives and that the adoption of Freirian strategies of empowerment and consciousness raising through praxis, communities will be able to recognize structural inequalities €and transcend their own sense of powerlessness• (Sewpaul, 2001, p. 319). Social workers need to facilitate the formulation of appropriate policies and identify concrete programmes within a developmental framework. Critical theory provides the link between the personal and the political, and allows for a €structural analysis of oppression in terms of race, class and gender and allows us to ƒsee a way in which policy and practice become linked; good social work practice, from a critical perspective, is inevitably about policy and about policy change,• (Ife, 1997 cited by Sewpaul, 2001, p. 320). Social workers should bridge the gap between the global and the local, engage in global action and should extend practice from the individual to the structural in terms of both analysis and action. Finally, educators are seen to play a vital role in such a challenge.

7.6.2.6 Gray, M[45]. and Collet van Rooyen, C.A.J [46]. (2002). The strengths perspective in social work: Lessons from practice. Social Work/ Maatskaplike Werk , 38(3), 193-201

The strengths perspective became part of dominant social work discourse as systems theory with its sociological focus provided a shift from a psychodynamic and biomedical model of intervention (Bender, Davidson and Skolnik, 1997; Saleeby, 1999; Payne, 2005). The writers of this article position the strengths perspective as radical and critical in relation to other social work approaches. In motivating why the strengths perspective offers an alternative to other models, the writers seem to make

[45] Professor Mel Gray is professor of social work and Head of School of Social Sciences at the University of Newcastle, New South Wales, Australia. She was previously the Head of Social work at the University of Natal, South Africa during the 1990s

[46] Colin Collett Van Rooyen is a consultant social worker from South Africa and an Honorary Associate of the University of Newcastle, Australia

unnecessarily generalized statements in order to substantiate their claims about the merits of the strengths perspective. They argue that strengths-based approaches offer an alternative to these models because they €question the dominant deficit-based mental health paradigm•, which assigns disempowering labels, anti-oppressive practice models that €construe clients as oppressed and immediately engender feelings of powerlessness• and rigid mindsets such as positivism, ardent feminism and structuralism that lead practitioners to approach the helping situation with preconceived ideas• (Gray and Collett van Rooyen, 2002, p. 193, own italics). Domains in which strengths-based approaches operate include for example solution-focused brief therapy, empowerment models, asset based community development and narrative approaches and inductive social policy.

An €alternative lexicon• is proposed by Saleeby(1999) in order to replace the client‚s vocabulary of problem and disease. The writers caution against failing to move from reflection to action as this would leave the perspective as €simply a hollow framework• (Gray and Collett van Rooyen, 2002, p. 194), and argue that the strengths perspective accepts and acknowledges the resilience of people, their ability to endure extreme hardship and survive seemingly insurmountable problems and to survive adversity and grow out of challenges. Social workers are said to often work in €rigid bureaucratic contexts in which the €ideology of pathology and managed care options predominates• (Gray and Collet van Rooyen, 2002, p. 195), and that this creates a challenge to situate power in the hands of the clients. The writers seem to be specifically critical and to view the strengths-based approaches in opposition to structural and anti-oppressive approaches. In order to show that strengths-based approaches are an alternative to €disempowering• approaches, the writers then conflate their argument about powerlessness among clients which results from such bureaucracy, with what they describe as clients, feelings of powerlessness caused by the conception of the client as oppressed. This is discussed together with replacing the €pathology culture• (Gray and Collett van Rooyen, 2002, p. 196) which is said to require a shift towards a social constructivist perspective which will accept the importance of a strengths vocabulary, mutuality, acceptance of ambiguity and unpredictability, collaborative assessment.

A strengths perspective is said to require conscious effort; language around deficits should be replaced with questions around €what is working well?•; assets and identification of €gaps• rather than needs should be a focus; prevailing negative myths should be shattered; responsible €positive ownership• should be encouraged through involvement; needs and deficits do require some acknowledgement in order to avoid alienation; €politics• are said to €feed on deficits and the embellishment of needs and problems• (Gray and Collet van Rooyen, 2002, p. 199) and should therefore be dealt with carefully; and culture and history relating to definitions of strength should be considered.

Finally, the writers adopt a defensive position around oppression and injustice while still implying that structural and anti-oppressive approaches mean discounting the lived experience of people. They state that €This is not to say that injustice, oppression, distress and unhappiness do not exist, neither does it denigrate the very real role played by social structures in shaping people,s problems and woes...it humbles us as professionals to get down from our expert perches and to privilege the knowledge and experience of those who we serve• (Gray and Collet van Rooyen, 2002, p. 200, own italics). The strengths perspective is therefore presented in contradiction to many other approaches, which themselves claim to respect strengths, empower people and bring about social justice and transformation such as feminist, critical, radical, structural and empowerment approaches (Payne, 2005).

7.6.2.7 Gray, M and Allegritti, I [47] (2002). Cross-cultural practice and the indigenisation of African social work. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 38(4), 324-333.

Gray and Allegritti (2002) explore the notion of €indigenization as cross-cultural practice• and state that various African writers were making interesting contributions to the debate on indigenisation in social work, but that their work was at an exploratory stage as they had not yet explored how Western social work was different from relevant indigenous social work practice in Africa. The writers

[47] Inta Allegritti is a lecturer in the School of Social Sciences, University of Newcastle, New South Wales, Australia

distinguish between social work as a western invention and a product of modernity, and describe indigenization as a postmodern notion which is a form of resistance to the cultural homogenizing and universalizing effects of globalisation. They argue that there is a difference between Western and African understandings of culture and that there is a need for an historical perspective to understand both past and present influences like colonization and globalisation (Gray and Allegritti, 2002, p. 324). Extensive cross cultural dialogue on principles, ethical norms and appropriate practice are thus necessary in order for a €truly cross-cultural world• to take shape (Gray and Allegritti, 2002, p. 324).

Themes in the arguments include the difference between Western and African values, the lasting impact of colonialism on Africa, the cultural basis for indigenization, the notion that culture is more important than values, that indigenization is a cross cultural practice and requires dialogical, postmodernist rather than existing or modernist models, and that indigenization is a form of resistance and a medium for transformation from €externally imposed to locally developed models of practice and solutions• (Gray and Allegritti, 2002, p. 324).

International literature is cited which calls for caution in ƒadapting imported ideas to fit local needs, and inappropriate casework models and preferably drawing from international influences while €developing models of social work education and practice relevant to local and regional contexts and cultures• (Gray and Allegritti, 2002, p. 325). Finding local solutions as well as finding commonalities in universal social work values was necessary. The alternative of social development in South African is said to show how local models of education and practice may be developed.

Indigenisation had entered social work discourse at the 16th International Congress of Schools of Social Work in 1972 and various writers that had contributed to the debate both in South and Southern Africa generally are cited (Tabak, 1991; McKendrick, 1990, Louw, 1991; Patel, 1991; Jonker and Cronje, 2000; Gray and Allegritti, 2002; Gray and Allegritti, 2003; Kaseke, 1998; Mupediswa, 1997; Osei-Hwedie, 1996; Midgley, 1998).

The writers disagree with the definition offered by Osei-Hwedi (2001) that indigenization refers to €the idea that the theories, values, and philosophies that underlie practice must be influenced by local factors•. They argue that indigenous social work practice is central to postmodernity due to African social work being a product of colonization and Western ways of doing things, and that the definition should therefore include not only €local factors• but also €local cultures• (Gray and Allegritti, 2002, p. 326).

Having declared that indigenous social work is about the incorporation of a cross-cultural dimension, the writers argue that an enlightenment view is not sufficient as culture is seen as €separate, fixed and internally uniform• and that the preferred postmodernist view sees culture as fluid, interactive, overlapping, negotiable, changing, and redefining, not necessarily confined to national borders• (Gray and Allegritti, 2002, p. 328). They then reframe indigenization in terms of multi-culturalism as a policy and state that €the basic premise of multiculturalism is acceptance and celebration of cultural diversity within the nation-state•, as if the move towards indigenization is only related to such a €celebration of diversity•. Multiculturalism is said to be part of a liberal framework, the values of which are akin to those of social work, however, that it should include a postmodern discourse on cross-cultural dialogue in order to move beyond the €ethnic awareness school of multiculturalism•.

Drawing on the work by Marden (1997) on the tensions between the role of the nation-state, sovereignty, culture and globalisation, Zimbabwe is used as an example of the power of the state predominating in €its treatment of white farmers•, despite global human rights charters, where €cultural pretensions of modernism are embodied in problematic statist conceptions of sovereignty• (Gray and Allegritti, 2002, p. 330). The writers position themselves externally to Africa (writing from Australia) and ask who €the Other• is in Africa, given the troubling history of the divisive features of dispossession and colonialism: €how are *they* going to devise a future in which diverse cultures can live together in harmony?• (Gray and Allegrittii, 2002, p. 331 italics added).

The writers then question the nature of the national €historical Other• and how this Other in the African context is construed as colonialism and globalisation. They

misapply Zizek,s argument (1992, as cited by Marden, 1997, p. 24) that €society,s loss of identity and lack of fulfilment is not attributable to this imagined Other, but to its own antagonism which remains largely obscure because of the propensity to transfer this internal negativity onto the Other•. What Marden (1997) and Zizek (1992, cited by Marden, 1997, p. 24) are in fact arguing is about the anti-semitism and antagonism of Eastern Europe towards the figure of ƒthe Jew,as the €Other• and source of destabilization of society. The figure of the Jew then becomes the source of a fundamental antagonism, namely, a failed sense of selfhood and the hatred of the €Other• isthen also a hatred of the self.

The writers invert Zizek,s (1992) argument (Marden, 1997, p. 24), applying it as if it is about the Jew hating and €Othering• the Eastern European oppressor, and thisbeing similar to construing colonialism or globalisation as the €Other• in the indigenization debate. The argument may have applied in its logic to descriptions of the colonized and the African as the hated €Other• by colonial powers However, it is used by Gray and Allegritti (2002) to describe the transfer of internal negativity and self hatred by the African onto the colonial ƒOther, when they state: €Could this be one dynamic at work in the indigenization debate in Africa? Could it be that construing colonialism or globalisation as the €Other•, masksthe confusion Africans feel with their own changing cultural identity?• (Gray and Allegritti, 2002, p. 331, italics added).

In order to indigenize social work they argue that a dialogical approach is needed, that a clear definition of African culture should be offered, that there should be a reactivation of tradition and that indigenization should be seen as a form of resistance to €notions of cultural homogeneity through global transformation of industrial capitalism and mass-market consumerism•, and to write and teach from indigenous case studies (Gray and Allegritti, 2002, p. 332).

In attempting to contribute to discourse on indigenization, the writers, from their position external to Africa, obfuscate the power relations of current and historical Western and racist domination and oppression. They offer a superficial analysis of indigenization as a €cross-cultural practice• without exploring aspects that relate to the consequences of colonial oppression and denigration and the need for critical conscientisation as a process of liberation and humanization (Freire, 1972; Fanon,

1967). Furthermore, although arguing for resistance to the global homogenization of culture, in fact homogenize €African culture• as if it is a unitary concept. In keeping with their own postmodern position, the €indigenization debate• is approached from an ideological position of liberal multiculturalism and the ideal of achieving a €truly cross-cultural world• as if ongoing postcolonial structural inequalities and global injustices are not critical to the debate.

7.6.2.8 Nel, J.B.S.[48] (2006). The application of a large group intervention method based on the asset -based approach: A repositioning of training in community development. Social Work/ Maatskaplike Werk, 42(3/4), 234-250

This article deals with an approach intervention which is gaining discursive dominance in social work within a developmental perspective, namely the asset based community development approach (Emmet, 2000, Mathie and Cunningham, 2003). It is argued that the outcomes of community development, seen to be the €most appropriate way to address inequities in South African society• (Nel, 2006, p. 234) have been ƒdisappointing,. The cause of these failures is ascribed to the focus on deficiencies and deficits, an emphasis on felt needs and problems and the role of community developer as expert. The asset based approach is said to be a viable alternative as it focuses on assets and not needs and is geared towards self-reliant sustainable development.

The ABCD approach, as a ƒlarge group intervention method,, is presented as €a radical alternative• to current intervention models, which are said to be deficit-focused. The pathologising trend of labelling in the mental health paradigm is then conflated with anti-oppressive practice models which are said to €construe clients as oppressed and which lead to feelings of powerlessness•. In the same vein, €positivism, ardent feminism and structuralism• are said to €lead practitioners to approach the helping situation with preconceived ideas that influence the way they listen to, hear the client‚s story and thus the way in which they design their interventions• (Gray and Collet van Rooyen, 2002, cited by Nel, 2006, p. 234). The

[48] Professor Hanna Nel is the Head of the Department of Social work, University of Johannesburg

theoretical origins of the ABCD approach are linked to Carl Rogers, humanistic client-centred approach that €the individual has a sufficient capacity to deal constructively with all of those aspects of his life which can potentially come into conscious awareness•. Rather than this leading to an interpretation as one of conscientisation and subsequent social action, the ABCD approach €advocates a range of strategies aimed at developing the capacities and assets of communities and people• (Nel, 2006, p. 235). Given the basic human rights and social justice tenets of the South African constitution and social welfare policies, the ANCD approach is said to be the €intervention of choice• (Nel, 2006, p.235).

Conflating the ABCD approach with discourse of social justice, human rights and radical approaches, obscures the underlying ideological position of self-reliance, individual responsibility and the role of agency over structure. By using discourse which appeals to social workers committed to social change and social justice, the ABCD approach interpellates the practitioner into status quo maintenance and support of the hegemonic capitalist economic order (and in the South African context still predominantly ƒrace, based). The ABCD approach is entirelycongruent with he neo-liberal framework with its discourse around the free-market, entrepreneurship and individual responsibility.

Changes in global development paradigms are described, highlighting their impact on €economic and political relationships, social development, civil leadership and flow of information and the role of the community in social change• (Nel, 2006, p. 235). During the post-war period, development was understood within an inductrial paradigm. Economic development was seen as being equal to the €expansion of large corporate operations• with information being distributed in a top-down manner and €the community seen as a ƒbowl, into which policies and projects were dumped•. This paradigm then shifted towards a global/local paradigm due to a greater emphasis on €human rights and freedom• and €booms in information technology and micro-electronics•. This paradigm is described in capitalist, free-market discourse and is said to be characterized by €niche markets targeting quality, a focuson end products and consumers, and horizontal structures driven by production• (Nel, 2006, p. 237). Organisation structures being €flattened• with €webs of inclusion• is said to bring about a focus on €anticipatory learning• and the development of a vision€while

trusting individuals and groups to deliver until it is clear that they cannot do so• (Nel, 2006, p. 237)

It is in such descriptions of €producing individuals who can function in these new organisations, who connect in flexible and web-like organizational structures, where connection and evolution are more important than control• (Nel, 2006, p. 237), that concepts such as disciplines of personal mastery, the scrutinizing of mental models, building a shared vision, team learning and systems thinking, are embraced. Two ƒsolutions, are then said to be sought in work with communities. The frequent €focusing on the community‚s needs, deficiencies and problems• commanding the vast majority of financial and human resources• is contrasted with €the pœth on which there is a clear commitment to discovering the capacities and assets of a community• (Kretzman and McKnight, 1993, cited by Nel, 2006, p. 239). The implication is therefore that the community is competent and able to achieve its own vision and adequate functioning.

The shift towards an asset based approach seems therefore to be an attempt to move even further away from redistribution, social justice and transformation of structural power relations towards self-sufficiency without the drain of resources from corporate capitalist profit making.

The ƒfelt needs approach‚is then said to lead to the acceptance by communities of €these negative images about itself...as a result, many communities of lower income are now environments of service, where their behaviours are affected because residents come to believe that their well-being is reliant on external sources...they become consumers of services, with no incentive to become producers• (Nel, 2006, p. 239). Such discourse obfuscates in dramatic form, the privilege and powerful inequalities evident in the elite in having access to expensive resources, services and benefits of the capitalist order. It further denies historical and contextual realities that deny the poor equal resources and services.

ƒTraditional, community work approaches are then criticised, ignoring the many various principles of participation, holism, social justice, human rights and anti-colonial focus (Ife, 2002). The main characteristics of the asset-based approach are

said to be that it begins with assets rather than problems, that it is ƒinternally focused, and that it is ƒrelationship driven,. Large group interventions for organizational and community change are then described as a methodology to apply the asset based approach, allowing for €active and authentic participation• (Nel, 2006, p. 242). The facilitator is required to €help community members enter into true dialogue with each other, (Nel, 2006, p. 245), however, there is no consciousness raising or critical conscientisation (Freire, 1970), acknowledged to be a critical process for praxis leading to change.

The application of such an intervention method is then described as used with a group of Masters social work students at the University of Johannesburg during a workshop. Vision development is achieved through imagining the perfect community, themes are identified, aspects to minimize the risk of obstacles to this vision are identified, planning for action is done and then implementation and sustainability plans are developed.

The article concludes by arguing that due to social transformation which tends to €decouple the future from the present• so that the need in development is not related to one of adaptation but one of fundamental transition to a new social order. In the dominant discourse of neo-liberalism and obfuscation of social injustice and distorted power inequalities, the approach is said to €increase the commitment and energy of individuals in oragnisation and communities to take responsibility for their own development• (Nel, 2006, p. 248).

7.6.2.9 Lombard, A. (2008). Social work an economic partner in social development. Social work/Maatskaplike Werk, 44(2), 121-142

In this article Lombard (2008) discusses the poverty alleviation and economic development imperative of social work to €extend its role beyond human and social development to engage in economic activities that facilitate economic opportunities.• (2008, p. 123). She links this imperative to the United Nations, aim to reduce poverty by half by the year 2012 and argues that poverty is an indicator that an economic system is not working as well as it should. She supports the view of the world bank that the priority in development should remain that of maximizing the potential of the

poor for increasing labour productivity and that social development should reduce poverty and provide economic opportunities for all (Lombard, 2008). The argument is made that in providing income through social grants, the South African government €neglected its responsibility to, in addition, provide social services and integrated human, social and economic development• (Lombard, 2008, p. 122).

In the typically dominant discourse of capitalism, free market and personal responsibility, the solution to inequality and poverty is presented as residing with the promotion of the €rights of poor people to social and economic development• (Lombard, 2008, p. 122) rather than in the transformation of structural realities of the neo-liberal economic system and unequal power relations arising from within the post-apartheid and post-colonial South African context. This ideological position is emphasized in the argument that the call for redirecting and adapting the welfare system to facilitate national economic growth made by McKendrick (1987) implies interventions and approaches that contribute to not only human and social and economic development through income transfers but also to productive self employment (Midgley, 1996). The emphasis on €productive and self-employment• (Lombard, 2008, p. 123), rather than structural change, once again situates the cause of poverty with those who are victims of the system rather than the system itself.

A description is given of the research study that was conducted with a sample of nine social workers who had been involved in social work interventions related to economic development activities, from organisations or enterprises such as a non-governmental organisation, a development agency, a BEE (black economic empowerment) company, and an arts and crafts enterprise for job creation. The economic development activities all related to various income generating projects rather than employment. Themes are then presented that were identified in the research findings. These were firstly, reasons for linking social work with economic development (to address poverty thorough work creation, securing income for sustainable livelihoods, €to curb the culture of dependency• and the belief that social workers €have the passion and expertise to effect change• [Lombard, 2008, p. 126]).

The capacity of social workers for economic activities was a further theme, which was said to require a clear vision for work with an economic focus, the utilization of knowledge and skills and the development of a €business attitude towards service delivery• (Lombard, 2008, p. 127). The €business mind and attitude• included the attachment of economic value to time and productivity; understanding how salaries are calculated; drawing up personal budgets; costing and budgeting of projects; and observing successful small and micro-enterprises.

Other themes included descriptions of the process for economic development, highlighting the importance of the project being driven by the needs of the beneficiaries; management of the project which should include the empowerment of management structures; training which should prioritise entrepreneurial and human skills training; and issues around finances and sustainability, which related to difficulties in securing loans for micro-enterprises and the role of incentives in ensuring sustainability (such as the acquisition of skills, production of items, and the opportunity to €produce items and earn R30,00 to take home „ all on the same day• (Lombard, 2008, p. 131); the product and marketing.

The last three themes related to the potential impact of social work on economic development, the challenges of a paradigm shift to an economic focus and lessons learnt. Of note is the comment that respondents in the study had indicated that the €decisionto make a shift in practice to include economic development activities is embedded in the vision of addressing poverty and unemployment• (Lombard, 2008, p. 135). This seems to imply that the responses of participants in the study is determined by their knowledge and ideological frameworks of seeing solutions in terms of economic development within the status quo of the prevailing social order rather than in a counter hegemonic discourse of structural change.

Pervading discourse regarding the desirability of achieving change within the current order and status quo maintenance is legitimized by stating that €social workers who made the shift to seek and implement productive economic strategies to address poverty have a clear commitment, vision and belief that they can make a difference• (Lombard, 2008, p.137). Furthermore, such change efforts are described in activist terms, that €social worker should not hesitate to be the *f*champions, in the

community, to initiate the processes of productive economic strategies• (Lombard, 2008, p. 137), thus interpellating social workers into a sense of *f*making a difference, by contributing to social change through poverty alleviation, from within a status quo maintenance position. The view that a €culture of dependence• exists is emphasized by stating that €social work should seek strategies to counteract the culture of dependence by advocating for and facilitating processes for loans for long-term development, as well as grants for immediate relief.• (Lombard, 2008, p. 137). The writer uses hegemonic discourse of the free-market and liberalisations through statements such as €Newly formed micro-enterprises should therefore not prevent product growth out of fear of shared markets and hence smaller incomes, but should rather strategise around creating better opportunities for higher income through profit-sharing.• (Lombard, 2008, p. 139).

The legitimacy of the previous unease around how social work can make an effective contribution to economic development (Midgley, 1996), is challenged in view of €social work‚s developmental practice framework which encourages a shift to sustainable livelihoods• (Lombard, 2008, p. 139) citing Midgley (1996) who states that €a developmental approach can ensure their [the poor and vulnerable] integration into society „ as productive citizens who not only contribute to their own wellbeing but also to the development of the community• (Lombard, 2008, p. 139).

