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Transformation of social work in South Africa: perspectives and experiences of social workers in the Free State

Damons, Mary-Ann

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

1.1 Introduction

The South African democracy is twenty one years old. Social work is said to be a transformed non-racist and non-sexist profession. South African social work literature (White Paper for Social Welfare, 1997; Patel, 2005; Earle, 2008; Nicholas, Rautenbach & Maistry, 2010; Bernstein & Gray, 2010) indicate that social work has moved from a residual approach to a developmental approach in order to address the imbalances of the past and the consequences of inequalities on the majority of South African citizens.

However, research on the transformational challenges of contemporary social work by Cock (2008), and the latest release from Statistics South Africa (2012) on the fact that black people remain the most underdeveloped and poorest population in South Africa, clearly indicates the lack of effective developmental initiatives, including those by social work to address the imbalances of the past. Gray (2010, p. 94) maintained that a "critical analysis and statistical data would reveal that developmental social welfare has failed dismally to improve the plight of or promote social justice for the most disadvantaged of South Africa's Population." Cronje (2013, p. 25) drawing statistics from the South African Institute for Race Relations, confirms this reality as he highlights that 60 % of white South Africans between the ages of 20 and 24, by 2012 were enrolled in higher education, compared to the 14% of black South Africans. The unemployment rate among white South Africans in 2012 was 5, 7% compared to the 29% among black South Africans in the same year. Furthermore, the percentage of black South Africans with a household income below R5 000 is 45% compared to the 1% figure for whites in the same category (Cronje, 2013).

The current challenges facing the country and the on-going political, economic and racial tensions and unrests, calls for a critical analysis of the role of social work in a developing country like South Africa. The recent conference of the Association of Social Work in Africa themed: Social Justice as a platform for Social Development

also acknowledged and emphasized the fact that social work "... needs to reclaim their identity as a profession of human rights" (Sewpaul, 2012, p. 51).

Earle (2008) argue that the focus of the welfare sector had changed from being nationally fragmented and an exclusive focus on the welfare of the white minority population to being nationally united, inclusive and focused predominantly on the needs of the majority previously disadvantaged black population and that the demographics of student enrolment have drastically changed. However, the progress in staff equity in higher education in South Africa has been limited and university personnel remain predominantly white (Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions, 2008).

So, despite paper indications of transformation of the welfare sector, the impact of the legacy of apartheid and colonialism is still felt by the black majority of students, practitioners and ordinary men and women on the streets. The Department of Social Development Strategic Plan 2012-2015, emphasises "the fact that a new approach, moving away from a passive citizenship receiving services from the state to one that systematically includes the socially and economically excluded, where people are champions of their own development, is needed."

This study explored what has been done differently than before and what the impact of these differences or non-differences are on the social workers and their interactions with their service beneficiaries. It further reflected on the journey social work has travelled and examined how it does or does not perpetuate a state of discrimination and oppression among educators, students and practitioners. Recommendations are made as to how social work can critically and actively engage in the task of using social justice and human rights as vehicle for sustainable human and social development through an anti-racist social work approach.

1.2 Motivation for the study

Social Work education and practice in South Africa has undergone many changes. However, fourteen years of practicing social work and seventeen months as a social work educator, left the researcher determined to explore the unsaid, unheard part of social work in South Africa. Personal experiences and observations from colleagues

and students and the continuing silence around matters of race, class and gender within social work practice and education became a motivating factor "… to break the conspiracy of silence that has ensured the perpetuation of sexism, racism, and other forms of marginalization and exclusion…" (Roxanne, 1993, p. 201). The observed struggles and lack of self-esteem among black social work students, their expressions of helplessness and hopelessness and their desperate struggle to rise above their circumstances, also compelled the researcher to explore the feelings, thoughts and experiences of black social workers.

Together with the intense feelings of alienation and as a form of resistance towards the status quo and social work academia that "… seems to have accepted being in a state of 'confusion' about our values, forsaking social justice and equity for ideas that have been disseminated in our institutions as 'common sense'" (Ledwith, 2001 as cited in Wehbi & Turcotte, 2007, p. 2), the researcher was prompted to find radical strategies towards the transformation of social work. These attempts are inspired by Roxanne (1993, p. 201) as she urges [social workers] to "…examine our relative privilege, to move out of our internalized positions as victims, to take control over our lives and to take responsibility for change."

1.3 The problem statement

There was a general understanding that after 1994, all people are equal and should thus be treated equally (South African Constitution, 1996), yet the reality of race, class and gender discrimination and inequalities are experienced daily. The report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions (2008) further pronounced that "...it will be naive to think that people's real life experiences will change just because policy has changed." Swartz, Rohlder, Bozalek, Carolissen, Leibowits & Nicholls (2009), confirm that South Africa remains powerfully modelled on and affected by the apartheid past. With the exception of Nicholls (2009), Leibowitz et al (2010, p. 83) highlights how the "intersection of race and class difference impact on the power relations and ultimately what and how students learn."