In the conclusion however, having consistently supported neo-liberal discourse in the article, the writer seems to make a slight ideological shift and acknowledges the need to understand and challenge South Africa‚s macro-economic policy framework namely the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) and that the engagement of social workers in economic development should be seen as a specialized field.

7.6.2.10 Reyneke, R[49]. (2009). Using adventure to increase the emotional intelligence of the poor. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 45(1), 47-61

[49] Dr Roelf Reyneke is the Head of the Social Work Department at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein

This article exemplifies the dominant discourse of blaming the poor, maintaining the macro-economic status quo and the complicity of social work in reproducing inequality. The use of adventure experiences which lead to increased emotional intelligence is proposed in this article as a solution to the €poverty trap•in which ƒclients, that social workers encounter, find themselves. Such interventions will enable clients to €gain power of decision and action over their own lives by reducing the effect of social or personal blocks to exercising existing power• (Reyneke, 2009, p. 47). The empowerment of people €in poor communities• is equated with the development of human potential and emotional intelligence. The article is an example of blaming and pathologising discourse which ignores the historical and structural determinants. The ideological position of the writer is overtly stated and €the purpose of this article is to redefine poverty and to demonstrate and describe how adventure programmes can be used to empower the poor so that they can experience improved adaptation to their environment and in that way become well-adjusted, well-motivated citizens.• (Reyneke, 2009, p. 47). Various possible reasons are given for why €these people are not even willing to tryand find a job•, including €a lack of emotional energy to look for a job, laziness, a lack of life skills, or it may even be that they or someone close to them draws an income in the form of a grant.• (Reyneke, 2009, p. 48).

The Department of Social Development (2006) is cited as stating that €most people receiving disability and child support grants are not motivated to join the workforce• (Reyneke, 2009, p. 48). The high rates of unemployment among social security beneficiaries are said to indicate that €there are many people who could contribute to the economic growth of the country; they just need to be activated to do so by means of improving their skills and intrinsic motivation• (Reyneke, 2009, p. 48). In order to make an impact on €absolute poverty• development should also focus on the enrichment of people‚s lives by empowering the individual and eradicating €emotional poverty•. This type of €emotional poverty €, it is argued, could be realised through €playing the empowerment game and through theutilization of adventure programmes• (Reyneke, 2009, p. 49).

The programme, a group therapeutic model, is based on an organisation from the United States of America called €Project Adventure•. It is described as offering participants the opportunity to be placed in a situation of adventure, removing them from their €state of homeostasis• and being placed in a situation where €he/she experiences a measure of psychological and physical stress in order to grow• and then in the restoration of homeostasis, growth and development take place. An holistic approach is said to occur, whereby the behavioural, cognitive psychological and affective receive attention. The process is characterized by the €creation of a safe environment for the participant, but one that is marked by surprise, challenges and fun•, giving participants the opportunity to try potentially difficult and sometimes €terrifying• activities in a caring environment. Care is taken to provide a sense of security so that participation occurs only at a level in which the participant feels comfortable. Clear norms are established and a contract is negotiated, focusing on emotional and social competencies. An experiential learning process is followed, with phases including experiencing, sharing, processing, generalizing and applying the knowledge gained.

The article then describes how to facilitate such an adventure process therapeutically, with work that is required €at the edge• in order for growth in self concept and empowerment to occur, referring to the work of various theorists such as Payne (2005) and Zastrow (2001). In this regard, awareness is encouraged around components such as defences, feelings, physiology, beliefs, inner conversations, supports and the use of metaphors. It is then argued that emotional intelligence can be learned, and affects €many aspects of an individual,s mental and physical wellbeing. A high EQ [emotional intelligence] will also facilitate the ability to get along with other people, to make sensible life choices, and to succeed in school, one,s career and community life.• (Reyneke, 2009, p. 58). The article concludes by stating that such adventure empowerment unique outcomes are generated, leading to €empowerment of participants so that they can adapt more successfully to their environment and in so doing become well-adjusted, well motivated citizens, that is, people who could successfully carry the burden of creating a better South Africa and reducing their own economic and emotional poverty• (Reyneke, 2009, p. 59).

7.6.3 Ideologies and discourse in the selected texts of the period 19 94 € 2010

This period sees a shift in discourse away from the hybridity of the previous period of transition (1986-1993) with the writings reflecting a certain optimism for the future. In keeping with the policy directions of government, ideologies within the social development paradigm are predominant, with many articles reflecting neoliberal analyses and approaches. The responsibility of social work in relation to economic development is emphasized, making social workers partners in economic development through entrepreneurship and income generation. Processes of reform within a free-market, rational economic policy framework are supported, with discourses of strengths, assets, personal responsibility and individualism gaining popularity. The role of social work is therefore consistently, as was the case historically in previous eras, supportive of the hegemonic ideologies of the state. In the context of post-apartheid South Africa, this is shown to mean acceptance of t dominant neoliberal capitalist discourse, status quo maintenance and individualist perspectives.

There is some evidence however of counter hegemonic discourses such as critical views about the impact of macro-economic policies on social welfare and the need for social work educational institutions to include economic globalisation in their curricula. More radical and critical discourse occurs such as in the reflective texts of the submissions to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. These discourses reflect ideologies of radical transformation and social justice.

# CHAPTER EIGHT: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS: CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

## 8.1 Introduction and demographic details of participants

This chapter presents an analysis of the data from group conversations conducted with social work educators at South African Universities during 2007 and 2008 regarding experiences of their own knowledge development and social work education juxtaposed with the socio-political context of the time. Thematic content and critical discourse analysis is used to analyse and interpret this data, which is presented in the form of discussions around themes identified both inductively (data-driven) and deductively (theory driven) A theoretical framework for the analysis of social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change was utilized in order to explore ideologies, ideological processes, forms of knowledge and practice and sites of ideological contestation.

Thirty seven educators from eleven universities participated in ten group conversations. Table 19 provides details about their gender, ƒrace,, years of experience and highest degree.

| Institution | Gender | €Race•* | Language | Highest degree | Qualifying year | Years of experience |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| KZN | F | €I• | English | PhD | 1979 | 29 |
| KZN | F | €A• | IsiZulu | M.A. | 1993 | 15 |
| KZN | F | €I• | English | M.A. | 1993 | 15 |
| KZN | F | €I• | English | PhD | 1991 | 17 |
| KZN | F | €W• | English | M.A. | 1994 | 14 |
| US | F | €W• | Afrikaans | PhD | 1971 | 36 |
| US | F | €C• | Afrikaans | M.A. | 1983 | 25 |
| US | F | €C• | Afrikaans | M.A. | 1993 | 15 |
| US | F | €W• | Afrikaans | M.A. | 1983 | 25 |
| UWC | F | €C• | Afrikaans | M.A. | 1983 | 25 |
| UWC | F | €W• | English | PhD | 1976 | 32 |
| UCT | M | €A• | Isizulu | M.Soc.Sc | 1997 | 11 |
| UWC | F | €W• | English | PhD | 1962 | 46 |
| UWC | F | €C• | Afrikaans | M.A. | 2000 | 8 |
| UCT | F | €W• | English | M.S.W. | 1969 | 44 |
| UFH EL | M | €W• | English | M.A. | 1997 | 11 |
| UFH EL | F | €I• | English | B.A. | 2005 | 3 |
| UFH EL | F | €I• | English | M.A. | 1983 | 25 |
| UFH A | M | €A• | IsiXhosa | M.A. | 1982 | 26 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NNMU | F | €C• | English | PhD | 1993 | 29 |
| NNMU | F | €A• | IsiXhosa | M.A. | 1993 | 15 |
| NNMU | F | €C• | Afrikaans | M.A. | 1979 | 15 |
| UFS | F | €W• | Afrikaans | PhD | 1978 | 42 |
| UFS | M | €W• | Afrikaans | PhD | 1991 | 17 |
| UFS | F | €C• | Afrikaans | M.A. | 1991 | 17 |
| UFS | F | €W• | English | B.A. | 1992 | 16 |
| NWU | F | €W• | Afrikaans | PhD | 1974 | 34 |
| NWU | F | €W• | Afrikaans | PhD | 1984 | 24 |
| NWU | F | €A• | Setswane | B.A. | 2007 | 1 |
| NWU | M | €W• | Afrikaans | PhD | 1970 | 38 |
| NWU | F | €W• | Afrikaans | PhD | 1990 | 18 |
| NWU | F | €W• | Afrikaans | PhD | 1966 | 42 |
| UV | M | €A• | Venda | PhD | 1990 | 18 |
| UJ | F | €C• | English | PhD | 1968 | 40 |
| UJ | F | €I• | English | M.Soc.Sc | 1996 | 12 |
| UJ | F | €W• | Afrikaans | M.A. | 1990 | 18 |
| UJ | F | €W• | English | M.Ed | 1978 | 30 |

Table 19: Demographic details of participants in group conversations

The participants were generally very experienced in the social work profession with 32 of the 37 participants having more than 10 years experience and 18 of the participants having more than 20 years experience. It can be argued that the specific historical period in the South African socio-political context during which participants graduated as social workers (as also described in the analysis of journal titles) would have had a determining impact on their development as social workers.

During the period of 1965-1969 (when four of the participants had graduated), universities had been separated racially and attendance by ƒother than white, students at ƒwhite, universities restricted, in terms of the Extension of Universities Act of 1959. Universities for ƒbantu, coloured and Indian students, were described as having the essential task of preparing their students to serve their own people because €the needs of these various population groups differ in some respects from those of the Whites.• (Muller, 1972, p. 265). Social work education featured against the background of the state,s €pernicious project of social engineering• and its ideology of white supremacy (Noyoo, 2003, p. 107).

During 1970-1979 (when eight participants had graduated) social work had become professionalized through the Social and Associated Workers Act 110/1978 and formal written social work discourse tended to reflect a status quo maintenance and

a strong individualist-reformist perspective (see Table 5: Theoretical approaches within historical periods). However, It was also during this period that some resistance to socio-political developments and state oppression emerged, as the South African Black Social Workers Association (which had been formed already in 1945), formally entered the struggle for social justice and resistance against Apartheid by participating in a consultative meeting of the Black People's Convention (BPC) in 1977 to work out strategies to frustrate pending Apartheid homeland developments (Mpotseng, 1978).

Some social workers had started organizing themselves in protest of apartheid injustices (such as organized ƒstay-aways,), although little formal discourse existed acknowledging or supporting the revolutionary ideals for social change of the anti-apartheid struggle or the black consciousness movement. Conversely, this period was characterized by the rendering of services by social workers only to their ƒown group, with little recognition of conflicts of class and exploitation. Such consciousness seemed to be subsumed by the liberal narrative which interpreted those conflicts as being of race and Afrikaner nationalism.

The period 1980-1985, when six of the participants graduated, was characterized by a climax in violent apartheid state repression and the state of emergency. Social work discourse seemed unconcerned and uninvolved in the struggles against apartheid injustice, although some efforts were initiated around social workers, working conditions and around the plight of children in detention (Mazibuko and Gray, 2004).

Twelve of the participants graduated during the period 1986-1993, the period leading up to the transition to democracy. The ƒconcerned social workers forum, emerged in 1989, €in an effort to address policy and change processes (Mazibuko and Gray, 2004, p.134) and there was a general increase in radical activity among those committed to social change.

Seven participants had graduated after the 1994 thus having practiced as social workers in the post-apartheid era. This period was characterized by numerous policy and legislative changes, calling on social workers to become far more active in

advocacy and influencing social policy. The Welfare White paper (1997) heralded a transformation in social welfare policy with a shift towards social development. However, this was also the period of departure from the RDP (Redistribution and Development Programme) towards a neo-liberal macro-economic policy (GEAR), characterized by free-market reliance, privatization, renewed commitment to capitalist development and the introduction of a ƒbusiness discourse, in welfare evidenced by the then new finance policy for welfare. This period therefore introduced a new focus on bureaucratization and managerialism for social workers within discourses of personal responsibility, individualism and socio-economic development.

Regarding the ƒrace, of participants, the majority (seventeen) of the participants defined themselves in the ƒwhite, category, six inthe ƒIndian, category, six in the ƒblack, African category, 7 in the ƒcoloured, category and one participant chose not to categorise herself according to race. The ƒrace, demographics for South Africa are 79,4% ƒBlack,; 8,8% ƒColoured,; 2,6% ƒIndian/Asian,; 9,2% ƒWhite, (Statistics South Africa, 2010). These racialised identities and positions play a role in the constituent discourses or formative knowledge development of participants (Duncan, Stevens and Bowman, 2004, p. 366) and thus contribute to the discourse evident in the group conversations.

However, the concept and categorization of ƒrace,, linked to the notion of the existence of 'human races' is a contested notion requiring critical engagement due to the inaccurate and insignificant categorisation of differences in the human species that it provides (Duncan, 2003; Stevens, 2003). The inclusion of these categorizations is therefore only useful in this context as these relate to the various subject-positioning of participants and thus their discursive participation.

## 8.2 Analysis of group conversations

### 8.2.1 Introduction

Ten ƒgroup conversations, were facilitated, exploring participants, ƒlife-lines, or journeys through social work knowledge development, reflecting on their early

awareness of choosing to do social work, through to their current roles as social work educators. They were requested to explore and describe significant ƒmoments, or transitions in their thinking; their experiences that contributed or formed their thinking; the socio-political and historical context of these ƒmoments,; the various constraints or ƒlimits, on their knowledge development and conflict or congruence that they may encounter between their social work knowledge and the context in which they find/found themselves.

Both an inductive and deductive approach was used and yielded numerous categories through which the data was analysed. Data was therefore analysed and interpreted using the same overall framework as was used for the textual analysis, namely the €Framework of knowledge and practice constitutive of social change• (See Figure 5: Theoretical framework of social work knowledge and discourse constitutive of social change). This framework was constructed from theory as well as through an inductive approach from the data available. This process of reflection on the data in the light of the theory, developing a theoretical framework, utilizing it to structure the data and allowing the data to inform the framework, was consistent with the aim of the research, namely to contribute to the development of critical discourse for social work knowledge and practice.

The second framework that was used reflected the views of theorists regarding various ideological processes namely ƒconceptual determinations, (Meszaros, 2010), ƒoperations of ideology, (Thompson, 1990) and ƒmodes of ideological interpellation, (Therborn, 1980). See in this regard, Table 1: Thompson,s (1990) modes of operation of ideology and Table 2: Summary of operations of ideology, composed of various theorists, views about such ideological operations. The table shows how these descriptions correlate and intersect with one another, although these categorisations were not regarded as exclusive or to be seen as definitive as they are utilized merely to organize and reflect on these various processes.

### 8.2.2 Summary of themes

Various categories, themes and sub-themes emerged through the process of the content analysis of the group conversations. These were organized and grouped

according to overall categories of ideological processes, ideological interpellation with various descriptions of social reality, the ideal and what is possible; sites of ideological conflict and contestation and forms of social work knowledge and practice.

| INDUCTIVE AND DEDUCTIVE DISCURSIVE THEMES | |
|---|---|
| IDEOLOGICAL PROCESSES | |
| Interpellation; mode of operation of ideology; conceptua determinations and critical processes | Resisting obfuscating ideological operations and conceptual dete<br>Legitimising relations of domination and oppression in description<br>Fragmentation, dichotomous, dualistic categories in descriptions<br>Dissimulation as ideological operation in descriptions of context<br>Unification and postulates of unity and universalism<br>Reification and tendency towards formalism and science in descriptions of context and reality<br>Descriptions of the ideal and of mutability<br>Disjuncture between real and ideal<br>Professional subjectification and qualification<br>Critical processes: Critical conscientisation and critical framework |
| SITES OF IDEOLOGICAL CONTESTATION | |
| Power, oppression and privilege | Resisting oppression and power<br>Power and privilege |
| Agency and structu | Agency and structure reciprocity or dichotomy |
| €Race• and racist discourse | €Race• as categorization and objectification<br>Internalised oppression and racism<br>Encounters with racism<br>€White• talk, €white• racial frames and racism<br>Disingenuous €white• racism<br>Discourse of diversity as euphemism |
| Ideologies and knowledge | Disavowal of ideology<br>Capitalism, neoliberalism and the free market Liberalism, charity ar<br>paternalism<br>Social development as paradigm<br>Theoretical orientations |
| Contested oppressions and change | Reform or revolution<br>Recognition or redistribution |
| NATURE OF SOCIAL WORK KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICE | |
| Social work knowledge and practice constitutive social change | Oppressive, domesticating and colonizing knowledge and practice<br>Coercion and status quo maintenance knowledge and practice<br>Institutional and societal reformist knowledge and practice<br>Transformational and critical knowledge and practice<br>Radical and revolutionary knowledge and practice |

Table 20: Deductive and inductive themes from data

### 8.2.3 Ideological operations: Interpellation, modes of operation and conceptual determinations and critical processes

#### 8.2.3.1 Introduction

Ideology, in its critical conception as a means of establishing and sustaining relations of domination, is simultaneously reflective of the realities of social structures and performative in constructing those realities. Ideology is seen here to be linked specifically to dominance, both reflecting it and producing it: €The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance.• (Marx and Engels, 1986, p. 13) Ideological processes may therefore be usefully described in terms of various processes namely interpellation or the way that people are formed through processes of subjection into particular orders of thinking and through qualification to perform roles assigned to them (Therborn, 1980); through the identification of conceptual determinations which act as constraining and limiting structures on theory and knowledge as a result of the structured class basis of the current capitalist order (Meszaros, 2010) and through modes of operation which include legitimation, dissimulation, unification, fragmentation and reification (Thompson, 1990).

In exploring and analyzing participants, descriptions of context, various themes relating to ideological processes emerged. These related to interpellations of ideology about the order of things, operations of ideology in their discourse, and examples of conceptual determinations. Theoretical explanations generally tend to reflect the fundamental interests of class based ideologies as the €entrenched hegemonic force• of the social formation and its structures (Meszaros, 2010, p.12). Examples reflective of such ideological positions as well as resistance to such explanations, were evident in participants, contributions.

#### 8.2.3.2 Resisting obfuscating ideological operations and conceptual determinations

By virtue of its claims about being a social justice profession, it would be assumed that social work educators would have a clear sense of socio-economic realities, context, relations of power and domination as well as an historical view of the current reality.

In many cases this was evident. In descriptions of the realities of the South African context, participants referred to past and present socio-economic and political realities. In spite of the transition to democracy and political changes, concerns were expressed about ongoing levels of inequality, poverty and unemployment. These descriptions also demonstrated a transcendence of the characteristic conceptual determinations such as the suppression of historic temporality, a tendency towards formalism and a position of isolated individuality (Meszaros, 2010):

> we still have almost 50% of this country being poverty stricken and I don,t care about the narrow definition of unemployment, probably almost 40% - 50% of people being unemployed. So that tells you that we are so, that society still has large, um large well inequality in this society. That we cannot just let our guard down and say everything we,ve arrived now and its fine. (Transcript 10 line 55) (Resisting euphemism and an orientation towards science)

> I think for me it,s very, very clear. I mean this country has moved to the worst place in terms of Gini coefficient. So I think that it,s really, really clear that we are not reaching the most marginalised of this country. And I don,t think we can take an a-historical position on that. I think that apartheid is still contributing to that situation. (Transcript 10 line 358) (Resisting reification and an a-historical view)

> I often say to students, I,m not talking party politics now, but what is going on now, what do you see. What is it like to live in a shack with ten other people -. Not to have a bed of your own. (Transcript 2 line 202) (Resisting legitimation and a tendency towards formalism)

> that same year I had my first visit to China, and that had a profound impact on my understanding of how society is organised, how this free market economy of ours has got many oppressive qualities for the poorest of the poor. (Transcript 4 line 306) (Resisting dissimulation and conceptualisations of isolated individuality)

In these descriptions of South African context, there was little obfuscation of social realities as participants expressed an awareness of socio-economic realities and a need for an historical perspective and evidence of specific counter-hegemony to typical ideological discourses that legitimate, reify and dissimulate (Thompson, 1990).

Examples of resistance to the reflection of ideological interest of ascribing social problems to individuals and individualist explanations included:

> I really think that these events are underscored…all our teaching case work, should be taught from a critical perspective, and social policy community work and everything that we teach… (Transcript 1 line 66)

> structural social work theory, really shifted my own sense of thinking where I could really look at things from an individual perspective and look at the structure of inequalities and problems that impact of people,s lives, so that really helped me to shift my own thinking… (Transcript 1 line 219)

These descriptions therefore demonstrate resistance to characteristic conceptual characteristics of social structures and the realities of the capitalist social formation which maintain power relations of dominance and oppression (Meszaros, 2010). This includes resisting the systematic distortions of the antagonisms found in civil society and an avoidance of theorising as if science and formalism was the only appropriate approach, as well as a denial of isolated individuality, a rejection of dichotomies, dualism and universalism and an acknowledgement of the historical nature of social structures (Meszaros, 2010). Although participants therefore in some instances tended to demonstrate perspectives characteristic of the limitations and distortions imposed by ideologies and conceptual determinants related to

theorizing within the structures of the current social formations, this was not the case with many of the participants.

#### 8.2.3.3 Legitimising relations of domination and oppression in descriptions of context

However, some descriptions of the social context by some participants reflected the use of symbolic constructions of legitimation as a mode of operation of ideology. Although there were only a few instances of legitimation, this operates by portraying relations of domination as legitimate or as just and worthy of support, thus contributing discursively to their establishment and/or maintenance. The following examples demonstrates both legitimation as well as reification of the racist Apartheid regime:

> And you can,t blame either the South African government or whoever because we all struggled and suffered through it. (Transcript 8 line 239) (Legitimation, Rationalisation and Postulates of universality)

Claiming that €we all• suffered and struggled through Apartheid and that the South African government therefore should not be blamed, both legitimates and reifies the relations of power and racist oppression as if it was an externally imposed system

A further example of the legitimation using the symbolic form of rationalisation which tends to justify or defend a particular situation was:

> it,s not just South Africa that has problems, other countries have more severe than we are going through, so for me ja, it,s that. (Transcript 8 line 458) (Legitimation, Rationalisation)

An example of reducing the structural socio-economic complexities of people and reinterpreting these as individual needs around for example parenting difficulties, is an example of legitimation and universalising. Clinical social work intervention is then seen as preferable (as if the structural intervention is not legitimate):

> you would think they would want all kinds of environmental changes and whatever, and in the end it was at the cognitive level - to say I have to count to one two three not to beat this child. (Transcript 2 line 230) (Legitimation: Universalisation and conceptual determination of isolated individuality)

In this example there is legitimation as well as a position of ƒisolated individuality, (Meszaros, 2010). Here legitimation acts to make individualist intervention appropriate and ƒworthy of support,. Onthe one hand social and structural problems in the ƒexternal environment, are alludedto and in the example, portrayed as less significant, while on the other hand justifying individualist intervention approaches in the context of structural inequalities. People,s needs are interpreted as personal rather than political. Such legitimation operates to entrench ideological positions of maintaining the status quo, blaming the individual and justifying micro rather than macro level interventions.

> we also need entrepreneurial development, get people to, off their chairs basically - and involved in some kind of activity that would generate income, because that is the problem that we have. (Transcript 2 line 26) (Reification and Standpoint of isolated individuality)

> And also, not what can I do for you what can you do for yourself - when we work with clients and communities. (Transcript 2 line 230) (Reification and Standpoint of isolated individuality)

#### 8.2.3.4 Fragmentation and imposition of dichotomous and dualistic categories

The operation of fragmentation, and specifically differentiation as a symbolic form of operation of ideology, emphasises characteristics of groups that disunite. The operation of rationalisation is here similar to the constraint in theorising described by Meszaros (2010) as the imposition of a dualistic categorisation matrix. In this example, the impact of Apartheid is split into an all or nothing distinction between the groups that lived during or after the apartheid years. The two pre- and post-

apartheid groups are therefore fragmented by denying the experience of the impact of Apartheid among one of the groups.

> For me it wasn,t really something to make a big fuss of, yes I took note, this is what happened, the injustice apartheid, how it affected people,s lives. I do have friends who reflect on it. Things were done to us - but they were not done to you, they were done to your parents, you were not here. So I don,t see what is the whole big deal but people are entitled to their opinions. (Transcript 8 line 449) (Fragmentation and imposition of dualisms)

A further example of how the imposition of dualistic and dichotomous theorizing (Meszaros, 2010) is problematic (or the operation of fragmentation) was described as follows:

> when I got my data, and I was really trying to marry it with the theory, I felt but, a lot of the contradictions that I observed and got in the data its right but I,m not writing it yet because it was still limiting in the ecosystems theory, so that was a dichotomy that I was going through. Real, real dilemmas (Transcript 8 line 398) (Fragmentation and Imposition of dichotomous categorizations)

An example of ƒexpurgation ofthe other, as a form of fragmentation relates to a description of work with an offender in the criminal justice system:

> I used to work in a restorative justice paradigm, and at the heart was trying to find the strengths, but sometimes we had to just say to the offender, hey, what you did was horrible, and this punishment you going under is justified, and don,t do it again, instead of, oh, its all going to be ok and we love you, you know… (Transcript 4 line 122) (Fragmentation: Expurgation of the other)

> …had my first visit to court at that time and just sort of saw the underbelly of society and how bad people can be you know (Transcript 4 line 293)

(Fragmentation: Expurgation of the other and pessimistic or negative determination of social theory)

While social work values require the adoption of a non-judgemental attitude, it is common, especially in the status-quo maintenance and social control approaches (Payne, 2005), to label and focus on the negative, ƒanti-social, nature of people,s behaviour and then resorting to descriptions of the problem as being situated within the person themselves. This also correlates with Meszaros, (2010) characteristic conceptual determination of isolated individuality as if the ƒbehaviour, of an individual is something determined only internally rather than by external social structures and interrelations of the social formation.

### 8.2.3.5 Dissimulation as a mode of operation of ideology in descriptions of context

According to Thompson (1990), dissimulation conceals, denies or obscures relations of domination or represents these in a way that deflects attention away from or glosses over such relations or processes. €Relations of domination may be concealed, denied or obscured in various ways, for example by describing social processes or events in terms which highlight some features at the expense of others, or by representing or interpreting such processes in a way which effectively veils the social relations of which they are part.• (Thompson, 1987, p. 521). Dissimulation may be achieved in symbolic constructions such as displacement, euphemism or trope (metaphoric or figurative use of language).

There were numerous examples of the use of dissimulation by deflecting attention away from relations of domination and power, by glossing over inequality or asymmetrical relations of power, or through re-descriptions of realities for the purposes of positive evaluation.

> For me it wasn,t really something to make a big fuss of, yes I took note, this is what happened, the injustice apartheid, how it affected people,s lives. I do have friends who reflect on it. Things were done to us - but they were not

done to you, they were done to your parents, you were not here. (Transcript 8 line 449) (Dissimulation: Euphamism)

I recognised that there were people that were less fortunate than what I am. (Transcript 2 line 56) (Dissimulation: Euphemism)

I was surrounded by people who showed a very different way of dealing with everyone from their own domestic workers to everyone else. There was a compassion, a friendship, a love and a reality in it. (Transcript 4 line 266) (Dissimulation: Euphemism)

There were examples of veiling the social relations of domination and power and describing them in a positive light or displacing the emphasis onto other aspects of the narration, as was frequently the case during apartheid South Africa. In this way, a kind, paternalistic role was ascribed to the relationships between employers and their, workers:

My mother being a midwife, a social worker, you know - everything. A marriage counsellor, the whole works, and my father being the undertaker, the boss, the person who sorted people out, gave them a smack when they were not following the line,. (Transcript 6 line 277) (Dissimulation: displacement)

The ideological operation of dissimulation was frequently evident in participants, descriptions, allowing them to avoid and ignore oppressive relations that seemed not to fit, with the accepted social justice norms and structural analysis required in social work.

#### 8.2.3.6 Unification and postulates of unity and universalism

Unification is an operation of ideology that establishes and maintains relations of domination by constructing forms of unity which embrace individuals in collective identities irrespective of differences or divisions that may separate them (Thompson, 1990). In this way, in the period immediately after transition from Apartheid, there

were many specific examples of attempts at unification between groups, in some cases obfuscating relations of domination in spite of the ongoing realities of social structures. Social work too seemed to be part of these ideological operations.

> I think the defence force really tried to make the transformation process really good. Like the symbolic - what is it - the hoisting - when we took down the old flag at 12 o,clock on the 27th April 1994, say goodbye to the old flag, sang the old Stem for the last time, voice the new one - there was a lot of rituals and symbols around us. (Transcript 8 line 246) (Unification: Symbolisation of unity)

Other examples include descriptions of the Apartheid era, of unity and ƒtogetherness, that hides the vast asymmetries of power between ƒraces,:

> The church that I belonged to was very heavily involved in missionary work in Africa and supporting, financial support to missionaries and once a year we had a big big gathering at our church in our neighbourhood. And they put up a tent a lots of people came and busses and busses of black choirs and black pastors came and it was packed. And we all went. (Transcript 8 line 398) (Unification: Symbolisation of unity)

Similarly, finding solutions to problems of class and social relations in unification and postulates of universality, also obfuscates the underlying power dynamics present:

> I mean, everyone just has to acknowledge what their prejudices are and that,s the honest way forward. (Transcript 3 line 569) (Unification and postulates of unity and universality)

> …but it was still sort of a very conservative small town. I remember my questioning of the whole situation and the whole issue of the rights of people and of people being all the same whether they are white or black or coloured or whatever. (Transcript 2 line 85) (Unification and postulates of universality)

### 8.2.3.7 Reification and tendency towards formalism and science in descriptions of context and reality

Reification generally utilizes naturalization, externalization and nominalization or passivisation as symbolic forms. Through reification, transitory, historical states are represented as permanent, natural, outside of time or as ƒthings, or events, of a ƒquasi-natural kind, and the historical and social character of phenomena is obfuscated (Janks, 1998). Similar effects of obfuscation as in operations of reification result from the characteristic conceptual determinations of the tendency towards formalism and the suppression of historical temporality (Meszaros, 2010). There were numerous examples of processes of reification and characteristic formalism and suppression of historical temporality.

By introducing age as a theme when discussing ƒrace, in diversity, attention is deflected away from the defining and determining power of ƒrace,.

> Die velkleur bepaal nie wie jy is nie. Diversiteit le ook, afgesien van ouderdmsgroepe, ook in hoe mense verkies om hulle te groepeer.
> [the colour of the skin does not determine who you are. Diversity is also, besides age groups, also in how people choose to group themselves]
> (Transcript 8 line 374) (Reification: Nominalisation)

An example of a description where phenomena are reified and seen as natural or inevitable, while adopting a formalistic approach was:

> I mean you can,t do social work as we have been taught. Perhaps more on a Eurocentric therapeutic um, focus. Because it,s back to basics on a primary need that has to be addressed, running water, tarred roads, those types of things, work and job creation, things like that. So ja, I mean, in your training, those are the things that I have to teach the, the student to address those things and not so much about sitting down and having a discussion about what is the purpose of life. (Transcript 2 line 85)
> (Reification: Naturalisation and Tendency toward formalism)

Reification may therefore be linked to a general tendency to formalism in social work knowledge and theory, which contributes to the characteristic of viewing and describing social formations and relations of power as if they are permanent, natural and a-historical. The social character of phenomena are therefore obfuscated and result in social work interventions being directed at the individual or are at status quo maintenance and in this case in an oppressive approach which denies the need for critical engagement and emancipatory practice, rather focusing only on the meeting of basic needs. Similarly, the tendency towards formalism and rational approaches to social problems is further reflected by descriptions of neutrality or a €neutral categorical framework• or propositions that tend to be acceptable if they are handled with €formal consistency• (Meszaros, 2010, p.42)

> at that time we also did a course in case work, group work and community work - that was in the second year, and in the third year we did more advanced courses in the different methods. (Transcript 2 line 175)

> we have been educated to be very neutral and to be uncritical• (Transcript 4 line 74) (Conceptual determination of formalism and neutral categorical framework)

Reification and the tendency towards formalism is particularly powerful in the perpetuation of ideology that explains poverty and injustice as being inevitable and therefore obfuscates and minimizes oppression and injustice:

> Particularly, in one module on poverty - where we can really get stuck in issues like apartheid and so forth, and what I try to teach them is let,s try to look at the universal picture of poverty. And take it back ever since the bible - forever there has been poverty „ it,s not only because of South African situations (Transcript 8 line 269) (Reification: Naturalisation and Conceptual determination of formalism)

This example also demonstrates the suppression of historical temporality as if poverty is a phenomenon that exists outside of time and determinations of social formations. In ways similar to the determinations that result from a tendency towards

formalism, some participants, responses reflected an ƒorientation towards science, as a method of thinking and problem solving:

> yes, and use your theory,s because you don,t know, you marrying an ideology and at the end of the day you will take up a sword to kill someone. While if you are trained in a scientific manner, you will use theories, and you will move on if the theory is no longer working. Because that will be your criteria at the end of the day, not the ideology but the criteria, so we are really drilling that into them. (Transcript 7 line 202)

Such an orientation towards science means that social problems are seen to be able to be solved through "the advancement of science and productive technology alone" (Meszaros, 2010, p.28) and interventions at a structural level are therefore not required. Such 'remedies' then, because they are of a rational or technical nature, avoid "antagonistic confrontations and the danger of fundamental - structural societal - change" (Meszaros, 2010, p.29).

#### 8.2.3.8 Descriptions of the ideal and of mutability

In descriptions of the ideal and of ƒwhat ispossible,, there was evidence of resisting ideological interpellations which limit and negate the possibility of social change and transformation. Many participants described the possibility of a transformed society characterized by social justice and equality. These ideal descriptions were seen as possible and attainable and furthermore, social work was seen to be a vehicle to work towards and achieve such social change.

> I am deeply committed to justice and equality. (Transcript 10 line 218)

> If we can use our skills effectively I don,t see how we can,t change things. I don,t see how we cannot. (Transcript 9 line 110)

> social workers aren,t only there to just remove your babies, but they are really there for social advocacy and involving all sorts of things for social change and… (Transcript 4 line 267)

> And the students really come, they want to get some tools and techniques to go out there and try and make this place a better world, or the world a better place. (Transcript 7 line 173)

Descriptions of the importance of being involved in social change through social work, in some instances expressed great commitment and passion for creating a better world:

> And I said, if I can,t do this then I might as well not live. This is important for me, it was my turning point, and I had to sit him down and explain it all to him. I said it,s finally all come together for me, and that,s why I,m doing social work. It,s all come together finally. (Transcript 10 line 298)

However, some participants seemed to express despondency and a belief that there was little possibility of change to current social problems and reality. The characteristic negative determination of social theory and philosophy was evident here and reflective of the pessimistic perspective that €there is no alternative• to the neo-liberal capitalist structure of society with its given levels of poverty, inequality and social injustice. This sense of no alternative has become part of the hegemonic discourse in South Africa since the introduction by the South African government of GEAR in 1996 (Adler and Webster , 1999).

> And that was also ya, that one realised the influence of the political systems. Each country,s political system impacts on how social work is practiced in that country. And often I just feel we as a profession, are the small fish in the big sea. We,ve got this big ideals about the ideal world and how it should be but actually we are so influenced• (Transcript 8 line 427)

Participants even expressed concerns around processes of critical conscientisation being a risk because there was little possibility of change:

> Mens moet baie versigtig wees dat aan die een kant hulle bewussyn oplig hulle krietiese bewussyn maar dan ook, wat kan hulle daaraan basies

> doen? [one must be very careful that on the one hand you raise their consciousness, their critical consciousness but then also, what can they basically do about it?•] (Transcript 2 line 34)

It seems therefore that descriptions of what is possible in terms of a transformed, socially just society varied, and depended on ideological interpellation around whether a better world is possible. This view of the current system €of generalized commodity production and exchange as the one and only unobjectionable social system• which regulates the interchanges between individuals, is also an ideological legitimation characteristic of the conceptual limitations of the capitalist social formation (Meszaros, 2010, p.40).

#### 8.2.3.9 Disjuncture between real and ideal

A dichotomy seemed to exist between theory and practice and in the professional and personal. Participants described a sense of incongruence between what they believed and what they were able to practice, both at a level of theory and practice and at the level of values and lived reality. Some participants expressed concern about a disjuncture between social work education and the contextual realities in South Africa.

> Well the social work training that I received does not meet the demands of the present day. (Transcript 5 line 213)

> And I was quite perturbed by what was being taught there actually. And I felt it was inappropriate for the particular context in South Africa.
> (Transcript 3 line 609)

> And they say why are - is there such a big split to the way you think here and what,s actually going on. (Transcript 10 line 65)

A further incongruence or disjuncture was the conflict between the personal and the professional, or between values and behaviour, which was described as a struggle.

> …the difficulty of congruence, the way we lead our lives, and the way we think our lives. And how it sort of clashes. (Transcript 1 line 220)

> one thing that I also realised is the constant tension between what you know and what you do I think has been a thread in my life. (Transcript 1 line 285)

> So, it,s very important that we review the entire social work curriculum and we review how we educate and we fracture a human being into, this is professional  so you can make this kind of decision and then forget about it, go home and live your life.  (Transcript 4 line 77)

Attaining such congruence between personal and professional values, between theory and practice, and between the ideal and the real, was described as a struggle. Engagement with anti-oppressive practice and critical thinking, as well as openness and risk taking, was seen as a possible solution to such incongruence and struggle:

> You know, [the incongruence between] knowledge and practice, and I think that,s something that,s definitely been one of the major pull factors into critical theory and anti-oppressive practice and teaching and thinking… (Transcript 1 line 147)

Although participants therefore seemed to be interpellated into a sense of possibility about what could be changed and that a better world was possible, the disjuncture between the real and the ideal, values and behaviour and theory and practice, was implicated in a struggle and sense of despondency in maintaining hope about achieving such change. Despair at the possibility of changing the world arises according to Meszaros (2010) from a philosophical despair at the possibility of knowledge itself (Alexander, 2011). A €radical scepticism about historical knowledge, and pessimism seems to be evident in much of theory and specifically postmodernism (Alexander, 2011, p. 3) and allows for no vision of positive enactment of real alternatives (Pomeroy, 2011, p. 1).

The ƒpessimistic scepticism, of theories found in the ƒbourgeois ideologies of the twentieth century• is in keeping with the views of Namier (1962) who maintained that •there is no more sense in human history than in the changes of the seasons or the movements of the stars; or if sense there be, it escapes our perception• to illustrate how history is submerged into ƒmeaningless nature, which leads to a paralysis and no sense in trying to take control of structural determinations. Sense can therefore not be found in historically produced social relations and will forever €escape our perception• (cited by Meszaros, 2008, p. 51).

However, a sense of the ideal and hope for what is possible, emerged among many of the participants, with passionate commitments to contributing to a transformed and just society.

> And also being involved in issues that politicians are involved with, I feel are issues that social workers should be involved with as well… (Transcript 6 line 257)

> Now I think it‚s time that we read them with a view to then implement them... your Paulo Freire and all of that and Steve Biko, BG and all of those people we should read them now with a view to see how we can make that real and how we can practise that in our life time. (Transcript 9 line 94)

> It feels integrated to me, you know there are the transpersonal spirituality and the activism and the justice making and the critical stance. It feels like the one feeds the other and I do the one because of the other. Because we have to reverence every being, we have to take a social justice stance…That‚s very feminist for me you know the personal and the political, the fact that I care about you makes me question the conditions in which we live. (Transcript 10 line 63)

The ƒpessimisticscepticism, evident in theory was therefore critically resisted, with the call for engagement in critical processes, critical reflection, radical practice and

anti-oppressive theory, which seemed to emerge as a way of countering this sense of despondency and struggle.

#### 8.2.3.10 Professional subjectification and qualification

Ideology, as a form of discourse, 'interpellates' and forms people as subjects through processes of subjection to a particular order and qualification to perform roles assigned to them (Therborn, 1980).

Even before deciding to become social workers, some participants had formed ideas of what it meant to be a social worker and had developed expectations of what the role of a social worker entailed. These included liberalist notions of charity, religious convictions, exposure to social workers during periods of the oppressive and racist regime of Apartheid and through processes of critical conscientisation:

> Ok, I also became very much aware of social work and social workers I think around the 1970s. People in the townships always got handouts from social workers, I think at the time they were called ƒ Ladies,, they were not called social workers. (Transcript 6 line 227)

> You know that typical kind of a, almost also motivated by um religion, I grew up in a very religious family, but I had very limited knowledge of what social work really was. (Transcript 2 line 114)

> The nurturers and almost like messiahs, they would rescue you out of the situation, and everybody was going to them for that. I think around 70 - the late 70s, my granddad was arrested and went to Robben Island, again social workers were in and our of the family, helping the family to cope and survive at that time, and for me, made me want to do social work - because I thought social workers could rescue you out of any situation. And also as a family because we were rescued by social workers, I needed to learn more about the profession. (Transcript 6 line 236)

Role models during preparation for social work had played a very important role in the subjectification processes. It seemed that various role models had ƒinfused, participants with vision, commitment and in many cases, hope. However, these role models were also bearers of ideology, thus contributing to specific interpellations:

> I remember Adam Small saying many years ago, I always think about him in this. You always have to be critical of the state. (Transcript 10 line 42)

> I was reading the works of Stephen Biko. I read a lot about that. At the time it was a key book for us. I remember we used to go and sit to discuss I Write What I Like. Ja you know, then you could read this chapter and someone else could read this chapter and then we would see okay was Steve Biko, what was he trying to say (Transcript 9 line 87)

> And Marxism, I was introduced to Marxism then. And professor M who was a sociology professor at that time was amazing, and he was one of those radical sociologists (Transcript 4 line 377)

It is interesting that three names were repeatedly mentioned „ these were Professor Adam Small (University of the Western Cape), Professor Erika Theron (Stellenbosch University and Steve Biko. Ideologically, these three leaders and theorists also represent very divergent ideological positions, thus pointing to the vast divergence in thinking among social work educators and the formative experiences of the social work students.

Erika Theron, the first appointed social work professor in South Africa at the University of Stellenbosch, had been trained and supervised in her doctorate (attained in 1942) by Hendrik Verwoerd. His influence on her shaped her values and her decisions, although by the 1970s she had become €a pubic critic of many aspects of the apartheid system and vocal advocate for coloured rights, she was also described as €a passionate Afrikaner nationalist and a prot‡g‡ of H.F. Verwoerd• (Tayler, 2010, p. 1).

Adam Small was the Head of the Department of Social Work at the University of the Western Cape from 1984 to1998 and regarded as one of South Africa‚s leading intellectuals and €a voice to the struggle of the coloured people during the apartheid years• (Rasool, 2004). He is also seen to be one of the main contributors to the South African black consciousness movement, having been involved in SASO (South African Students, Organisation) co-founded by Steven Biko in the 1970s.

Steven Bantu Biko, the ƒfather, of the South African black consciousness movement in the 1960s and 1970s, is regarded as one of the martyrs for black nationalism and the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. His theories of ƒself-emancipation,, ƒblack‚solidarity and critique of white liberalism, formed a powerful philosophy for liberation and revolution in South Africa (Gibson, 2011).

The extremely varying ideological positioning of participants is evident in the diversity of choice of three such diverse role models. It seems therefore that in spite of the repression of the apartheid system, some social work educators were able to find ways to resist the hegemonic ideologies present in formal social work discourse. Furthermore, such resistance to hegemonic ideology would be accompanied by risk-taking as the work of Steve Biko and others, as well as Marxist writings generally, was banned during the Apartheid era, and so having access to and embracing such writings was in itself considered ƒsubversive‚and punishable by imprisonment.