Bereng (2008, p.19) in her study interrogating the absence of African authored textbooks, concluded that the "...ramifications of apartheid's racially hierarchic aliased education are still operative in the academy in terms of many racially excluding practices, illustrated in one race referred curricula, staff appointments, learning material and so on." The recent book Introduction to social work by Nicholas, Rautenbach & Maistry (2010) recommended for the Bachelors of Social Work (BSW) degree, is an example of how within social work black perspectives are still being ignored. There is an inclusion of an heroic account of Verwoerd's (the architect of apartheid and social engineer of racial inequalities) role in social work without giving similar attention as to how the black majority organised themselves under dehumanising conditions that Verwoerd robustly implemented (Nicholas, et al 2010). This indicates the acceptance of hegemonic discourse (Smith, 2008) and the lack of understanding of the psychological effects that racism and laws such as the notorious Bantu Education system instituted by Verwoerd, had on the majority of black students, educators and social workers. The Bantu Education system was considered a part of the "overall well-considered doctrine policy of systematically maintaining white hegemony" (Mathonsi, 1988, p. 1).

The critical question that is explored is whether this hegemony is still active in institutions. Social workers are often taught to disregard the structural realities of the South African context. Reflecting on training experience and practice realities, it may even be concluded that social workers have been trained to be "politically naive about, and passive toward, the impact of hierarchal power and bureaucratic processes" (Ross, 2007, p. 483). Swartz et al (2009, p. 490) confirm how the political aspects of social service work are commonly obscured and 'politicised biographies' of academics, teachers and students are erased.

The researcher's studies in social work started from 1993 – 1996 during the transition period spanning the pre-1994 dispensation and the period thereafter. It may be argued that in the post-1994 period, nothing or little changed in the anti-oppressive and anti-racist content of the education and practice of social workers, with the continuing lack of accounting for structural realities of past and present oppressions such as race and gender and their impact on society. The post-apartheid South African context is still characterised by on-going socio-economic

realities of inequality, racialised stratification and various forms of oppression (Sewpaul & Holscher, 2004; Patel, 2005; Smith, 2008).

The attainment of the vision for non-racist, non-sexist society as described in the South African Constitution (1996) is problematic in a society that still does not talk about race, class and gender. The researcher is convinced that social work can play a vital role in building a non-racist, non-sexist country. However, in order to achieve that, social workers need to understand the socio-political context that has shaped and continue to influence the social work discourse in South Africa. They need to understand "… that apartheid has been tied up with white supremacy, capitalist exploitation and deliberate oppression'' (Biko, 2004, p 30) and that this makes the problem much more complex. This fact that apartheid was more than just separation of groups through laws, ask for a deeper interrogation and reflection on the realities of class, race and gender disparities that continue to impact the lives of the majority of disadvantaged people in South Africa, not excluding educators, practitioners and students within social work.

1.4 Overall aim

The aim of the study is to explore the extent to which social work education and practice is transformed in the current South African context.

1.5. Secondary objective

The secondary objectives of the study are to:

1.5.1. Explore social workers' understanding of the social work profession

1.5.2 Explore the black social workers' experiences and understanding of inequalities and mechanisms of oppression and discrimination from training through to practice

1.5.3. Explore the views of social workers about prescribed textbooks in South African social work training, specifically with regard to post 1994 policies on learner centeredness, diversity and critical thinking

1.5.4. Explore social workers' views on theories of social justice and strategies to promote human and civil rights

1.5.5. Explore to what extent race, class and gender-based realties have been taught and how it shaped their personal and professional identity

1.5.6 Explore what social workers' views regarding the relevance of social indices such as race, class and gender for their individual and professional development are.

1.6 Research design

A qualitative interpretive research design was utilized to explore the 'lived experiences' of the respondents and the meaning it has for them. The Qualitative research provided the tools to explore from participants what it feels like to be oppressed and discriminated against on the basis of your race. The flexibility of the qualitative research design, allowed for the researcher to modify the research process and it could be adjusted to the context in which the participants found themselves (Bless, Higson-Smith & Sithole, 2013).

1.7 Selection of respondents

Permission to conduct the study within the Department of Social Development in the Free State was granted by the appropriate authorities. The researcher recruited participants through name-lists that were provided by the Human Resource Development Section as well as social work managers from three different locations. One participant in each location was used as 'entry points' for making contact with the other participants and dates, times and venues convenient to participants were arranged via this contact person.