> certain literature was regarded as subversive. So in other words it was a constraint on your knowledge development... also the security police got hold of some of these books and they were sort of examining these books to see if there was any subversive content. (Transcript 8 line 356)

8.2.3.11 Critical processes

8.2.3.11.1 Critical conscientisation

Many participants were able to describe important moments, experiences and periods of conscientisation. As stated by Therborn (1980), various forms of interpellation must be contradicted, for critical conscientisation to occur about how

people see reality, what they believe is the ideal, and what is possible. It seems that some of the ƒwhite, participants who were in a privileged position which in the South African context meant relating from the oppressive position, had experienced processes of critical conscientisation by being made aware of the concrete realities of oppression and social injustices and also had the opportunity for reflection. It seems therefore that exposure to concrete social realities, to alternative knowledges through study or reading and the opportunity to reflect on these, often facilitated or encouraged by someone in a respected role, was the main way in which such conscientisation was able to occur.

> But um, the first time that I really became aware of radical disparities, and the way things were different, was when a history teacher took my class in Standard 7, in 1990 - we went to Duncan village, which was our largest sort of local inner city township area, and we drove through. And our history teacher „ Mrs E, pointed out that this area of shacks has got one tap to 300 people. And that affected me profoundly. (Transcript 4 line 262)

> And I worked with black families where I saw how they suffered in taking care of foster children and well, I think, I suppose you didn,t have all the answers. And the thing is, I think there, that to me was a kind of Damascus experience. When I realised, but look - something,s wrong somewhere, seriously, because how can you have two systems where, where one group of the population have the benefits and the advantage and others not. (Transcript 8 line 142)

On the other hand, ƒblack, participants who had grown up in an oppressive position, and who had seemed unaware of their oppressed reality, had experienced critical conscientisation through experiences of solidarity, alternative thinking or experiences generating anger. The role of someone facilitating this process, willing to expose oppressions, was highlighted frequently. For most participants who shared their experiences of becoming more critically aware, the process of critical conscientisation was definitive, clearly echoing Freire,s (1970) work and his descriptions about the process of conscientisation and humanisation:

> And that was my first engagement with a variety of different race groups, and where we would read about different Marx, the Charter, ah ANC stuff, so that was my first engagement with that. And the discussion groups and he kind of debate and things that you talk about it was like my mind was dead until that moment. (Transcript 10 line 354)

> The first turning point in my life was the entry of a very young teacher - and, um, who was then politicising us at school. And she would get us to do things like free write and then she would say you are walking down a street and your feet are really tired and you see a sign that says whites only and your immediate reactions to it. And so we would do that, and when ever she saw any element of self blame- you know the internalised oppression, she would confront us, and she would make us see it,s not your fault… (Transcript 1 line 359)

> And I think it was at that time that I started becoming angry towards the system, because before that I had no reason to be angry because I didn,t know that I was oppressed (laughter). (Transcript 1 line 362)

The importance of black consciousness in the process of liberation from internalised oppression was also highlighted by some participants:

> Ja… he [Steve Biko] changed my thinking, my outlook towards life - he made me feel strong. He made me understand that I,m a human being, black as I am, but one thing about it, I,m pretty - I,m beautiful and competent, I,m as good as and better than other people. So it boosted my ego, you know. (Transcript 5 line 125)

Freire (1970, p.51) maintains that the realities of oppression must be amplified in order for liberation to be pursued by making "real oppression more oppressive still by adding to it the realization of oppression". Critical processes refer to the various processes which uncover the competing power interests and dynamics between groups, identifying privilege and disadvantage and how these relationships are maintained. Critical enlightenment therefore uncovers these "power plays in social

arrangements" (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2000, p. 281). The colonizing mentality is ubiquitous and shaping of both consciousness and actions and €also provides material rewards for submission and acquiescence that far exceed any material gains for resistance, so we must be constantly engaging new ways of thinking and being. We must be critically vigilant.• (hooks, 2010, p. 26)

8.2.3.11.2 Critical framework in social work knowledge and practice

A critical framework and critical thinking was described as very important in social work education, however, there were concerns that there was no structured or specific input regarding such a critical framework or critical thinking:

> And that,s literally what they did, and they talked, and nothing else, never instilled any to do with critical thinking and when I started my thesis again because it started to read differently and I started to read Paulo Freire and a whole lot of literature on the feminist movement and that,s where I am right now… (Transcript 1 line 141)

> I mean, throughout the 60s and the 70s, we didn,t have Fanon,s Wretched of the Earth or Paulo Freire,s Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Because it was banned literature, but somehow we had extracts from, and we used those, the adult education programmes were based on those. (Transcript 4 line 117)

The content of a course that had specifically made an important impact on a participant was mentioned as follows:

> It was really excellent, it shifted my own sense of thinking on major issues, for the first time I heard concepts like market liberalism, globalisation, neo-liberalism, the impact on social policy, um, the impact on what it does for us as practitioners, in contemporary South Africa. So it was really life changing that whole course. (Transcript 1 line 204)

The need for a critical, personal and structurally reflective process was also highlighted, while some participants demonstrated such reflexivity in their contributions during the group discussion:

> there is a commitment as a teacher. As teachers to embed a critically self-reflective process as well as a structural reflective, critically reflective process. So I think that,s a little bit of a shift from before, in social work education I mean those who came from more radical backgrounds were looking at structural oppression and how we challenge that. And now we,ve moved to both. To looking at the use of self and the challenge of my biography and who I am and how I use myself plus the structural oppression. (Transcript 10 line 122)

### 8.2.4 Sites of ideological contestation

#### 8.2.4.1 Power, oppression and privilege

##### 8.2.4.1.1 Resisting oppression and power

The South African context of post-apartheid and the post-colonial forges a complex matrix of oppression and privilege and relations of power. Challenging such power relations currently and historically, forms an important site of resistance for which social work knowledge and practice must account. For this knowledge and practice to account for its psycho-political validity (Prilleltensky, 2008), issues of power, oppression and privilege must be explored and theorized adequately. The Marxist understanding of power allows for a structural analysis of power as it resides with the ruling class (Ferguson and Lavalette, 2004) and not only in the oppressive interactions between individuals.

Examples of resistance to Apartheid repression represent such challenges to oppression, in some instances at personal cost to the social workers concerned.

> And then we worked against the tri- cameral government we worked with the gangs to organise street meetings and political meetings around the tri-cameral [Apartheid political arrangement]. (Transcript 10 line 252)

> UDF work - United Democratic Movement and we started doing work at a grassroots level. And then this connectedness to other women, the bonding wIth other women and we were all doing the same thing. And it wasn,t part of my social work, but eventually it all came together because now I was more politically conscious. (Transcript 10 line 289)

> Ja, the events you know, captivated me and moved me on to doing various things you know. Especially the oppression we experienced in the 80s you know, assisting boys who come from the other side of the border. You know, helping them carry arms, knowing that they are going to destroy property and people, but... (Transcript 5 line 157)

8.2.4.1.2 Power and privilege

Regarding the exploration and acknowledgement of privilege, only one of the *f* white, participants acknowledged her own privileged position, although there was some mention of the importance of exploring privilege together with oppression during the same group conversation:

> and again I think this congruence that I was in the solidarity movement and I didn,t want to be privileged, and of course in a way I,ve always been. (Transcript 1 line 296)

> Because ever so often, in terms of emancipatory work, you know, understanding oppression, the emphasis is on the Freirian notion of getting disadvantaged groups to understand the sources of disempowerment and oppression and exclusion, and marginalisation. But where,s the point in oppressed people constantly being conscientised in that way? You know, if people who are in privileged positions never understand where their privileges are coming from. (Transcript 1 line 472)

Exploration of ƒwhite, privilege isimportant. The formation of a white anti-racist identity can "engage whiteness in its complex and contradictory meanings. This identity works to undermine whiteness while yet being accountable for its implication in privilege" (Howard, 2006, p. 50). Furthermore, "the antiracism/anticolonial classroom must create the space and the imperative for the racially privileged to recognise the ways in which they are dominant" (Howard, 2006, p. 52). According to Howard (2006. p.52), "little is accomplished by the silence of the dominant ... Indeed, the message more likely to be received in such instances of dominant silence is one of insincerity and lack of commitment to changing the racist status quo"

#### 8.2.4.2 Agency and structure dichotomy and reciprocity

Although a structural analysis is necessary to understand the complexity of the 'social totality', it must include an understanding of the interaction of agency and structure as a 'reciprocal action' or a 'dialectical reciprocity' (Meszaros, 2010, p.14). This central dichotomy determines much of the theorizing in social work, as adversarial choices between working with, blaming and reforming the individual in order to adjust to structural difficulties, versus working for transformation at a structural level, are then made. Such dichotomous thinking is also characteristic of the conceptual determination of dualistic and dichotomous thinking (Meszaros, 2010).

The relationship between agency and structure is to be viewed as reciprocal rather than dichotomous, in order to engage with the possibility of social change and transformation. Marx's view of such 'reciprocal action' in each stage of history is that it not criticism but revolution that is the driving force of history €and that each stage contains a material result, a sum of productive forces, a historically created relation to nature and of individuals to one another, which is handed down to each generation from its predecessor; a mass of productive forces, capital funds and circumstances, which on the one hand is indeed modified by the new generation, but on the other also prescribes for its conditions of life and gives it definite development, a special character. It shows that circumstances make men just as

much as men make circumstances"  (Marx and Engels, 1975, cited by Meszaros, 2010, p. 15).

The constraints of ideology and conceptual determinations such as individuality and dichotomous thinking therefore contribute to the utilization of particular theoretical perspectives. Some participants explained that particular theoretical perspectives tended to contribute to dichotomous thinking, and that a structural approach helped to resolve the tension:

> it was still limiting in the ecosystems theory, so that was a dichotomy that I was going through. Real, real dilemmas and so forth and structural social work theory, really shifted my own sense of thinking where I could really look at things from an individual perspective and look at the structure of inequalities and problems that impact on people,s lives, so that really helped me to shift my own  thinking… (Transcript 1 line 219)

Other participants seemed to be very comfortable with the nature of the as perspective which was more holistic rather than dichotomous, allowing for a reciprocal understanding of agency and structure:

> And where are we as social workers in that, so it,s like two streams but it feels integrated to me, you know there are the transpersonal spirituality and the activism and the justice making and the critical stance.• (Transcript 10  line 263)

Feminist theory was described as being supportive of such an understanding about the reciprocal nature of the individual and the political:

> That,s very feminist for me you know the personal and the political, the fact that I care about you makes me question the conditions in which we live. (Transcript 10 line 266)

The tensions in the agency/structure debate also then lead to tensions between choices of intervention methods. Choices between focusing on the micro level or

macro level of intervention exclusively relate to both ideological positions about individualist versus structural as well as status quo maintenance and control versus transformation approaches. This is also sometimes framed as a contest between casework and development or community work:

> And there is not such a strong emphasis on developmental work. They tend to not think in terms of developmental. They think in terms of casework or micro practice all the time. So if there are 30 children running around in the community nobody in that organisation will think about starting something or doing something with these children or even ask the question, why is it happening? (Transcript 2 line 223)

> They have to think beyond the now, and this is where I have issues with case work. I hope you are not one of the caseworkers. You cannot always focus in my view on the survival and only surviving the existing situation. (Transcript 9 line 230)

The pre-occupation with ƒcasework, is described by Ferguson andWoodward (2008) as the tendency to see people using services in isolation from their communities in which they live and from the structural factors that shape their lives. Ferguson and Woodward (2008, p. 133) cite the work of C. Wright Mills (1943) who noted that "present institutions train several kinds of person - such as judges and social workers - to think in terms of 'situations'. Their activities and mental outlook are set within the existing norms of society: in their professional work they tend to have occupationally trained incapacity to rise above 'cases'." Such a focus on the individual would be reflective of, as well as performative of, the ideological position and conceptual limitation of ƒisolated individuality, (Meszaros, 2010).

#### 8.2.4.3 ‚Race•, racism and racist discourse

##### 8.2.4.3.1 Introduction

Due to the complex nature of the South African colonial and apartheid context ƒrace, is a particularly important structural determination in the broader class based

relations of power. The arguments about intersections of oppressions find particular meaning in relation to ƒrace, as South African society has been structured and stratified by racist capitalism since the early period of colonization. ƒRace, as a bearer of ideology is therefore important in this study as social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change must take account issues of ƒrace, and racism.

8.2.4.3.2 ‚Race• as categorization and objectification

Racism is linked to the notion of the existence of 'human races'. 'Race' is thus a contested and much debated notion requiring critical engagement due to the inaccurate and insignificant categorisation of differences in the human species that it provides (Duncan, 2003; Stevens, 2003). Some participants seemed to comfortably utilize such categorizations, beyond the functional use imposed by the demands of the discussion (such as discussing demographics of students or experiences relating to racial categorizations). Such examples seemed to go beyond racial categorizations and seemed to be instantiations of racist objectification:

> And they put up a tent a lots of people came and busses and busses of black choirs and black pastors came and it was packed. And we all went, that was where my love for black choirs started. You know the black voices. (Transcript 8 line 398)

> Things like, I would ask the students um, what do black people think of coloured people, and they are shocked because they think you shouldn‚t ask these things. (Transcript 3 line 224)

It is argued that 'the white gaze' radically objectifies and essentialises race (Hook, 2004). Hook (2004, p. 92) describes how race "comes to act as the overriding, the essential and determining quality of identity within colonial contexts". Fanon (1967, p. 116) describes how being black is an enslavement because "I am given no chance. I am overdetermined from without. I am a slave not of the 'idea' that others have of me but of my own appearance."

An example of experiences of such objectification and essentialising was shared by some of the participants:

> And every time something happened in this bloody coloured area, it would be ƒMiss S, would you like to comment?, and the reality is that I had not grown up with my own people at all, these were like aliens to me, number one, and how was I supposed to say to people, I am brown but I actually don,t know these brown people …but it irritated me on a level of, you know, this whole thing of because you are brown you must know and then everybody would look at me and say like, but how come you don,t know kind of thing you know. (Transcript 6 line 286)

> I couldn,t deal with the language of some of our lecturers. Because we had predominantly white lectures and by that time I had been quite politicised and especially with one lecturer who spoke to us blandly like, I,m not sure about you people, but with our people this is how it is. (Transcript 1 line 276)

A lack of reflexivity in accepting the notion of distinct and unchanging ƒracial, categories reveals an ahistorical and decontextualized understanding of ƒrace, that discursively reinforces dominant racist ideological constructions, referred to by Bulhan (1985) as the internalization of oppressive social relations and their consequent reproduction as acts of violence (Stevens, 2003, p. 200).

#### 8.2.4.3.3 Internalised oppression and racism

In a materialist and political analysis, 'racial identity' may be viewed as being primarily internalised from the socio-political (Fanon, 1967), as an identity which may be viewed as "disruptive and psychopathological• (Hook, 2004, p.89). The destructiveness of racist inferiorisation and resultant process of internalization was evident in a number of the participants, contributions.

> And then there were the missionaries, who were very, very well intentioned you know, but they came and wanted to convert us, and I think

> the communication of that is your religion and your culture is also not good enough and you must change, so western culture and religion and being white is the better option, so I think that that was so dreadfully reinforced that I never stopped to think about it. And just took it for granted that um, that we were inferior people, you know - the sort of laws of the world, whites were good and we were bad and that,s it, that sort of thing. (Transcript 1 line 358)

> Visitors from the Netherlands, a few visitors, to Genadendal. And we had to keep them busy they had to go and visit the museum and we had an hour that we had to keep them busy. And somebody said - oh R, you tell a few staaltjies, they called it. Stories. And well, the stories I know, are of my life. And I used these experiences that I had, as ƒstories, and they had a good time because we could laugh at it. That was a few years ago. But I,m actually feeling very tearful, you know, because we laughed at it, but it wasn,t funny. And that was the only sort of reflection I think I ever had other than you know internalising all these. (Transcript 2 line 212)

The extent of internalization and acceptance of the position of inferiority is evident from the above. The reflections themselves also resulted in emotional pain, in acknowledging the extent of the internalization. The internalization of meta-racism, was evident in the following contribution:

> They anticipated that I would want to be the lecturer,s blue-eyed-girl (Transcript 1 line 380)

Describing a favoured position as being that of a "blue-eyed girl" (spoken by a ƒblack, participant), demonstrates a level of internalised racism or ƒwhite, superiority. It may also be seen as metaracism (Holdstock, 2000, cited by Duncan, Stevens and Bowman, 2004) which is a form of racism not explicit or overly prejudiced, but rather acquiescence in a larger culture that continues the perpetuation of racist ideas and values.

8.2.4.3.4 Encounters with racism

Participants shared some of their experiences of racism in relation to social work and social work education:

> Ya, because I talked about the feelings I had when I got the job - I was kind of angry you know - I,m good enough to come and work here but I wasn,t good enough to study here. And at the time I went to study my father lost his job so we were also in dire straights in terms of money - so um but I had to travel and there had to be a train ticket for me every week to get to where I needed to be. I never had the opportunity to reflect on it though because it was accepted - I couldn,t come here and that,s that. (Transcript 2 line 210)

The Extension of Universities Education Act in 1959 had forced students to attend institutions established for their group (Lowe, 1988) and so whether a student lived in close proximity to a university, or chose to attend a particular university, if it was designated for another ƒrace, group, this was prohibited. Later, after the political change in the country and with the passing of the Higher Education Act in 1997, a new policy framework was instituted to €redress the disparities which had resulted from the segregation of higher education• (Robus and MacLeod, 2006, p.465) these same institutions embarked on transformation processes and people ƒof colour, would be recruited to work for them.

8.2.4.3.5 ‚White• talk, ‚white• racial frame and racism

The 'white racial frame' serves as the backdrop for ƒwhites, as they speak about racial matters. It provides 'whites' with a way of blaming ƒnonwhites, for societal problems (e.g. racial tensions) while seeming to maintain an image of nonracism. In this way the status quo is protected despite enacting instances of prejudicial and discriminatory behaviour (Foster, 2009)

ƒWhite talk, (Steyn and Foster, 2008) entails positioning ofthe self as the dominant, superior group, while ƒOthering, those of the dominated and oppressed group as

unreasonable and behaving badly. Symbolic and meta-racism are the systematic circulation of values, representations and ideas that are antagonistic towards a certain grouping of people. Symbolic racism also takes very insidious forms, such as the constant devaluation or marginalisation of ideas and values traditionally associated with a particular racial grouping of people." (Duncan, Stevens and Bowman, 2004, p. 384).

Similarly, the discourse of 'lowering of standards', is persistently invoked in the context of transformation of historically privileged white institutions• (Robus and Macleod, 2006) as in the following example:

> Ja, in order to get a throughput, to keep standards, to keep that balance, it becomes more and more difficult. So that we have to sometimes say to one another, you know, in the past we,ve done five different therapeutical models, in order to make sure they go out and they, they can do one, or two, or three well, we should only do one, two, or three. (Transcript 7 line 139)

As an example of "New South African speak" such statements enable positive self presentation among the 'white' group while resisting transformation (Foster and Steyn 2008). According to Foster and Steyn, attention is drawn to a "litany of woes" such as incompetence and foolishness and "the familiar insinuation at all times is that South Africa is in decline, moving from better to worse" (2008, p.37).
A further example of such a ƒlitany of woes, about incompetence and decline, is evident in the following example:

> Ja, they mainly come from rural areas and Lesotho, that is our um, that is the but if I can just maybe, from your own interest sake, say that you know, bout 90-95% of our students are black students, and as S said, a lot of them come from rural areas where the education system is really not up to standard… (Transcript 7 line 146)

Racist discourse or strategies of talk of white group members may be linked with the structures and strategies of their 'ethnic social cognitions' and these cognitions to the

social practices and societal processes involved in the reproduction of racism (Van Dijk, 1994, p. 27). The acquisition and perpetuation of such racist social cognitions occur discursively and therefore tend to be reflected in the nature of the topics discussed (such as socio-cultural differences and competition for scarce resources), various semantic moves (such as the use of disclaimers for face keeping and positive self representation), the use of 'us and them' categories signifying structures of differentiation) and conversational properties such as hesitations, pauses, false starts and repairs).

Examples of such semantic moves and conversational properties in narrations such as hesitations, pauses and repairs, were evident in various contributions by participants:

> OK in those days the University was still only accessible for some er students so I have also experienced the change from a kind more exclusive university to where we are now with a more diverse student population. (Transcript 2 line 153)

An example of inferiorisation as racist discourse, is evident in the following contribution, referring to another participant who had also studied at the institution and who happened to be the only ƒblack, member of staff and describing her relationships to other ƒraces, in the class while being a student:

> Opvallend was T se klasmaats - dit was sy, en dan ... wat ƒn Coloured is en ... wat ƒn Indian is ... so dit was die drie maatjies.Hulle het nou net n wittetje gekort dan was hulle... [Noticeable was T and her class mates „ it was her... which is a coloured and ... which is an Indian... so it was the three little friends. They were just short of a little white, then they would have been...] (Transcript 8, line 435)

Inferiorisation may be seen as part of a discursive semantic move during racist conversations of negative other-presentation while keeping face and representing the self in a positive way. It is a form of symbolic racism among white groups which may seem less blatant (Van Dijk, 1996) and confirms the dominance of the white

group through "processes of inferiorisation, marginalisation and exclusion of [minority] groups" (Van Dijk, 1996, p. 26).

8.2.4.3.6 Disingenuous ‚white• anti -racism

In their preoccupation to prove that they are not racist, Hook (2011) argues that ƒwhites, make use of four modes of €disingenuous white anti-racism•. These are firstly, a €fetishistic preoccupation with disproving one's racism•, secondly, €ostentatious forms of anti-racism that function as means of self-promotion and as paradoxical means of white self-love•, thirdly, redemptive gestures of 'heroic white anti-racism' and lastly, anti-racism which sees tolerance as charity, or as an act of generosity of an anti-racist benefactor.

Some examples of such discourse of self-promotion during the conversations included:

> And everyone joking about everybody else. And actually feeling a lot more comfortable. And as a white person I actually model that, and so I do a lot of modelling of that. (Transcript 3 line 560)

Seeing tolerance or non-racism as charitable and generous:

> You know - my mother and father didn‚t look to the white, we look at the - and we mustn‚t…ons moet niemand skade aangedoen het nie - ons moes mense bemagtig het. [we had to harm no one „ we had to empower people] In all communities, for that years was really, and you know they got a lot of um, hammering from the people, the white community at that stage. (Transcript 8 line 116)

Ostentatious or heroic forms or claims of non-racism, which in fact promote the self:

> Also because of the situation in South Africa - it was also I think difficult for him to think of his daughter doing something like social work in a social sort

> of difficult situation. And I also said I was not going to do white social work. (Transcript 2 line 88)

And also:

> He couldn,t cope with that. I was often there [in ƒblack, communities] until 2 o,clock in the morning so it was quite a sort of it was also the best time of my life, it was really a wonderful time. (Transcript 2 line 100)

In addition to the above examples, a further strategy that may be seen as a form of ƒdisingenuous white anti-racism, is the claim that the destructiveness of racism was perpetuated in ignorance and through lack of awareness:

> The one half of the community actually had no idea what was going on for the other half. And the enormous surprise on both sides, because all our students write these ethnic autobiographies and this is discussed a lot. And it brings a lot more tolerance of people realising that in the past I suspect, hopefully today less so, it was absolutely horrific, how little was known… (Transcript 3 line 562)

Such claims serve as attempts to exonerate the perpetrators of racism and to demonstrate an anti-racist position.

#### 8.2.4.3.7 Discourse of diversity as euphemism

Euphemism, as a form of dissimulation in the operation of ideology (Thompson, 1990) is employed as ƒsocially desirable reconciliatory discourse, that obfuscates racist hierarchies. This is described by Stevens (2003, p. 192) as €South African society's pre-occupation with not being pre-occupied with race•. The use of ƒmulti-culturalism,, in replacing the language of race, is assumed €to imply a positive celebration of difference while allowing for the possibility for progress among groups once considered ƒprimitive,. By merely replacing ƒrace, with ƒculture,, there is a failure to expunge such hierarchies implied by theories of ƒrace,• (Lentin, 2005, p. 379)

having studied at Stellenbosch that was not acceptable to other students than white that was my first exposure to work in a multi-cultural context with a diverse group of people. (Transcript 2 line 123)

ƒLanguage, may also be utilized as a further category to replace ƒrace, and serves a similar purpose of euphemism and obfuscation of dominance and racism, as is evidenced in the following example:

Racially, as a I said I try to divide them for the language issue, but this time for the first time a white guy said but I don‚t have a problem to write my assignments in English, so that my black study partner can
(L) oh ok, so is English and Afrikaans also racially?
(Al) Its mainly, its mainly English speaking
(A) The coloured students are mainly Afrikaans… and the Indian students
(Al) Yes, the Indian students, they are mainly English speaking. (Transcript 8 line 287)

As may be argued in the case of social work, Stevens (2003, p. 170) describes psychology‚s attempt to remain socially relevant during the transition phase and address itself to the context of black South Africans by adopting a discourse of ƒmulti-racialism, as a response to the €growing ideological pressure within the social formation that favoured non-‚racialism‚, democracy and egalitarianism• in order to facilitate its own professional class interests.

### 8.2.4.4 Ideologies and knowledges

#### 8.2.4.4.1 Introduction

In this analysis, a critical rather than neutral conception of ideology is used. According to Thompson (1987) ideology does not only exist in discreet systems of belief, but is manifested in complex, contextual ways. Ideologies may be seen as "frameworks of social cognition" (Van Dijk, 1995, p.21), shared by social groups and acquired or changed by people as group members in social situations and

institutions, often in situations of conflicting interests between social formations (Eagleton, 1991).

Hegemonic discourse and ideologies prevalent in the current neo-liberal capitalist and post-apartheid era seem to be embraced uncritically by social work, especially in its status quo maintenance and regulatory functions. Hegemony is €the spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is historically caused by the prestige and consequent confidence which the dominant group enjoy because of its position and function in the world of production• (Gramsci, 1971, p. 12).

Hegemonic discourse therefore remains unchallenged. In many cases, the taken-for-granted knowledge seemed to be reflective of ideologies of capitalist structural formations, individualism, liberalism, paternalism, in some cases racism, racism and colonialism. Such knowledges seemed to remain uninterrogated and uncritical, performing the function of maintaining the existing status quo.

Some participants expressed an awareness of the operation of constraints on their criticality by describing a sense of subjection to authority:

> I also experienced the same kind of thing - but you realised, look, you don,t stand up against the authority because you are brought up like that. Authority in your house, authority of the state, that was the kind of conflict in your mind all the time. (Transcript 8 line 136)

Some participants on the other hand not only resisted the obfuscation of relations of domination and oppression in ideological operations, but also offered counter-hegemonic discourse in relation to their own taken-for-granted knowledge, thus challenging the status quo and adopting a critical position. The analysis therefore not only examined the operations of ideology in participants, contributions, but also explored the content of these ideologies.

#### 8.2.4.4.2 Disavowal of ideology

In many instances participants seemed unwilling to reflect on or acknowledge their own ideological positions. There was a strong disavowal of ideology, as if by not engaging in ideological discourse, it did not exist or was not operating. The ideological was described as being the same as the political and to be avoided.

> Well I would think, what I think here, we don,t over emphasise the political. (Transcript 2 line 17)

> politics are all about ideology and um, I don,t know, I,m a theorist. I,m not very much into ideology. (Transcript 7 line 192)

There seemed to be little self awareness or consciousness of the operation of ideologies and how these ideological processes reflected and directed knowledge development. Dichotomous thinking around ƒthinkingƒ, and ƒdoing, was evident and the claim was made that in social work, because the emphasis is on ƒdoing, there should not be an emphasis on understanding ideologies:

> You can have other professions maybe more sociological or something where you can have all sorts of ideologies and you can teach on that. With social work we are eventually judged by what we do. And that,s very much a completely different ball game, and much more difficult. (Transcript 3 line 110)

Disavowal of ideology was also accompanied by a ƒsuppression of historical temporality (Meszaros, 2010):

> But then I want to say the bottom line was, man it,s happened but we want to be social workers now, and we want to deal - no matter what caused the problems, or how we got here - we want to deal with the issues at hand and we want to create a future for the people. So I definitely see a swing away from the very politically motivated. It,s more that I want to be a professional

person, I want to get on, I want to create a country that is positive for all. So that has been my experience. (Transcript 7 line 77)

Ideology itself was even regarded as dangerous and was contraposed against theory, which was regarded as ƒsafe, and ƒscientific,:

> Yes, and use your theories because you don,t know, you marrying an ideology and at the end of the day you will take up a sword to kill someone. While if you are trained in a scientific manner, you will use theories, and you will move on if the theory is no longer working. Because that will be your criteria at the end of the day, not the ideology but the criteria, so we are really drilling that into them. (Transcript 7 line 202)

However, the danger of unconscious ideologies was acknowledged:

> I think the most dangerous ideological or prejudicial or whatever you might call it, are the ones we are completely unaware of. (Transcript 3 line 95)

Generally therefore, exploration and engagement with ideology and its operations, was seen as unnecessary, dangerous and to be avoided, and misunderstood as if it was something ƒout there,. There was little understanding of the existence of ideology as performative and as reflective of reality. It was also regarded as a necessary area for exploration in social work.

#### 8.2.4.4.3 Capitalism, neo -liberalism and the free market

Many participants, contributions reflected an uncritical ideological orientation, supporting or even extolling the virtues of capitalism, neoliberalism and the free-market. Acceptance of such hegemonic discourse, together with the sense of importance as a role-player in social development as the project of building a ƒnew South Africa, seemed to lead participants into a position of acceptance of capitalist, free-market principles:

> Economics was very higher grade and it was challenging just to keep up, so it will open doors because it looks good on my CV, I understand the JSE a little bit, but generally the principles of supply and demand and Adam Smith, I got that but I think the principles are important, social work definitely needs to become active in allowing people to get to economic opportunities. (Transcript 4 line 319)

> And I,m quite passionate about this aspect of community development where if you give people an opportunity to access ah economic resources, they can automatically change their lives and the lives of their families and extended families the trickle down effect to the broader community. (Transcript 4 line 321)

> In terms of, we don,t only - we do need life skills for example, but we also need entrepreneurial development, get people to, off their chairs basically - and involved in some kind of activity that would generate income, because that is the problem that we have. Um, at present, the system is being abused it is said. (Transcript 2 line 26)

The focus in social development on empowerment seemed to underline the capitalist refrain of personal responsibility and ƒ self-betterment, rather than empowerment towards social justice and equality:

> the whole shift from welfare to social development, which made social work again more enticing for me, from handouts to people empowering you know to better themselves.. (Transcript 6 line 197)

The lack of social justice and change was also framed as a problem of ƒ lack ofskills, rather than as a problem of the capitalist, neoliberal economic system adopted by the South African government:

> It,s absolutely shocking that not much has changed - and I really thought just now, that is part of  that is part of the injustice, that is part of the backlog we have - the poverty and the skills that people don,t have. (Transcript 2 line 135)

However, some responses from participants reflected a critical position in relation to neo-liberal economic policies, such as the GEAR (Growth Economic and Redistribution Programme) policy:

> In the GEAR as in the economic policy the focus will be on economic growth which we now all know that that growth is not translated into poverty alleviation. Very very sad as well. (Transcript 9 line 265)

> We still have almost 50% of this country being poverty stricken and I don,t care about the narrow definition of unemployment, probably almost 40% - 50% of people being unemployed. So that tells you that we are so, that society still has large, um large well inequality in this society. That we cannot just let our guard down and say everything we,ve arrived now and it,s fine. (Transcript 10 line 55)

Neo-liberal state economic policies in post-apartheid South Africa have ensured the €normalization ofcorporate capitalist power• (Gibson, 2010, p.63) and steadily facilitated the process of growing inequality.  Social work itself became subject to neo-liberal principles of privatization, entrepreneurship and self-sustainability of development and services after the introduction and implementation of the Welfare Financing Policy initiated in 1999 (Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004). These shifts from redistributive and transformational processes towards further entrenchment of capitalist ideologies seem to remain generally unchallenged or critically interrogated by the participants. The conceptual constraints of the structures of the current era on social work knowledge are therefore evident.

#### 8.2.4.4.4 Liberalism, charity and paternalism

A personal commitment to doing ƒupliftment work,, charity and helping others to ƒhelp themselves, was frequently expressed by participants. In a context where there is extreme inequality, injustice and oppressive relations of power, it may seem noble and attractive to contribute to the ƒbetterment, of peoples, lives. Such ideals and acts of charity arise from the ideology of liberalism, which claims to respect the worth, dignity and freedom of each individual and is characterized by the importance of free choice and private enterprise.

Liberalism justifies inequalities of wealth and poverty on the grounds that some people deserve greater rewards because of their superior ability, talent, skill or hard work. In this view, equality means that all have equal opportunity to pursue their interests and so interventions would involve improving access to resources, training, or increasing motivation for work or ƒself-help,. Inequalities are therefore not resolved through the transformation of structural forces such as property distribution, ownership, relations of production, wealth and capital that produce the inequalities in the first place (Ramsay, 2004). €Welfare provision may result from generosity, charity or philanthropy, but not obligations. Neither individuals nor the state are obliged to help the poor• (Ramsay, 2004, p. 135). While such ƒprovision,, in a liberal conception, is seen as arising from the goodwill and generosity of the helper, structural forces of power and oppression remain obfuscated and the oppressed are blamed for the position in which they find themselves. Obligatory social change and transformation is then considered unnecessary as the ƒprovision, and ƒhelping, temporarily remedy the experience of oppression.

Paradoxically therefore, charity may be described as false generosity, as it requires the perpetuation of injustice and oppression, "which is the permanent fount of this generosity" to enable the giver to continue with the act of charity (Freire, 1970, p.44).

> And also, not what can I do for you what can you do for yourself - when we work with clients and communities. (Transcript 2 line 230)

> And there was a doctor who took a particular interest in these children and he went out to the community to get churches involved and volunteers and in the end he actually had a very good volunteer corps who actually dealt, donations and clothing, who cared for the children who would come and dress the children - who had being staying in pyjamas for the whole of their lives, being support, helped. (Transcript 2 line 72)

Similarly, Biko (1970) describes the role of the ƒwhite, liberal during the apartheid era as they attempt to involve themselves in the transformation of society, as a group of privileged people who are ƒdɵgooders, and claim that they also experience oppression. Their charitable activities which are framed as solutions are in fact ƒsoporific, to the oppressed and merely act to reduce guilt, while maintaining levels of privilege and avoiding true liberation and transformation.

> Ek wou mense van onder in die gutters vat en hulle optel. Alhoewel ek nie in SAVF nie met all races kon werk het nie, was dit my passie, en - through sendingwerk, het ek deur kerk op plase gewerk. OK it was more religious work but still with my social work background I did a lot of empowerment to these people. [I wanted to help people up out of the gutters. Although I couldn,t work with all the races in the SAVF, it was my passion, and through mission work I worked on the farms through the church. OK it was more religious work, but still, with my social work background I did a lot of empowerment to these people] (Transcript 8 line 104)

8.2.4.4.5 Social development as paradigm

South African social work moved towards the social development paradigm during the 1990s (Patel, 2005) in the period of macro-economic change towards the neoliberal GEAR policy and the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997). The style of social development with its emphasis on the integration of economic and social development, relies on liberal and rational economic policies with the aim of maintaining the status quo and existing social orders (Payne, 2005). Although the South African developmental state aimed to provide a ƒprɵpoor, strategy, with the move of the state towards neo-liberal policies, there seems to be €a disjuncture

between the claims and ideals of the development agenda and the ideology of the state. Development has come to mean the achievement of self-help, self-sustainability and an economically active citizenry.• (Ferguson and Smith, 2011). In social work discourse, a developmental perspective has also come to mean such self-help and self-sustainability.

> And I think just with the change in our political era and the change that came about the whole shift from welfare to social development, which made social work again more enticing for me, from handouts to people empowering you know to better themselves. (Transcript 6 line 197)

> I,m quite passionate about this aspect of community development where if you give people an opportunity to access ah economic resources, they can automatically change their lives and the lives of their families and extended families. (Transcript 4 line 321)

However, preoccupation with income generating projects as a main focus of social development work was described as a problem:

> Now income generating projects and a lot of them are called income but they don,t generate any income. So my observation and experience is that those strategies they are very effective in terms of creating some social cohesion...Networks, cohesion and sense of belonging which you need in a community but then in terms of alleviating the real poverty they have their own limitations very serious limitations. (Transcript 9 line 240).

The futility of embarking on endless income generating projects as a social development strategy was therefore acknowledged by this participant, although this was not a generally held opinion. Social development generally tends to be rooted in liberal ideology and generally located in the status quo-maintenance ideal.

#### 8.2.4.4.6 Theoretical orientations

Perspectives that were repeatedly referred to were the ecological perspective, the strengths perspective and the developmental perspective. The developmental approach was equated with the strengths perspective in many instances:

> There is not much evidence there that we have really got hold of developmental paradigm in social work, the strengths perspective. (Transcript 2 line 164)

> Its those kinds of techniques you know, where you get people critically involved in their own community and becoming aware of all the strengths. We teach a strengths perspective. (Transcript 7 line 197)

Although it is not possible to ascribe a particular theoretical emphasis to groups of participants according to their respective institutions, there did seem to be different foci in the contributions. Some of the groups tended to discuss theoretical orientations in terms of traditional social work methodology and practice:

> Because a lot of the theory that we teach students today can actually go back to Hollis and Perlman and Dunham. But with adjustments, adding to it, layers of, say, you know a integrated approach, ethnic sensitive approach, anti-oppressive work, critical thinking. (Transcript 2 line 134)

Two of the groups seemed to have a greater critical and philosophical emphasis:

> I think that,s something that,s definitely been one of the major pull factors into critical theory and anti-oppressive practice and teaching and thinking… (Transcript 1 line 147)

> I,ve read a lot of secondary literature on Foucault and post-modernism, the move to critical post-modernism, I think all these endeavours have helped us come to terms with certain things. (Transcript 1 line 326)

> It was like so wonderful…you know, this other world opening up and these connections. And you know there people teaching post-structural social work, anti - oppressive social work. (Transcript 3 line 615)

There was also frequent mention of indigenisation and ethnic or culturally sensitive practice:

> after the generalist perspective and the integrated the next development was I think the ethnic centred or the multi-cultural. (Transcript 2 line 163)

Some participants seemed to frame the need for ƒ indigenous knowledge, as a problem that they struggled with because their own training had not equipped them adequately (as if being ƒ white, and western themselves meant that the knowledge required for ƒ the other, was inaccessible to them):

> I have got westernised knowledge. I don,t know if I am equipped to train a person who is going to work in a completely different context as to what I was trained to believe I was going to work in. And as I say, I don,t know if, if, we and our education, if we,ve got indigenous enough knowledge to make adjustments and changes. As I say, I stand in front of a class and it,s from my perspective, my training how I experienced it. (Transcript 7 line 163)

> I mean, I,m responsible for the therapeutic training, the undergraduate theory, and I mean if I choose let us say, RET [Rational Emotive Therapy], yes they really try their utmost best but where they come from, their indigenous knowledge... (Transcript 7 line 171)

Other participants seemed committed to a critical awareness regarding their own knowledge content and making appropriate changes:

> But still at that stage, as I have noted here, there were, when you are looking for answers there were, there wasn,t really any indigenous material that you could bank on to find some answers. Because you only had

> basically western thinking and western literature to look for answers but I eventually started realising, look, we would have to start looking for other answers in other places. Because what we have, it doesn,t give you answers. (Transcript 8 line 154)

In some participants, disavowal of the importance of the political in social work intervention, some theoretical approaches were considered to be inappropriate or unnecessary:

> Isn,t there a very fine line, because it can sometimes be, the way that you do this, anti-oppressive social work, radical social work, I mean, isn,t the roots more or less in a more political stance that you have to take. Or that you can be accused, being militant, being radical, um. (Transcript 7 line 189)

> We just don,t have enough time. I think that,s part of the problem that I sometimes experience, you know, how do you keep the balance, that,s maybe one of the reasons why we don,t have these anti-discriminatory type of social work, um, theories. (Transcript 7 line 142)

Ideological positioning seemed therefore to have a significant impact on theoretical views, influencing the focus of what theory was foregrounded. On the other hand, similar theoretical approaches were given different emphases depending on the ideological position of the participant.

### 8.2.5 Politics of recognition versus redistribution

When considering ideology and structural issues of oppression, social work often defines these in terms of oppression around identity and freedoms. In this way, discourse of ƒrecognition, such as anti-oppressive practice, non-racism, gender orientation and disability become a focus of social work, while ignoring broader issues of inequality, exploitation and injustices of social class. Such an emphasis masquerades as a concern for structural inequality, while class interests are left unaddressed.

Fraser (1997) maintains that €h these ƒ postsocialist, conflicts, group identity supplants class interest as the chief medium of political mobilisation. Cultural domination supplants exploitation as the fundamental injustice. And cultural recognition displaces socioeconomic redistribution as the remedy for injustice and the goal of political struggle.•

> I,m not really into community work at all…So that,s how far I go um, just making students aware, according to a specific theoretical framework that one should also take this into account because there are so many things like culture and gender and all those things. (Transcript 7 line 83)

> Die pad wat mens geloop het ... dit was baie sterk op die verskil, op die voorkoms. Maar die dinge wat gebeur het na 94 het dit n mens, kyk ek was die hele tyd bewus daarvan dat mense is mense - die velkleur bepaal nie wie jy is nie. Diversiteit le ook, afgesien van ouderdomsgroepe, ook in hoe mense verkies om hulle te groepeer. Diversiteit, as mens net kyk na mense wat gay is - dit is presies dieselfde mense dit is net hulle seksuele orienteering wat verskil. [The road that was walked, it was strongly about difference, about looks. But the things that happened after 94, look, I was always conscious that people are people „ the skin colour does not determine the person. Diversity is also about, besides age groups, also in how people choose to group themselves. Diversity, if one just looks at people that are gay „ it is exactly the same people it is just that they have different sexual orientations] (Transcript 8 line 374)

In this example, issues of sexual orientation and age seem to supplant race and inequality. Knowledge and practice that arises from such emphasis on politics of recognition at the expense of the politics of redistribution, leads to what Zizek (2009) describes as the problem of culturalising what should be seen as problems of inequality, exploitation or injustice. €We should see ourselves as presented with a new intellectual and practical task: that of developing a critical theory of recognition,

one that identifies and defends only those versions of the cultural politics of difference that can be coherently combined with the social politics of equality.• (Fraser, 1997, p.1).

### 8.2.6 Reform or revolution

Within the radical approaches in social work, the question of reform or revolution as the basis for true social transformation is an area of contestation. Luxemburg describes the connection between reform and revolution by asking: €Can we contrapose the social revolution, the transformation of the existing order, our final goal, to social reform? Certainly not. The daily struggle for reforms, for the amelioration of the condition of the workers within the framework of the existing social order, and for democratic institutions, offers to the Social Democracy an indissoluble tie. The struggle for reforms is its means, the social revolution, its aim.• (Luxemburg, 2010, p.48). Social reform is described as the process or €the means• towards the overall aim of social revolution and transformation (Luxemburg, 2010). Arguing against the reformist or opportunistic position which proposed a revision of revolutionary Marxist theory for social transformation, and instead a focus on reformist change without the goal of conquest of political power but rather merely the betterment of the working class, within the existing order, Luxemburg (2010) emphasised the importance of the final goal of revolutionary change.

Similarly, the psycho-social reformist view of social work, emphasising its radical but integrative force in society, maintains that the existing social and political structure is capable of major change and that social work operating within the present structure, would be concerned with the achievement of social justice, the extension of welfare services and the protection of the rights of the underprivileged in society. This view therefore regards the present political and parliamentary structures as powerful enough to achieve these changes (Pritchard and Taylor, 1978, p. 4). In this way, social work is a €reforming agent within society, helping both the individual and society to evolve via the social democratic parliamentary system along the more socially concerned and humane lines• (Pritchard, 1978, p.3).