In order to uncover the hidden dichotomies within social work practice and training, a careful selection of potential respondents were needed. The population from which the sample was drawn consisted of all black social workers within the Department of Social Development in the Free State. Thirty potential respondents were selected through purposive random sampling that was initially utilised to make contact with the first ten potential respondents. However, the challenges posed by the practice

setting necessitated a purposive snowball technique through which the rest of the respondents were selected through referral from those randomly selected.

Respondents were thus purposefully selected based on their different years of experience in the field of social work and in the accordance to the following criteria:

1.7.1 Must be a registered social worker, thus must be legitimate in the practice of social work;

1.7.2 Must have studied at a formerly white Afrikaans university;

1.7.3. They must be Black social workers.

1.8 Research instrumentation

1.8.1 Methods of data collection

Data was collected through face-to-face and focus group discussions at times and places set out by the participants. The personal and emotive nature of the study necessitated face-to-face interaction that the individual interviews and focus groups provided, in comparison to the questionnaire which is more impersonal. These methods of data collection provided valuable insight into the transformation of social work from different perspectives. The individual interviews provided the opportunity for participants to feel safe and secure where mostly personal and sensitive information were shared. The focus group allowed for robust debates and interaction on issues of a more common nature that validated findings from the individual interviews.

1.8.2.1 Face-to- face interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted around the parameters as set out in the pre-determined questionnaire during the face-to-face interviews. The open-ended questions were developed according to the overall research question and subsequent objectives. The open ended questions provided a point of entry and assisted in the exploration of the views, ideas and experiences (Nieuwenhuis, 2007) in social work training and practice. Discussions for the individual interviews centered around Social Work Practice, Social Work Education, Inequality,

oppression and discrimination, Diversity and Social Justice and Human Rights (See appendix A). The face-to-face interviews were approximately thirty to forty-five minutes long in the offices of the respective participants. A debriefing session was held after each interview and each participant had been provided with a participants' information sheet that indicated other counselling services available from the Department.

1.8.2.2 Focus groups

Three focus group discussions took place. Data from one focus group were not utilized as there was an error in the composition of the group. Focus group discussions focused on different topics aimed to create specific discussion around the socio-political context of social work (See appendix B). The focus group discussions were approximately held for an hour to an hour to an hour and a half. It was done in the respective boardrooms of the Department of Social Developments' district offices. Debriefing sessions were held after each focus group. Participants were also reminded of the counselling available from the Department of Social Developments Wellness Offices as indicated on the participants information sheets.

1.9 Methods of analysis

1.9.1 Analysis methodology

A qualitative interpretive approach to data analysis situated in a postmodern paradigm, was utilized. Qualitative research is concerned with meaning in context [and therefore involves interpretation].

A postmodern paradigm allowed for the researcher to identify the dominant structures operating in social work practice and education, the power of these dominant structures over the participants and how these power relations (Foucault, 1980) shaped and continue to shape the social work discourse (Fook, 1999, Healy, 2001, Payne, 2005) in the Free State. The plurality, diversity and fluidity (Lyotard, 1984, Foucault, 1980) of the postmodern approach provided the space for the inclusion of different components of theoretical approaches to the analysis process. The categorization of racial micro-aggression by Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal & Torino (2007), as set out in the theoretical framework provided insight into the identification

of racism where lack of pronouncement occurred. Through Biko's (2004) Black Consciousness approach, dominant structures operating in practice and training was identified. The Black Consciousness approach further provided the historical context of this dominance and its on-going manifestation of white supremacy and black inferiority, also in social work. The South African literature reviewed further complemented Biko's (2004) approach in the analysis process.

Thematic content as well as discourse analysis was used to analyse the data. Nieuwenhuis (2007, p. 102) describes discourse analysis as

"concerned with studying and analysing written text and spoken words to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias, and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced and transformed within specific social, economic, political and historical context".

1.9.2 Analysis process

The researcher was concerned with describing the lived experiences of participants. The rich in-depth explorations and descriptions as well as the flexibility are the greatest characteristics and strengths of qualitative research (Bless, Higson-Smith & Sithole, 2013). The data presentation reflects this richness and depth of the participants' experiences.

1.10 Positionality of researcher

The researcher regards herself as Black politically and Coloured culturally. The position of the researcher is that of an insider to racial and sexual discrimination as an educator in schools of social work. She was trained as a social worker at a former white Afrikaans institution of higher learning during the transition period from apartheid to the new democratic dispensation. She is currently employed in the Department of Social Development. This position is comprehensively explained in the methodology chapter.

1.11 Trustworthiness of data

According to Maxwell (2008), validity talks to the question of how the researcher might be wrong and he state that it is not as a result of indifference, but of integrity.