Generally, participants viewed transformation as a process of reform following the political transition, whereby social work had a role to play in gradual social change processes:

> New environment, lots to learn, especially black and Indian communities. I was also part of their transformation process of their offices (Transcript 2 line 68)

> I was also able to learn both - what was going on in the country, but also what social workers should do as professionals and as well as contributing to transformation in the country. (Transcript 3 line 323)

> No, that is what I wanted to say - they had many rituals to help us through this process. I think the defence force really tried to make the transformation process really good. (Transcript 8 line 242)

On the other hand, a Marxist, revolutionary view regards the essential feature of society as its capitalist structure, which shapes the nature of its social and political institutions. This would require a revolutionary response from social work rather than a reformist position. One of the participants expressed a view about the power of social workers to achieve change when they become ƒ involved politically,:

> Social workers when they became active, active politicians and actually swung the social work field. You know, and they became involved, and they were reacting to the political situation. And I feel that,s what we should be doing all the time. And I think that certain academics should be doing that as well… (Transcription 5 line 33).

And in relation to the role of social workers in social action to participate in the overthrow of the capitalist system:

> In that period of her training, social workers were anti - establishment almost anarchist in their formation, much like they,ve done now where social workers have rallied against the WTO and the G8. Social workers got all those protests going. (Transcription 4 line 296)

Luxemburg points to the importance of reform as a strategic process towards the overall goals of transformation, similar to Freirian (1970) processes of conscientisation towards true liberation. However, the problem with reform or ƒ the means of adaptation of capitalism, as it occurs through various economic developments, the ƒ amelioration of the situation of theworking class,, is that these suppress €or at least, attenuate the internal contradictions of capitalist economy, and stop the development or the aggravation of these contradictions• (Luxemburg, 2010, p.53). Social work, in working for reforms that deal with short term ƒ attenuations, of the consequences of capitalism, therefore becomes complicit in status quo maintenance. Similarly, Freire maintains that oppression must be made more conscious €Making real oppression more oppressive still by adding to it the realization of oppression" (1970, p. 51) so that the oppressor „ oppressed contradiction may be made more real and therefore for the oppressed to become more aware of its severity, and be animated towards working for liberation (Freire, 1970). The struggle for reform is therefore important as a strategy while pursuing revolutionary change. This ongoing process builds the capability and wins victories which further strengthen the oppressed or the working class for the overall aim of structural transformation and social change.

### 8.2.7 Nature of social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change

#### 8.2.7.1 Introduction

Contributions by participants reflected a broad range of social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change. Although it would be expected that transformation and social change activities and interventions would predominate, many contributions reflected a concern with maintenance of the status quo and the performance of social control functions. In some cases, contributions themselves reflected the oppressive nature of some social work knowledge and practice.

#### 8.2.7.2 Oppressive, domesticating and colonizing knowledge and practice

Social work knowledge and practice may sometimes reflect an oppressive character. Such oppressive, domesticating and colonizing practice may be found in many areas, including class, race and gender. Some contributions reflected a critical awareness of the oppressive nature of social work knowledge and practice:

> I do feel that social work makes a number of claims of social justice and of this and that, and yet the practice of social work is very oppressive. (Transcript 3 line 106)

And an awareness that social work contributed and may remain complicit through uncritical social work education:

> The majority of social work is because of, the education of remaining uncritical, has unwittingly promoted the whole apartheid policy of oppression. (Transcript 4 line 74)

The nature of some of the contributions of participants themselves reflected an oppressive character, by pathologising and viewing people in a judgemental manner as having something ƒwrong aboutthem,:

> As people [in prison] with problems or whatever, I knew that I could do the right assessment and whatever. But I was so, I wanted to do so much I terms of helping to see what,s wrong about them. (Transcript 1 line 250)

> I had my first visit to court at that time and just sort of saw the underbelly of society and how bad people can be you know. (Transcript 4 line 293)

In the South African context with its colonial and apartheid legacy, ongoing racism is a particularly prevalent form of oppressive and domesticating knowledge and practice:

> Things like, I would ask the students um, what do black people think of coloured people, and they are shocked because they think you shouldn,t ask these things. (Transcript 3 line 224)

One participant expressed a judgemental view about ƒblack, people being capable of class discrimination as if all ƒblacks, should be an homogenous group:

> I was full time at the school and the poverty and inequality was so blatant at the school. Although it was all black, you had the very wealthy black and you had the very poor black in the same school. You had the ministerial children and then you had kids coming from shacks. And then again to see the discrimination, just amongst the blacks. (Transcript 10 line 199)

Another participant had acceded to racist categorisations and allowed these to determine teaching practices, using language as a categorisation which obfuscated race:

> Racially, as I said I try to divide them for the language issue, but this time for the first time a white guy said but I don,t have a problem to write my assignments in English, so that my black study partner can. (Transcript 8 line 287)

In some cases social work knowledge therefore reproduces relations of domination in areas such as class, race and gender. Social workers may therefore find themselves consciously or unconsciously acting as agents and instruments of class control (Rojek, 1986) and where they enhance the oppression of the working class therefore enabling an oppressive system to reproduce itself.

#### 8.2.7.3 Coercion and status quo maintenance knowledge and practice

It was clear that a majority of participants found themselves working towards status quo maintenance. In some cases this meant being complicit with the apartheid state. This role and perspective had tended to continue into current knowledge and

practice, thus leading to silence and withdrawal from any radical activity or resistance.

> I think that is part of the history of social work in South Africa, because even under the old Apartheid government we sort of tend to stick to what was said then and what was done. (Transcript 2 line 36)

Although there may have been a sense that the aim of intervention should not necessarily be status quo maintenance, participants recalled the reality of the impact of the repressive apartheid state and how fear of challenging the status quo had led to a reticence to do so:

> But as I said it,s the history of it, from when social work started - social workers wanted to speak up but they didn,t because they were also in fear of their own lives and being bullied and victimised and whatever. (Transcript 10 line 36)

Many of the social work activities discussed by participants were in the area of regulation and social control, especially when working for the state such as in the field of criminal justice or child protection:

> Um, the children,s court enquiries, the juvenile delinquency, you know having to go to the high court, having to go to the regional court, all the young people um, ah, in their homes um, but then you have to interview and decide on their future. (Transcript 2 line 122)

> It was very difficult as I said with the management and also the young people because they are because they are not very easy to work with because they are not voluntary clients - they should be there but they don,t want to be there. (Transcript 3 line 318)

Some of the participants expressed the view that they had not felt comfortable resisting the oppression of the state and that they had been drawn into the structures provided at the time which maintained the apartheid status quo:

> I think we, especially the older the educators the older the social workers, we came from a long era of apartheid, where you were actually, not socialised, well I suppose in a way socialised into not protesting against anything that the government did. (Transcript 8 line 39)

> In die Apartheids jare, ons het nooit, dit was nie hoe ons gevoel het nie. Maar die strukture wat vir ons geskep is het ons daarin beweeg as ek dink aan die terrein van maatskaplike werk ek by die SAVF, jy weet die struktuur was so dat alhoewel ek baie mense bemagtig het, maar dit was was nie in alle kulture nie want die organisasie waarbinne jy gefunksioneer het het nie vir jou geleentheid geskep nie. Maar dit was nie dat mens nie die geleenthede wou aangryp nie - en dan het jy maar met die meerderheid saamgevloei. [In the apartheid years, we never, it was not how we felt. But the structures that were created for us moved us into that. If I think of the field of social work at the SAVF (South African Women,s Federation) you know the structure was such that although I empowered many people, but it was not all cultures because the organisation within which you functioned did not create the opportunity for you. But it wasn,t that one did not want to grab the opportunity „ and then you just went along with the majority] (Transcript 8 line 55)

The individualist-reformist perspectives described by Payne (2005) may be positioned within this range of coercive and status quo maintenance knowledge and practice. Many interpretations and interventions within the social development perspective as practiced in the South African context tend to be positioned in the status quo maintenance range of knowledge and practice. Midgely (2001) describes three approaches to social work namely, remedial, activist and developmental social work. Although these approaches are difficult to reconcile with one another, the remedial, preventive and developmental functions are able to be integrated within the same practice setting (Midgely, 2001). These coercive and status quo maintenance perspectives comfortably accommodate both clinical and developmental approaches which have ideals of social regulation, status quo

maintenance and which produce and reproduce relationships of power and domination.

#### 8.2.7.4 Societal and institutional reformist knowledge and practice

Participants outlined the importance of social change and their contribution both as social work educators and practitioners. However, there was a broad range of responses relating to reformist views, ranging from the very conservative through to transformative change accompanied by political change.

A contribution illustrative of the conception that social change is to be pursued through the reform of people,s behaviour was the following:

> And that was really frustrating me because I could see that I was not going to be able to do what I planned to do, empowering people so that they can change their behaviour so they can benefit from the society or the community. (Transcript 1 line 247)

The reformist or opportunist (Luxemburg, 2010) position where reform is proposed as an end in itself was described when mentioning the role of Erika Theron:

> And they made their stance very clear, and Erika Theron was pro - change but bit by bit. She wasn,t a revolutionary, but the people in sociology were, and I wasn,t politically aware… (Transcript 3 line 389)

Participants also expressed the sense of reward at being part of institutional social change:

> I mean laws are changing, everything is changing - be part of that change. And you,ll be surprised at how fulfilling it is at the end. And I would give the example of the child care act for instance, when it was being introduced I was with child welfare and Helen Starke would come in and sort of engage us on what,s happening on the new act that was coming in. And I was a fresh social worker and all this was new, overwhelming, but I got involved

> and I contributed, and when the act eventually came out in 1983, you know, I felt so good because I was a part of that. (Transcript 5 line 58)

> I am more into community work so I am going to criticise other methods because I don,t really support them. I find the other two primary methods more into focusing on the here and now which for me as a community worker very limiting, I find it very limiting because you only enhance the psycho social functioning of the person here and now. (Transcript 9 line 227)

Reformist knowledge and practice may be regarded in various ways according to the aims it seeks to achieve. In the institutional reformist perspective (Ife, 2005), problems are seen to be located in the institutional structures of society such as the justice system; social security system; and the welfare system and solutions centre around reforming, strengthening and improving such institutions and leading to the betterment of people,s living and working conditions . On the other hand, the individualist-reformist set of perspectives (Payne, 2005) which focus predominantly on regulatory and status-quo maintenance efforts, involve enhancing individuals, coping and functioning within existing societal institutions. Although seen as reformist, this is a conservative approach as the focus is on amelioration of social problems rather than change in underlying structural causes.

However, the place of reform in society is important when viewed as part of a process towards full social transformation accompanied by the conquest of political power. This ƒcontradictory position, (Rojek, 1986), suggests that social workers, as agents of capitalist control, also work at increasing working class power and capacity to function which finally contribute to the overthrow of capitalist society (Payne, 2005, p.231).

Reform of such a nature, as part of a transformative project which includes the achievement of political power will include the pursuit of increased levels of consciousness and organisation which opposes the production and reproduction of oppressive power relations.

The conflict in views around reformist efforts versus revolutionary and transformative social change, is captured by Luxemburg (2010) when she described reform as the process or €the means• towards the overall aim of social revolution and transformation.

#### 8.2.7.5 Transformative and critical knowledge and practice

Transformative and critical practice reflects a more in depth change than reformist knowledge and practice, as these approaches seek critical conscientisation, liberation from oppression and humanisation. The distinction however between these and the more radical and revolutionary perspectives is to be found in the inclusion among these critical social work perspectives (anti-oppressive, anti-discriminatory and feminist practice), of the postmodern and constructionist approaches that focus on asymmetrical power relations, domination and group interests (Payne, 2005, p.246).

One of the participants described the nature of the transformative and critical perspectives as integrative of the personal and the political:

> It feels integrated to me, you know there are the transpersonal spirituality and the activism and the justice making and the critical stance. It feels like the one feeds the others and I do the one because of the other. Because we have to reverence every being, we have to take a social justice stance. And that,s very feminist for me. That,s very feminist for me you know the personal and the political, the fact that I care about you makes me question the conditions in which we live. (Transcript 10 line 263)

Some participants tended to view critical perspectives and specifically anti-oppressive practice as a strategy in personal transformation:

> I think a lot of these things go back to the anti-oppressive paradigm where you have really given the client an opportunity and then you really involved the client in reflecting on personal, cultural issues. (Transcript 2 line 164)

The difficulty of maintaining a critical and transformative perspective was described and the contrast between the ecological or eco-systems approach and critical perspectives was highlighted:

> And that,s why I,ve always said it,s going to take a few people to work ten times harder to carry critical thinking in the school, in terms of the issues of justice and anti-oppressive practice and human rights, and the structural approach and things like that because there are many people who are still stuck you know, in believing that eco systems is the be-all and end-all and the best in the world you know. (Transcript 1 line 169)

There seemed to be a struggle to remain vigilant and critical which emphasised that these perspectives were difficult to embrace:

> I think there are a lot of reasons why people I think, you asked me the question, sort of don,t open themselves, and you know take the risk to swim upstream, and I,ve seen it, I,ve seen the self-preservation, it,s amongst people who, and I,ve also seen the need for people to align with power… (Transcript 1 line 169)

This statement supports the argument by hooks (2010, p. 26) that there are material rewards for acquiescence as opposed to resistance, and €so we must be constantly engaging new ways of thinking and being. We must be critically vigilant.•

Transformational and critical social work was seen as important as a perspective to deal with the complex relationship between forms of oppression encountered in the two-thirds world (Sewpaul, 2006) and was referred to by various participants:

> And my research was on black women,s oppression and looking at the intersection of race, class and gender. And then I focused on Indian women and I looked at how the politics and culture contributed to their oppression. (Transcript 4 line 401)

Theoretically, participants seemed to see transformative and critical social work as a way of thinking and a perspective that could be incorporated and infused into other theoretical perspectives:

> You can do the level of policy engagement and challenges and that sort of thing, but you can also do it with one individual sitting working at a desk. And I think the capacity for true validation and complete people that you are working with is a record some social workers have… and I think that,s what emancipation work is about quite honestly… it,s a way of thinking that informs and infuses everything that you do … (Transcript 1 line 275)

> Because a lot of the theory that we teach students today can actually go back to Hollis and Perlman and Dunham. But with adjustments, adding to it, layers of, say, you know a integrated approach, ethnic sensitive approach, anti-oppressive work, critical thinking. (Transcript 2 line 164)

Transformational and critical work was also described in terms of anti-oppressive and more radical practice, although critical perspectives were still not regarded as radical or revolutionary knowledge and practice:

> Because ever so often, in terms of emancipatory work, you know, understanding oppression, the emphasis is on the Freirian notion of getting disadvantaged groups to understand the sources of disempowerment and oppression and exclusion, and marginalisation. (Transcript 1 line 472)

#### 8.2.7.6 Revolutionary and radical social work knowledge and practice

Radical and revolutionary forms of social work practice aim to work towards the total social transformation of oppressive society and the end of the structural power relations associated with the capitalist order. Radical and revolutionary approaches focus on the structural determinants of social reality, are politically engaged, use a critical analysis of the socio-political context and identify with movements for social change both globally and locally (Lavalette, 2011; Ferguson, 2008). These perspectives therefore extend beyond the transformative and critical perspectives, as

the need for participation and involvement in the change of structural and political power relations is acknowledged, both locally and globally:

> South Africa catches up eventually, but in that period of her training, social workers were anti - establishment almost anarchist in their formation, much like they,ve done now where social workers have rallied against the WTO and the G8. Social workers got all those protests going, and so it,s almost come full circle. (Transcript 4 line 296)

There was an acknowledgement of the need for politicised and radical practice,

> And also being involved in issues that politicians are involved with, I feel are issues that social workers should be involved with as well… (Transcript 6 line 257)

> And knowing that there,s no way we are going to change our clients, situation if we are going to be soft out there with the powers that be. (Transcript 3 line 233)

Discourse around *f*race, in the South African context is inexorably bound up with class and capitalist power relations. Dichotomies of class and race interests are overcome by acknowledging the complex intersections race and class in the South African race-based capitalist system. Radical practice therefore needs to account for race as being part of the capitalist structure of society. South African radical practice is therefore anti-racist, regarded as politicised social work, confronting of oppressive power structures, conscientising, organising and participating in subversive strategies within broader political strategies. However, little reference was made by participants to current knowledge and practice with radical and revolutionary ideals. In fact, there were no instances of the use of the words *f*non-racial, and *f*anti-racist, throughout the group conversations.

Descriptions of radical interventions referred primarily to practice during the apartheid era, with descriptions of subversive strategies, conscientisation, participation and organisation of protest action, and there was little input about

current forms of radical practice. It was evident that many participants had been active during the liberation struggle, not only in their personal capacity but as social workers.

> But then, the turning moment in my life came when we had this march, we were asked to have this march with 170 women …1980 - I,ve still got the newspaper cutting, because it was a turning moment I was doing my PhD research in Cape Town. And decided - and the women all took responsibility all of them said we can,t all march, so some would take care of the children, some organised with the Lawyers for Human Rights, and some of us decided ok we are going to march. But for me I said unless I do this you can roll over me and I can die... And I said no, the children were going to be taken care of by the women who were going to feed them, take them to school - it was a whole network. (Transcript 10 line 293)

Participating in the armed struggle had also been a reality for one of the participants:

> Ja, the events you know, captivated me and moved me on to doing various things you know. Especially the oppression we experienced in the 80s you know, assisting boys who come from the other side of the border. You know, helping them carry arms, knowing that they are going to destroy property and people, but… (Transcript 5 line 157)

Because formal social work knowledge development had occurred within the confines of the racist apartheid system, much of the social work education discouraged any form of resistance or radical practice. This was evident in one of the discussions where the participant described the problem of teaching social action and the reticence of educators (who themselves had been trained during the repressive apartheid years) to expose current learners to such ƒradical, forms of practice:

> the educators are probably at fault... emphasis is mainly on locality development and very little emphasis is mentioned on social action. And when that is mentioned it is oh by the way you can also engage in this.

> And the reason for me is because of the training ... their own training as educators because the current teachers obviously they come from that background where they were discouraged from teaching social action. If you use social action you are creating problems you are calling on police, they will think you are a terrorist and all of that. So I think that has informed the current teaching and until such a time as you know community work teachers can consciously say we need to expose our learners to social action as well - and not just expose them but to say there are so many ways that you can solve problems and social action is one critical technique or model that you can use to address these problems. I think we will not get anywhere... it,s not really their fault they were taught not to use it.
> Then in the 80s I remember we were told that social action is used by social workers who are revolutionaries.

On the other hand, many participants warned against the incorporation of a political focus, for example:

> We will stick to our theories, ok this is also a theory, but coming from a certain, I think from a certain ideology, we would rather stick to being social workers and get on with the job. And trying in a professional way to address injustice, social injustice. Without being, because I think politics are very much, or often seen as being militant. (Transcript 7 line 97)

However, examples of the radical nature of social workers and descriptions of political involvement during the apartheid era were given by some of the participants as follows:

> At one stage you know, just before I got in touch with Steve [Biko], I was always carrying that little red bible - Mao Tse Tung, and I was into socialism, communism. (Transcript 5 line 135)

> But then coming back in the 80,s at the height of apartheid, somehow there was something missing from my being and I thought I had to get

> politically involved. UDF work - United movement and we started doing work at a grassroots level. And then this connectedness to other women, the bonding with other women and we were all doing the same thing. And it wasn,t part of my social work, but eventually it all came together because now I was more politically conscious. (Transcript 10 line 289)

Recalling the effectiveness of past radical involvement by social workers, some participants made a plea for such activity to be ongoing:

> Social workers when they became active, active politicians and actually swung the social work field. You know, and they became involved, and they were reacting to the political situation. And I feel that,s what we should be doing all the time. And I think that certain academics should be doing that as well… (Transcript 5 line 33)

> We were reading them with no environment to apply those things now I think it,s time that we read them with a view to then implement them. Read them and see how we implement those. We should read them, and for me, your Paulo Freire and all of that and Steve Biko, BG and all of those people we should read them now with a view to see how we can make that real and how we can practice that in our life time. (Transcript 9 line 94)

> I,m just thinking, talking about activists, whether all social workers in one way or another aren,t all activists, and maybe some more than others. Siding with the minority - those who don,t have a voice. (Transcript 7 line 330)

It seemed as if the *f* militancy, and radical nature of social work during the liberation struggle was recalled with nostalgia and described as if it was only the severity of repression and structural oppression of the time that warranted such radical action, while current realities seemed not to be deemed as serious. Regarding teaching students social action as a method of community work, one participant said:

> Um, as they say you know, it may be just to teach it as an approach so that they know it. Not that they should actually be using it because I think it fitted the South Africa situation most comfortably a few years back you know, when we were militant, toy-toying you know. In fact, we talked, they don,t listen - so we act. You know, so probably I should teach it just to be, as an um, as a background, so they may know that this is another alternative. (Transcript 5 line 112)

The achievement of political liberation had seemingly satisfied the need for contributing in activities for transformation, while ongoing class based power relations with structural socio-economic realities seemed able to be dealt with in a reformist manner.

One of the participants who had also been involved in the liberation struggle, called for an integration of both a critically self-reflective and structurally-reflective approach which would produce a more radical perspective in social work education:

> There is a commitment as a teacher. As teachers to embed a critically self-reflective process as well as a structural reflective, critically reflective process. So I think that,s a little bit of a shift from before, in social work education I mean those who came from more radical backgrounds were looking at structural oppression and how we challenge that. (Transcript 10 line 122)

Radical and revolutionary activity seemed to have been nostalgically relegated to the past, while the need for ongoing radical discourse seemed less urgent. The unique South African context may have contributed to a sense of complacency about present oppressions and inequalities when held in contrast with past extremes and violent forms of repression. However, lessons from the past regarding social workers, involvement and commitment to revolutionary and radical activity may well be revisited for ongoing social change and transformation.

# CHAPTER NINE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

## 9.1 Introduction

The injunction of the Standards Generating Body for social work education in South Africa to

> €Identify, select and implement various techniques, methods and means of raising awareness, developing critical consciousness about the structural forces of oppression, exclusion and disempowerment, and use such awareness to engage people as change agents• (Exit Level Outcome 13, Standards Generating Body, 2004),

as well as the International definition of social work that it is a profession that:

> €promotes social change, problem solving in human relationships and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance wellbeing. Utilising theories of human behaviour and social systems, social work intervenes at the points where people interact with their environments. Principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work.• (Sewpaul and Jones, 2004),

raises questions about its knowledge and practice constitutive of social change. That social work defines itself as a profession of social justice which promotes social change, while itself conceptually determined by and originating from the conditions of inequality and social conflict that arise from the capitalist structural basis of society and social reality, leads to a paradox that as such, in spite of its rootedness in social justice and transformation, it has historically performed its state sanctioned mandate of social control (Ferguson, 2008). For this reason, the adoption of an historical materialist perspective in the historiography of social work and an engagement with critical theory in understanding its origins and purpose, is of great importance. Furthermore, the purpose of such critical theory is not merely descriptive, but rather it is €a way to instigate social change by providing knowledge of the forces of social inequality that can, in turn, inform political action aimed at emancipation (or at least diminishing domination and inequality).• (Rush, 2004, p. 10).

In the South African context of historical colonisation and racial oppression, as well as in this broad context of the capitalist epoch and its class based structure of society (Sewpaul, 2006) social work knowledge and practice must be interrogated and analysed for the underlying operations and interpellations of ideology, processes of professional subjectification and qualification, areas of ideological contestation and for the nature of forms of knowledge and practice constitutive of social change. However, a dialectical-historical investigation is required as it counters the fiction of a purely historical ƒprogress, of events and freedom of choice, devoid of any contextual interpretation and allows for the probing of the impact of these conflicts and forces on the development and shaping of social work (Hill, 2009). Such a process of exploration and interrogation therefore enables social work to resist the paradox of seeking social justice while accepting the hegemonic discursive power of the ƒnew right,, neoliberal and managerialist social welfare system operating on discourses of modernity (Sewpaul and Holscher 2004, p. 94).

Retrodictive analyses of social work knowledge development also reveals how knowledge is maintained by both the political realm through force and laws as well as by civil society or the private realm, which produces consent without the threat of force (Roelofs, 2007). Hegemonic discourses as found in reports of statutory commissions and formal social work texts of the various epochs, are consented to and influence the formation of social work knowledge. There is a need for a ƒcounter history, to displace ƒcommon understandings, from their privileged location (Gramsci, 1970). An examination of social work,s history therefore requires that these ƒcommon understandings, be deliberately challenged and alternative narratives foregrounded.

In social work it is the ƒcounter history, of the imperatives of capital industrialization and exploitative relations of production rather than purely Afrikaner nationalism which must displace the ƒuninspected realm of common understandings, of liberal discourse and which constitute social work knowledge in South Africa. However, without a process of recognition of relations of conflict and exploitation in society and of the imagined freedoms of choice and progressions (Boswell, Kiser and Baker, 1999, p. 361), social work is at risk of remaining complicit with exploitative state apparatus and unable to achieve social change.

Appropriate social work knowledge and theory constitutive of social change demands explanatory frameworks that take into account ideology, structure and social reality, and processes of social transformation. The theoretical basis of social work education must therefore include a critical engagement with these considerations relating to ideological processes, including the sites of ideological contestation and the content of various ideological positions. It then becomes possible to analyse social work knowledge and theory approaches constitutive of and relating to social change (or the lack thereof), ranging from oppressive and domesticating or colonising knowledge and practise, through to transformative and radical or revolutionary knowledge and practice.

## 9.2 Summary of research aim and objectives

Through a broadly *i*depth-hermeneutic approach, (Thompson, 1990) which consists of a social-historical analysis, formal or discursive analysis and interpretation/re-interpretation, the study sought to develop a theoretical framework for the analysis of social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change.

The overall aim of the study was to explore the extent to which South African social work knowledge and education, as reflected in various formal and narrative discourses, meets critical imperatives for social change and transformation.

In order to achieve this, the specific objectives of the study included, firstly, a review of extant local and international critical social science and social work theory, to contribute to the development of a theoretical framework for South African social work knowledge and practice, constitutive of social change. Secondly, the study sought to critically analyse the discursive development of social work knowledge and its ideological underpinnings, in relation to social change, as it unfolded in formal social work texts, particularly in a specific professional journal in South Africa. Thirdly, the study sought to explore the views of social work educators about their own social work knowledge development in the light of the socio-political context in which they found themselves. Lastly, the study attempted to contribute to discourse

around critical and radical social work practice, which responds to the social change imperatives in South Africa.

Various empirical processes were used to explore the research questions and to achieve the research aims and objectives. The first of these processes was the construction of a critical theoretical framework for South African social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change, based on an exploration of extant local and international critical social science and social work theory and taking into account the thematic and discourse analysis findings.

Secondly, a politically engaged critical thematic analysis (Hook and Harris, 2000, cited in MacLeod, 2004, p. 530) of social work texts and their underpinning ideologies was undertaken, around social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change as reflected historically in South African social work texts generally and specifically in a particular local social work journal.

Thirdly an analysis of the narratives of social work educators from a number of South African Universities, as participants in ten different reflective group conversations around their own processes of knowledge development.

These empirical processes then provided the data for interpretation and re-interpretation, in the light of the socio-historical analysis.

## 9.3 Summary of findings

### 9.3.1 Review of critical social science and social work theory

The review of extant critical social science and social work theory, to contribute to the development of a critical South African social work knowledge and practice framework, constitutive of social change in the context of contradictions of liberation and inequality in post-apartheid South Africa, as well as the findings from the data, contributed to the construction of the theoretical framework which accounts for various levels of analysis. The basis for the framework consists of the perspective that social reality and structure is both reflective of ideology and knowledge as well

as productive of it. This critical conception of ideology (as opposed to a neutral or positive conception) further seeks to uncover and examine how such ideology produces and reproduces relations of power and domination. It also underscores the importance of a historical-materialist analysis as a basis for the theoretical framework. Social realities and structure then reflect ideologies that are contested and that are sites of conflict. These ideologies, seen as systems of ideas and representations which maintain power asymmetries and class relations of domination, in turn then produce and create social reality through various ideological processes. The overall system of social work knowledge and practice is then further determined by what is seen to be the ideal and what is seen to be possible (mutability).

Areas of ideological contestation around social change and transformation are seen to include concerns and debates around power, privilege and oppression; agency and structure; ƒrace, and racism; specific ideologies such as neoliberalism, liberalism, paternalism, charity, postmodernism, social development and colonialism; concerns around politics of recognition or redistribution; and concerns around reform or revolutionary social change. Ideological processes which maintain hegemonic discourses, are seen to include conceptual determinations; professional subjectification and qualification; various modes of operation of ideology and various critical processes.

The theoretical basis of social work education must therefore include a critical engagement with these considerations relating to ideological processes, with the sites of ideological contestation and with the content of various ideological positions. It then becomes possible to analyse social work knowledge and practice approaches constitutive of and relating to social change (or the lack thereof), ranging from oppressive and domesticating or colonising knowledge and practise, through to transformative and radical or revolutionary knowledge and practice.

### 9.3.2 Analysis of discursive development of social work knowledge in formal social work texts

The critical analysis of the discursive development of social work knowledge and its ideological underpinnings, in relation to social change, as it unfolds in formal social work texts, particularly in a specific professional journal in South Africa revealed various dominant discourses and ideologies as well as alternative discourses which had generally only emerged in response to the increasing imperatives for social change.

These texts were analysed in terms of their content, discourse, ideology, and the structuring function that they performed on the field, as well as how they were reflective of the socio-political and economic historical context in which they emerged. In addition to their ideological and disciplinary specific nature, these texts are viewed as €instantiations of socially regulated discourses• which are also socially constrained in their €processes of production and reception• (Janks, 1997, p. 329). The assumption is furthermore made that these texts are reflective of a process of competition and struggle among those who are able to mobilize resources which enable the production of such structuring discourses (Garret, 2007).

The time periods during which the various texts were written, provided important contextual background for the dominant discourses. Across all the time periods it seems that social work discourse favoured the individualist-reformist, status quo maintenance and social control rather than emancipatory or socialist-collectivist perspectives. Contrasting change perspectives, the reformist rather than the radical or revolutionary change approaches formed the dominant discourse. The predominant ideologies therefore reflect perspectives which express the €liberal or rational economic political philosophy „ that personal freedom in economic markets, supported by the rule of law, is the best way or organising societies.• (Payne, 2005, p.9). The various historical socio-political eras also seemed to determine the fluctuations in discursive dominance, with societal transitions, political developments and conflict, seeming to be reflected in textual content and ideological positioning such as increases in dominance of social regulation and control discourse. This is in keeping with the historiography of social work as a profession globally and in South Africa, having emerged as a discipline which grew from the ƒsocial hygiene‚and eugenics movement constructed around social Darwinism, which maintained that some people were beyond help due to their weak genetic inheritance (Ferguson and

Woodward, 2009, p.18). Furthermore, in South Africa, the Afrikaner nationalist ideology and liberal and racist capitalism further shaped the nature of social work.

In the earlier formal written discourse prior to the 1960s, racist colonial conceptions and taken-for-granted ƒrace, categorizations indicated a disciplinary subjection into a racist position of superiority and domination. Racist relations of domination and subjugation were therefore reproduced in the early disciplinary discourse in social work education.
The Report of the Carnegie Commission (1932) one of the early important guiding and formative documents for social work and welfare policy in South Africa and rooted in conservative ideology, played a significant role in producing a coercive, individualist-reformist form of social work knowledge and practice. Academics led by Verwoerd and guided by the ideologies of the Commission, played a leading role in formalizing social work discourse, for example, Erika Theron, the editor of the Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk journal from its inception in 1965.

Characteristic during the 1960s and 1970s, is the strength of hegemonic discourses that produce and reproduce relations of power and privilege, perpetuating and supporting conceptions and categorizations of ƒrace, racism and apartheid, nationalist ideologies liberalism, and the role of social workers as superior, charitable benefactors; and the importance of agency and personal, individual responsibility and consequent scapegoating of the vulnerable in understanding social problems. These themes in varying degrees of dominance, emerge frequently during the various time periods.

Notable during the 1980 to 1985 period, given that this period was of the most repressive ideologically and politically in South Africa,s apartheid history, is the exclusion of commentary and silence in these texts on the levels of structural violence, repression or the liberation struggle. There is evidence of racist, familist and individualist discourse and what seems to be a preoccupation with population control, ƒtroubled, and singleparent families and ƒproblem, children. However, there is in spite of the ongoing conservative nature of articles in the journal, a slight shift of ideological interpellation around what is ideal and what is possible towards descriptions of a vision of society beyond the existing social order. These

descriptions include discourse around development and reform. However, this social change discourse is dominated by ideologies of liberalism and capitalism as solutions to the structural social problems of the time, obfuscating the power dynamics of social relations of inequality. This evidence of hybridity in discourses is reflective of the position of South Africa as a society in transition.

The period from 1986 until 1993 (the period preceeding the transition to democracy) reflects hybridity of ideologies ranging from a conservative interpretation and discursive collusion with the apartheid status quo through to a radical and progressive counter hegemonic discourse. Alternative discourse thus interpellated social workers into greater levels of conscientisation and commitments to social change.

In the period after the democratic transition in South Africa, texts as well as narratives from group conversations by educators, reflected a strong adherence to hegemonic discourses of social control and status quo maintenance. Neo-liberal discourse was frequently evident during the 2000s, with titles reflecting a return to individual responsibility and the power of agency rather than a critical approach and attention to structural dynamics. Discourses around asset-based approaches, strengths perspectives and empowerment, while maintaining the status quo, become more dominant, reflecting a renewed conservatism in keeping with global neo-liberal ideologies. Some alternative discourses also emerged during this period, which related to social justice and transformation. It may be argued however that the repressive apartheid system had prevented these alternative discourses from emerging earlier, as the consequences of subversive discourse were severe.

In the most recent period, there is also less hybridity in discourses and these generally support policy directions of government. The social development paradigm together with neoliberal analyses and approaches emphasising the role of social work in economic development are dominant. As seems to be the character of social work discourse, the conceptual determinations and structural limitations of social work discourse are evident. Processes of reform within a free-market, rational economic policy framework are supported, with discourses of personal responsibility and individualism gaining dominance. Social work knowledge and practice therefore

consistently supports the hegemonic ideologies of the state. In the context of post-apartheid South Africa, this is shown to mean acceptance of dominant neoliberal capitalist discourse, status quo maintenance and individualist perspectives.

### 9.3.3 Analysis of narratives from social work educators at South African universities

Various ideological operations were evident in the personal narratives and interactions during the group conversations. A resistance to obfuscating ideological operations and conceptual determinations was evident. Concerns about ongoing levels of inequality, poverty and unemployment, demonstrated a transcendence of the characteristic conceptual determinations such as the suppression of historic temporality, a tendency towards formalism and a position of isolated individuality.

Various operations of ideology evident in the narratives of the group conversations were evident, as was the case in the discourses of the formal texts analysed. These served to establish and perpetuate relations of domination, especially related to apartheid, liberalism, neo-liberalism and capitalist ideologies. The legitimation of relations of domination and oppression, fragmentation, dichotomous, dualistic categories and dissimulation in descriptions of context, unification and postulates of unity and universalism, reification and a tendency towards formalism and science in descriptions of context and reality, limited descriptions of the ideal and of mutability, and disjunctures between the real and the ideal, emerged in the discourses.

However, there were many instances of alternative discourses among the narratives of participants. Critical conscientisation and the use of a critical framework demonstrated how oppression and power may be resisted. Exposure and resultant awareness of conditions of oppression and social injustice had contributed to greater levels of conscientisation and radical resistance to these structural problems. Role models during early social work education had significantly contributed in many cases to the resistance of participants to conservative ideologies. Of concern however, was the absence of critical theoretical frameworks for social work that would conscientise and structure social work knowledge and practice for transformation and social change.

Evidence of entrenched racist discourse was commonly evident in the group conversations. ƒ Race, was frequently used as a taken-for-granted categorisation, with frequent instances of racist objectification, typical ƒ white talk, and the employment of a ƒ white racial frame, and the utilisation of discourse of diversity as a euphemism for racism.

Furthermore, there was frequent disavowal of ideology and claims of either neutrality or non-political positioning as social workers. However, at the same time, dominant discourse centred around the benefits of capitalist systems, neo-liberalism and the free market liberalism, charity and paternalism and the valorisation of agency and personal responsibility.

Finally, social development as paradigm, with discourses of personal responsibility, asset based approaches and strengths perspectives seem to have become a taken-for-granted, hegemonic ideologies in social work knowledge. These discourses have come to shape current social work knowledge and practice, reflecting state and civil society ideologies.

Social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change, seemed to be conceptually positioned on a continuum of processes ranging from oppressive through to revolutionary forms of knowledge and practice. These could be identified as oppressive, domesticating and colonizing knowledge and practice; coercion and status quo maintenance knowledge and practice; institutional and societal reformist knowledge and practice; transformational and critical knowledge and practice; and radical and revolutionary knowledge and practice.

## 9.4 Conclusions

Social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change spans broad temporal, ideological and contextual dimensions. While social change, social justice and transformation may be the ƒ presumptive intellectual contract, of social work, its knowledge and practice pursuits are both an outcome of and determined by hegemonic ideologies and social reality. In the South African context, this has meant

that social work education featured against the background of the state,s €pernicious project of social engineering• (Noyoo, 2003) and its ideology of white supremacy and racist capitalism. After the transition from apartheid in the mid 1990s, these ideologies came to incorporate a neoliberal macro-economic framework leading to South Africa becoming one of the most unequal societies in the world.

Hegemonic social work discourse and ideologies were evident in formal academic texts from the 1930s and 1940s (Gray, 1937; Jan Hofmeyr College, 1940; Report of the Post-War Welfare Planning Conference, 1944). In spite of the strength of the Carnegie Commission in its racist and conservative determination of social work discourse, a more liberal and reformist approach had emerged in the aforementioned texts, with calls for the prevention of poverty and for rehabilitation towards a ƒuseful and independent, citizenry. However, these are replete with racist colonial conceptions and racist positions of superiority and domination. The liberal nature of the ideologies which included blame of the individual for the social circumstances in which they found themselves was furthermore a continual theme echoed by contributors during the period.

A problem that emerged even during the early years of formal social work, is that of the contradictory nature of prevailing discourses. The expression of liberal ideologies of humanitarianism and hopes for a transformed world, in the context of opposing ideologies of eugenics and racist population control, within a welfare system of legislated oppression, racism and inequality, requires extreme forms of disassociation and denial. These contradictions in professional values set the tone for disassociation from reality and it may be argued that among social workers who were interpellated into these contradictory ideologies, a ƒsplitting off, of professional, personal and political selves was necessitated, in order to maintain cognitive integrity.

During the 1960s and 1970s, in the context of the Sharpeville massacre and violent apartheid repression there was a consistent theme of Afrikaner nationalism and white supremism in formal social work discourse. The focus was on casework, social hygiene and paternalism, situating the social worker as an instrument of social control with an individual reformist and oppressive role. The typical conceptual

determinations characteristic of the entrenched hegemonic force of the ruling class was therefore evident in social work discourse around social change. Similarly, in the 1980s, the increased resistance, violent repression and human rights violations of the time, were largely undescribed in formal social work discourse (although it should be added that, besides editorial selection, there were severe restrictions on what could be written and published).

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, globally, welfare systems had shifted towards the €new right• after the adoption of neo-liberal economic policies and this was evident in South African social work situated within a (state) non-interventionist, neo-liberal free-market environment. A reformist rather than radical or revolutionary perspective was evident, however discourse remained generally silent about the socio-political conflict, violence and human rights abuses. Hegemonic racist ideologies still positioned readers as being white, English and/or Afrikaans speaking and South African. Hybridity of ideologies characteristic of periods of transition, was demonstrated by the emergence and inclusion of a different, somewhat more hopeful, transformational discourse and ideologies of reform towards the envisioned post-apartheid context.

Although texts after 1994 reflected greater optimism for the future characterised by the social development paradigm, they reflected mainly neoliberal analyses and approaches. Positioning social workers as partners in economic development through entrepreneurship and income generation, ideologies of reform within a free-market, rational economic policy framework, with discourses of strengths, assets, personal responsibility and individualism were reflected. During this period, social work therefore remained, as in previous eras, supportive of hegemonic ideologies of the state. In the context of post-apartheid South Africa, this would come to mean acceptance of the dominant neoliberal capitalist discourse as encompassed by GEAR, status quo maintenance and social development perspectives. Within the state as well as the welfare sector commitment to the social development paradigm, was a discourse of self-reliance and self help, which was in turn supportive of the individualist perspectives which maintain the centrality of individual responsibility for wellbeing and survival.

There was however some evidence of counter hegemonic discourses such as critical views about the impact of macro-economic policies on social welfare and the need for social work educational institutions to include economic globalisation in their curricula. These were therefore constitutive of more radical and critical discourses of transformation and social justice.

Although social work discourses are therefore both reflective and productive of ideologies and knowledge, dominant discourses such as those of racist superiority, individualism and conservatism, these were at times challenged by alternative discourses. Challenges to the hegemony of discourses around status quo maintenance and at most, reformism rather than radical social change, emerged tentatively through discourses of hope, egalitarianism and working towards a transformed and better world for all.

In spite of hegemonic discourse and conservative ideologies in social work education, the extent of the realities of the South African socio-economic context meant that educators generally resisted operations of ideology that would tend to obfuscate these realities. There was a general tendency not to ascribe social problems to individual causes and acknowledge the historical, material and structural nature of the problems. This meant that personal awareness and experiences of social work educators resisted and were able to contradict hegemonic social work discourses of the formal texts to which they would have been exposed in their own education and in the context of their ongoing role as educators.

However, there were varied responses among the range of social work educators and there was also evidence of legitimation and rationalisation of relations of domination and inequality. This occurred through the minimisation of the importance of structural forces and reinterpreting these as individual and private needs of people. Such legitimation may operate to entrench ideologies of status quo maintenance and cause structural problems to be alluded to as less important. Attention was also deflected away from the political and relations of domination and inequality often tended to be denied, obscured or glossed over. The troubling tendency towards naturalisation, reification and obfuscation as seen among some

educators, is particularly powerful in the perpetuation of ideology that explains poverty, oppression and injustice as being inevitable.

Although the sense among educators was generally that change and transformation towards a socially just world was possible, the conclusion among some that €there is no alternative• to the neo-liberal capitalist structure of society may be linked to hegemonic discourse of neo-liberalism in social work texts of more recent times. Finding it impossible to object to the existing system of commodity production and exchange as the one and only social system of interchanges between individuals, is also an ideological legitimation that is characteristic of the capitalist social formation.

Similarly problematic was the sense among educators that there was incongruence between what they believed and what they were able to practice, that there was a disjuncture between social work education and the contextual realities in South Africa and that there was incongruence between personal and professional beliefs or values. Critical conscientisation and critical thinking were seen as important ways in which such contradictions could be resolved.

On the other hand, it was not only formal social work discourse in the form of texts and curricula that had influenced the ideological positions of social work educators. Interpellation into specific positions regarding theoretical orientations and ideologies was found to have been strongly affected by the ideological positions of specific role models. Those educators who had found positions antagonistic to hegemonic and oppressive forms of knowledge and ideology, had often been inspired by the positions taken by such role models in relation to these issues. They had also been willing to take risks through various forms of resistance, protest and activism during the apartheid era. In these cases the role of conscientisation, reflexivity, a structural approach to analysis of social realities, identification of conservative ideological positions and willingness to resist oppressive regimes was identified as crucial.

Various sites of ideological contestation were evident throughout the formal texts and the narrative discourses of social work educators. These (often dichotomous) positions and understandings seemed to recur often as unconscious struggles of position among educators as well as writers of social work texts. It is therefore

important for social work education, as it pursues social change, to explore and interrogate areas of contestation in social work knowledge and discourses such as power and privilege; agency and structure; ƒrace, and racist discourse; political economies and neo-liberalism; ideology and its operations; the politics of recognition and redistribution; reform and revolution; and knowledge constitutive of social change. In addition, the rejection of a postmodern perspective, as an incredulity towards metanarratives and obfuscating social realities of injustice and structural inequality, is necessary.

Furthermore, in the South African historical context of racist capitalism, the importance of ƒrace, as a complex and oppressive form of asymmetrical power relations, requires specific attention in social work education. It must be interrogated as a form of categorisation, as internalised oppression, in its institutional and everyday forms and in its disingenuous forms. A specifically anti-racist and anti-colonialist position is necessary in order to counter the complexity of racist discourses and practices arising from the history of the colonial imperialist project and apartheid as well as in the insidious and ongoing racism perpetuated in the racially stratified South African society. The legacy of social work in particular as it grew from concerns around white poverty and racist state interventions, must be challenged and resisted. This needs to occur however, together with analyses of ideologies of class and oppressive economic systems implicated in the particularly complex post-apartheid and post-colonial South African context.

In order to pursue the social justice and social change imperatives of social work, social work knowledge and practice will therefore have to interrogate and challenge its underlying ideologies and dominant discourses with counter-hegemonic discourses. Envisaging social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change as being determined by as well as being reflective of social reality, being formed by ideological operations and encompassing ideological debates, and giving rise to a continuum of knowledge and practice constitutive of social change, may guide the theoretical development of an accountable and engaged practice for social change.

Continuous reflexivity will enable social workers and social work educators to challenge class and race based structures of oppression and to therefore work towards social change. Reflexivity is not only a process of intellectual introspection, but rather the permanent sociological analysis and control of sociological practice. "It entails ... the systematic exploration of the unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and predetermine the thought." (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 40).

A structural perspective, using a historical-materialist form of analysis is of importance in social work discourse, as the very origins of social work are found in the dynamics of class-based structural inequalities as the consequences of the capitalist system and the resultant conditions of poverty and social conflict. Dialectical-historical analysis, to counter the myth of historical progress and freedom of choice that ignores interpretation of the context, allows for the probing of the impact of these conflicts and forces on the development and shaping of social work. Social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change may be subject to a wide range of ideological positions, determining in turn, knowledge and practice. Any education process must therefore consist of conscientisation in order to uncover the hegemonic discourses and ideologies which determine knowledge and practice. Conservative ideologies that maintain the status quo and perpetuate class and race based structural oppression, social injustice and inequality must consciously and constantly be interrogated and uncovered. The earlier radical social work perspectives (Bailey and Brake, 1970) and the new radical social work discourses (Mullaly, 1997; Ferguson, 2008; Ferguson and Woodward, 2009; Garret, 2008; Jones, 2004; Lavalette, 2011) offer counter-hegemonic ideologies for social work knowledge and practice constitutive of social change.

World events such as the collapse of economic systems and the rise of people,s revolutionary outrage at conditions of suffering and injustice as well as the simultaneous strength of South African resistance and mobilization for social justice and equality, are new forms of ideological interpellation for social workers. These ideologies and hegemonic shifts in discourse towards transformation, are currently shaping new social realities. Social work education therefore, in order to achieve its aims of preparing social workers for the critical imperatives for social change, needs

to move beyond the conceptual determinations of social formations and structures arising from neo-liberal capitalism and its limitations. Utilising an historical materialist analysis of social conditions, avoiding the narrow and limiting conceptions of isolated individuality and refusing the negative formulations of a social science which claims that history is over, are able to shape new forms of knowledge and practice „ a practice that constantly nurtures the hope and resolve that change, and a better world, is possible.

Finally, social work discourse and knowledge, shaped by and shaping ideologies, must be seen on a continuum which consists of oppressive, domesticating and colonizing knowledge and practice; coercion and status quo maintenance knowledge and practice societal and institutional reformist knowledge and practice; transformative and critical knowledge and practice; revolutionary and radical social work knowledge and practice.

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APPENDIX A: GROUP CONVERSATION GUIDELINE

RESEARCH STUDY
SA SOCIAL WORK: CRITICAL IMPERATIVES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE
CONVERSATIONS WITH SOCIAL WORK EDUCATORS AT SA UNIVERSITIES

1. INTRODUCTION

Introductions
Practical arrangements
Appointment of ƒcoworker, exploration

PAUSE/REFLECTION

The approach to research in this project is a critical, participatory one. Such an approach argues that the process of doing research requires congruence with such values and the methodology is €inextricably linked to how you theorise the world• (Macleod, 2004:525). Furthermore, it is important in this approach that the researcher, as a reflexive participant in the ƒknowledge production process,, makes clear her own position, assumptions, world views and values relating to social contexts; practice; and self (Fook, 2007: 36).

2. AIMS OF THE BROADER STUDY

Handout

3. INFORMED CONSENT AND BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

Completion of informed consent forms and brief biographical information forms

PAUSE/REFLECTION

This will be important for later data analysis regarding participants, contexts and ƒsubject positions,

4. HANDOUT: THOUGHTS, IDEAS, DEFINITION OF TERMS

Readings and definition of terms handout

PAUSE /REFLECTION

This supports the approach of making known the researcher,s position and provides a dialectic basis for discussion. It also calls upon the researcher to be aware, reflective and critical of own assumptions. It equalizes power relations between researcher and participants and between participants themselves by removing possible ƒmonopolies of knowledge,.

5. DESCRIPTION OF HOW CONVERSATION WILL PROCEED

content, pause/reflection, content, pause/reflection
individual exercise/drawing on paper of own social work ƒknowledge journey, sharing in group with discussion and input from participants
pause/reflection after each sharing

PAUSE/REFLECTION

This will give participants information about what to expect and give them an opportunity to ask questions or comment on the format and ƒhelp shape the process,

6. SYMBOLIC ƒLIFE-LINE, OF OWN SOCIAL WORK KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT

Draw a ƒlifeline, of your own journey of social work knowledge development… from an early awareness of choosing to do social work, through to your current role as educator of social workers (+/- 30 minutes). In your depiction of the time-line, indicate, using clear time periods or phases, the following:

- significant ƒawarenesses,, ƒmoments,, ƒshifts, or transitions in thinking/knowledge
- experiences or people or events (personal, social, political or educational) that contributed or formed
- your thinking
- the context of these ƒmoments, of (social, political, historical)
- personal, educational and contextual ƒconstraints, or ƒboundaries, or ƒlimits, surrounding your
- knowledge development
- conflict or congruence between your social work education/knowledge and the context in which you
- found/find yourself
- Share these with the group……

PAUSE/REFLECTION

In light of the above discussion, what questions should we ask ourselves, for the purposes of this conversation, to try to understand the critical nature of social work education „ in the past and in the present?

7. DISCUSSION OF THE QUESTIONS

8. CONCLUSION

PAUSE/REFLECTION

APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANTS• INFORMATION SHEET

DATE

Dear Social Work education colleagues

My name is Linda Smith and I am a Social Work lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am conducting a PhD research study titled •South African social work: critical imperatives for social change•.

It is hoped that the study will contribute to an understanding of the extent to which South African social work training meets critical imperatives for social change, through exploring the views of social work educators about critical consciousness, critical social work and social work knowledge development. The study also aims to analyse the discursive development of social work knowledge in relation to oppression and social change; to reflect the development of critical consciousness within the researcher personally during the research process; and to contribute to discourse around social change and critical social work practice.

All Universities that offer social work training will be requested to host a focus group for social work educators. I would like to invite you as a social work educator to participate in this study by joining such a focus group discussion for approximately four hours, facilitated by myself. Your participation is completely voluntary and a decision not to participate will not lead to negative consequences. Similarly, a decision to participate will not lead to any specific academic or financial benefits, other than the possible academic interest that the discussion may stimulate.

If you do decide to participate, you may choose to withdraw from the study at any stage and this will not lead to any negative consequences. You may also refuse to comment or respond to a specific question or discussion, and request that a particular response not be used in the research report. With your permission, the focus group discussion will be audio-taped for purposes of transcription. These tapes will be kept locked in the researcher,s office, and after completion of the project they will be destroyed. Transcriptions will be kept until after the completion of the study.

The study is of a qualitative nature, and principles of participatory research will be used, incorporating aspects of reflective inter-group dialogue. The initial stage of the discussion will be used for members of the focus group to participate in the formulation of the aims of the research and the questions to be considered and a reflective process will be used throughout the conversation.

Although confidentiality cannot be assured in the focus group conversation (as participants may choose not to keep all information confidential) contributions will be kept confidential in the research report. No names of participants will be disclosed and it will not be possible to link you with any specific responses or data.
The topics to be discussed will be of an academic nature and should therefore not lead to any emotional distress. The results will be presented in the form of a thesis which will be submitted to the University of the Witwatersrand. A summary will also

be made available to participating Universities. The results will also be used for academic publication purposes.

Please feel free to discuss any questions or concerns about the study, or if you would like to have more information in order to decide about participation. I am available on telephone: (011)7174472/83 or email address: Linda.Smith@.wits.ac.za.

Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in the study.

Yours Sincerely

RESEARCHER: LINDA SMITH
(011)7174472; 0823257079
Linda.Smith@wits.ac.za

SUPERVISOR: PROF NORMAN DUNCAN

Norman.Duncan@wits.ac.za

APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION AND AUDIO RECORDING

RESEARCH STUDY: SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIAL WORK: CRITICAL IMPERATIVES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE. CONVERSATIONS WITH SOCIAL WORK EDUCATORS AT SOUTH AFRICAN A UNIVERSITIES

I hereby consent to participate in this research project. The purpose and the procedures of the study have been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time or refuse to comment on particular issues, without any negative consequences. I understand that my responses will not be kept completely confidential as I will be participating in a focus group discussion with other participants, but my name will not be used and I will not be able to be linked to any specific responses in the research report.

Name of participant_____

Date_____

Signature_____

I have explained the purposes and procedures of the study as well as the rights of the research participants. I agree with the conditions in the Participants, information sheet and consent form and undertake to adhere to them.

Name of researcher_____

Date_____

Signature_____

CONSENT FOR AUDIO-TAPING OF THE GROUP SESSIONS

I hereby consent to the audio-taping of the focus group discussion. I understand that my right to confidentiality will be respected at all times and that the tapes will be destroyed after completion of the study.

Name_____

Date_____

Signature_____

APPENDIX D: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SHEET

SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIAL WORK:
CRITICAL IMPERATIVES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE
CONVERSATIONS WITH SOCIAL WORK EDUCATORS AT SA UNIVERSITIES

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

Please complete the following

| | |
|---|---|
| Name | |
| University | |
| Age | |
| Gender | |
| Race | |
| Home language | |

| | Name of School | Town/city | Year |
|---|---|---|---|
| Matriculation | | | |

| | Institution | Qualification | Year obtained |
|---|---|---|---|
| Degree | | | |
| Other | | | |
| Post graduate degree | | | |
| Other | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

| Work experience | Employer | Place | Years |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
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|---|---|
| Areas of interest | |

## APPENDIX E: THOUGHTS AND IDEAS : GENERATIVE THEMES FOR GROUP CONVERSATIONS

RESEARCH STUDY: SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIAL WORK: CRITICAL IMPERATIVES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE CONVERSATIONS WITH SOCIAL WORK EDUCATORS AT SA UNIVERSITIES

The approach to research in this project is a critical, participatory one. Such an approach argues th the process of doing research requires congruence with such values and methodology is ‚inextricably linked to how you theorise the world' (Macleod, 2004, p. 525). It is important in this approach that the researcher, as a reflexive participant in the 'knowledge production process', mak clear her own position, assumptions, worldviews and values relating to social contexts; practice; and self (Fook, 2007, p. 36). These are presented in the form of a collection of quotations and ideas wh the researcher considers to be descriptive of her views and beliefs regarding the political nature of social work. Participants are invited to peruse this document in order to engage with some these views and ideas prior to the research conversation.

An interesting debate has occurred in the past few months regarding the political nature of social work. The sharing of ideas about the critical/political nature of social work is important, as it will certainly have an impact on the clarification of positions in this regard.
The debate was triggered by a report entitled, 'study declares Social Work education a national academic scandal', states that the NAS study of social work education found in the USA , descriptions of social work education programs to be, at every level, chock full of ideological boilerp and statements of political commitments' (Balgh, Stephen and Wood, Peter, NAS, 11 September 2007). This report was posted on the ASSWA and ASASWEI list servers in and led to interesting debate. An excerpt of an email response to the report, from Prof Viviana Wilson (Chairperson of the Association of South African Social Work Education Institutions), reads: ‚That Social Work is seen t have commitments that engage students in understanding the dynamics of oppression at various levels, that we understand the interaction of race, class and gender (and other forms of oppression) and how these influence access to status, privilege, power and resources, that we understand and challenge power dynamics at all levels of society must be seen to be social work's strength limitation. It is to me unthinkable to ask social workers to remain neutral in the face of injustice and oppression – by virtue of our profession we align ourselves with the people most marginalised and excluded in our societies. Much of the mandate derives from this.' (Swart, Viviana, 27 September, 2007 Email)

Given the context of inequality and poverty and concerns with social justice issues, social workers need to adopt a critical stance.
‚Nothing in my view is more reprehensible than habits of mind in the intellectual that induce avoidance, that characteristic turning away from a difficult of principled position which you know to b the right one, but which you decide not to take.' (Said, 1994, p. 74)

Students of social work in the South African context of contradictions of liberation and inequality, have experiences various forms of oppression themselves. This requires that social work educators must engage in an educational praxis which takes this context into account:
‚Regardless of the personal, epistemological, ontological, and moral paths that we choose to take as educators, at some point we have to come face to face with the naked reality of capitalist social relations in local and global contexts. We cannot ignore this, and if we are to engage in a revolutionary educational praxis, we need to do more than rail against the suffering and tribulations the oppressed and instead seek ways of transforming them.' (Peter McLaren, 2001, p.128).

It is important that students be engaged in a process of critical conscientisation
Students must ‚…have the power of criticism, and must not, in the name of objectivity and science,
distance themselves from the power relations that exclude, oppress, subjugate, exploit and diminish
other human beings' (Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004:100). Becoming conscious of and identifying
external forms of oppression and how these become internalised, and then €˜rescripting or reauthor
the self' will enable planning for praxis (Sewpaul, 2003, cited by Sewpaul and Holscher, 2004, p.101

The Standards Generating Body for social work education included an important learning
outcome regarding critical consciousness:
Social Work education learning outcome number 13: ‚develop critical consciousness
about the structural forces of oppression, exclusion and disempowerment, and use such
awareness to engage people as change agents' (Standards Generating Body, 2004).

> Through internalised oppression and the power of hegemonic paradigms, world views
> and language, educational systems may continue to be oppressive and exert an
> influence on social workers during preparation for practice
> The (sometimes unconscious) perpetuation of oppression is a powerful force.
> For example, Eurocentric theory may be seen as problematic for some cultures, particularly if
> such theory functions to ‚psychologise away' social inequality (Hook, 2004:123).

The facilitation of a process of critical conscientisation (likened by Freire, 1973, to
the ‚decolonizing of minds'), should be the basis of the social work curriculum.
Continuous self-reflection and action must occur about how approaches to social work practice are
shaped by societal assumptions and power dynamics (Garvin and Seabury, 1997, p.46). They go o
to state that ‚we must each delve into our own positionality and explore how we have been
conditioned by the master discourses of our culture' and reject that which is founded on oppressio
and stereotypes (Garvin and Seabury, 1997, p.60).

The post-colonial and post-apartheid South African context requires a critical and specifically
anti-oppressive stance.
‚The foundation of racial discrimination, denigration of indigenous ways, paternalism in social
services and the distorted nature of social welfare policies favouring whites as the welfare elite,
were laid during colonial times… Colonialism imposed enormous social changes on traditional
societies, but no responsibility was taken for the social costs of such large scale social disruption.'
(Patel, 2005, p. 67).

Universalising trends of social work education may place the project of empowerment and
social justice at risk due to cultural hegemonic discourses.
Askeland and Payne (2006, p. 733) link this homogenization whereby the dominant culture
overpowers other cultures to social practices such as social work where culture may be used in
post-colonial environments to dominate.

Social justice and equality for all must remain the essential value for social workers.
‚To celebrate life always demands sacrificing our ontological security, and as Che and Freire both
knew, it is impossible to celebrate life under conditions which do not obtain for all, that do not allow
others to enjoy the fruits of their struggle and labour. As long as others struggle, celebration is emp
(McClaren, 2001, p.30)

If social work practice is not overtly anti-oppressive, it perpetuates systems and structures of
oppression.

Practices can either condone and exacerbate, or attenuate oppressive forces (Thompson (1998, p. 38). The discourse of human services practice thus needs to be overtly anti-discriminatory and anti-oppressive. In order to achieve this, social workers must engage in processes of critical reflection and praxis. It is during social work training that this process of critical conscientisation must begin (Freire, 1972).
Critical means must be found to realise how social work and educational practices reproduce oppressive social relations (Ledwith, 2001)

Reflective practice alone is not sufficient. Such reflection must be critical in order to achieve liberatory, anti-oppressive and social justice aims.
Process of reflective practice becomes critical when it is able to expose a deep level of assumptions which function to preserve dominant power structures or relations e.g. certain accepted knowledges may hide assumptions about which and whose knowledge is legitimate and who is powerful.
Process of critical reflection can be transformative, by reworking fundamental thinking and power structures and relations (Fook, 2007, p. 36)

Social workers must develop a broader perspective and a critical analysis to be effective.
We find ourselves driven by a form of community development that is preoccupied with sustainable economic regeneration, but often without a holistic analysis of inequality and injustice…Focussing on the symptoms, rather than causes, of oppression has falsely premised radical practice, leading to a dangerous illusion that we are making a difference … for the community worker then, central to the task is an understanding of how dominant ideology deceives, fragments and distorts the interests of the many, in favour of the power and privilege of the dominant interests (Ledwith, 2001, p. 173,174,177)

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APPENDIX F: HANDOUT: GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

RESEARCH STUDY: SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIAL WORK: CRITICAL IMPERATIVES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE
CONVERSATIONS WITH SOCIAL WORK EDUCATORS AT SA UNIVERSITIES

DEFINITIONS AND GLOSSARY

Advocacy: to speak up, to plead the case of another, to champion a cause (3)
Agency: theoretical term to convey the belief that an individual has the capacity of intentional action through rational thought, free will, motivation of emotion, to direct their behaviour or to make particular choices (7)
Constructivist learning: constructivist learning views knowledge as created and lodged in a person's mind and is a function of his/her beliefs, past experiences and knowledge (2)
Context: the social, cultural, natural or built environments that surround our lives and affect our cognitions, emotions and behaviours (4)
Conscientisation: associated with the work of Paulo Freire, this describes the process of facilitating the development of a critical self-awareness in oppressed and marginalised people (7); the process whereby people become aware of the political and psychological conditions that oppress disadvantaged people (4)
Collectivism: a belief held in the importance of groups and communities that shapes attitudes and behaviours of citizens (4)
Critical discourse analysis: the analysis of texts and conversations, using linguistics, from an avowedly politically committed perspective (1)
Dialectical: philosophical concept which argues that theory, society, or reality advances through an idea or force (a thesis), which elicits a counter-idea or force (antithesis), which is integrated or resolved in a synthesis (7)
Disciplinary power: modern form of power which functions at the "capillary" level of individuals, increasing their docility, optimising their capabilities, and integrating them, by self-regulating, subjectivity, into systems of efficient and economic control (7)
Ecological approach: approach to social work emphasising the environmental context in which people function, the concepts adaptation, transaction and goodness of fit and the principles of mutuality between people and their environment (5)
Empowerment: simultaneous development of a certain state of mind and modification of structural conditions in order to reallocate power (7)
Epistomology: a branch of philosophy that focuses on theories of knowledge that define the parameters of what is possible to know about reality (2)
Global capitalism: concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a small number of individuals and corporations at the expense of the majority of citizens and worldwide destruction of the natural environment (4)
Hegemony: the political, ideological, and cultural dominance of the ruling class as reflected in the principle that the ruling ideas of any epoch are the ideas of the ruling class (6)
Neo-liberal economic policies: policies propagated by the international monetary fund and the world bank that recommend adherence to free market principles. This aims to limit government intervention in the economy, privatisation of state enterprises, a balanced budget, low interest rates (6)
Ontology: branch of philosophy that focuses on assumptions or theories about the nature of reality (3)
Oppression: a state of domination where the oppressed suffer the consequences of deprivation, exclusion, discrimination, exploitation, control of culture, and sometimes even violence; while the sources of oppression are external, oppression can also be internalised into negative beliefs about self (4)

Paradigm: a conceptual framework or theoretical position (2)
Positivism: an epistemological approach that assumes that phenomena under study can be observed and measured and that the researcher can play an objective role in this process (2)
Praxis: used to refer to the reciprocal relationship between practice or action and the understand gained from reflection and research (2)
Reflective learning: refers to a deliberate, active, persistent and thoughtful consideration of experiences at cognitive and emotional levels, in order for learning and change or transformation to take place (2)
Reflexivity: the subjectivity and social location of community (workers/psychologists) in their roles as social interventionists, including the priveledges they enjoy (4)
Social action: action of interest groups aimed at influencing public opinion regarding social issues with a view to formulating or changing social policy (5)
Social Exclusion: experience of living at the margins of society, often due to discriminatory policies and practices of groups or governments against people who are different from them (4)
Structural: of the underlying structures or organisation of society, the underlying social, economic and political relations that €pattern• society (7)
Subject: Foucault uses the term €subjects• rather than €individuals• because he emphasises the various forms of power we are subjected to and that subsequently bring individuals into being (7)
Subjugate: to make subservient, to bring under control (7)

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## APPENDIX G: READING LIST

HANDOUT: READING LIST
CRITICAL AND RADICAL SOCIAL WORK (Please add to this list…!!)


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APPENDIX H: LIST OF TEXTS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Report of the Carnegie Commission of Inquiry: The Poor White Problem in South Africa: 1932

2. Inaugural lecture of Professor John Gray, University of the Witwatersrand (1937)

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23. Lombard, A. (1996). Developmental social welfare in South Africa: A theoretical framework. Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk, 32(2), 162-172

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