Maxwell (2008) indicates that qualitative research does not have or attempts to design controls in advance that deal with anticipated and unanticipated threats to validity. However, it does require that a particular threat in question be identified and that ways to rule out that particular threat be developed.

The two potential threats to this research were bias and reactivity. The researcher explains in detail how bias and reactivity has been used creatively to enhance the research outcomes a suggested by Maxwell (2008).

Reliability of the data was ensured through triangulation. Data was collected from three different sources which included the individual interviews, focus group discussion as well as the reviewed literature. The three different interval periods in terms of the time that the participants studied as well as their years of experiences provided insight into the situation of social work practice and teaching just after democracy, ten years into democracy and almost twenty years into democracy. This further adds to the reliability of findings.

1.12 Ethical considerations

Ethical clearance has been granted by the Ethics Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand before commencement of the study (See Appendix J).

1.12.1 Voluntary participation

Participants were informed that they may refuse to participate and that such a decision will not lead to any negative consequences for them. They were also informed about the fact that their participation in the study will hold no rewards, financial or otherwise and that they may withdraw from the study at any time or refuse to answer any questions that they may choose. Two separate participants' information sheets were emailed and hand delivered to participants for individual interviews and focus group discussions (See Appendix C and F).

1.12.2 Informed consent

Participants in the study were contacted before the study commenced where the rationale, purpose and aims of the study was explained to them. That provided them the opportunity to make an informed decision on whether or not they want to participate in the study. The participants were continuously reminded of the fact that they can withdraw from the study at any time. Written consent was given by each participant for individual interviews as well as focus group discussions (See Appendix D and G). Agreements on norms for the focus groups were reached prior to commencement of focus groups.

1.12.3 Confidentiality

Confidentiality is ensured by the different codes allocated to participants. Each participant was assigned a numerical study ID (e.g. 001) prior to collection of data. Each participant's unique ID was inserted onto their data document. The numbers for the participants differs from that of the individual interviews. These numbers were utilized throughout the analysis process and also appear like that in the presentation and analysis of data. Furthermore, all data collected was kept securely in a locked cabinet in the researcher's office. The data was kept secured through a password on the researcher's computer. Only the researcher knows the password.

1.12.4 Non-maleficence

Participants have been informed about the counselling offered as explained on the information sheet. Debriefing session after the focus groups and individual interviews took place that assisted them to share their experiences of the process.

1.13 Limitations to the study

The study does not claim that the sample is representative of the whole community. However, as this is a qualitative research design, the aim is not to generalize the findings to all other social workers. The aim is to understand, to greater depth, the experiences of the participants.

The personal nature of the study needed for the participants to at times express themselves in their native language. English is a second language to both the researcher and the participants. However, the postmodern interpretive approach allowed for the researcher and the participants to negotiate and agree as to what they view as the truth for them (Kroeze, 2012). Participants were free to express themselves or their emotions in their native language when they were not able to express themselves in English. These concepts were later clarified by the researcher.

1.14 Brief description of chapters

Chapter one

Chapter one provides an overview and background to the research report.

Chapter two

The theoretical underpinning of the research study is discussed in this chapter. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section aims to describe the epistemology of modernism and postmodernism. Furthermore, an attempt was made to trace the philosophical roots of social work (modern social work) internationally as well as provide postmodern insights to social work. A brief discussion of postmodern blackness and it's appropriateness for Post-Apartheid South Africa is highlighted.

Chapter three

Chapter three consist of the literature review. This chapter is divided into two parts. Part one provides an historical account of the South African society that shaped the social work discourse in South Africa. Part two reflectively focus on the development of social welfare and social work from its deeply ingrained roots in Apartheid South Africa to its current state, twenty years into democracy**.**

Chapter four

The methodology chapter explains in detail how the research study was done. What paradigm was utilised, how participants were recruited, what methods utilised in the data collection and the data analysis processed and exactly how these processes took place.

Chapter five

The data presentation and analysis chapter describe the findings from the raw data that was analysed and interpreted. The chapter begins with a description of the analysis process that was followed. The demographic information of participants provides information with regard to the legibility of participants to the study. A comprehensive overview to the analysed data is provided in a table form where after the data are organised and discussed according to nine categories with the themes and sub-themes relating to each category.

Chapter six

In this chapter the researcher summarised the aims of the research and compared them with findings from the data analysis chapter. That was achieved through summaries of each category as found in the data analysis chapter. Conclusions were drawn which highlighted to what extent change within social work practice and education did or did not take place. Recommendations to social work policy practice and education is made at the end of the chapter.

1.15 Conclusion

This chapter provided an introduction to the research together with the reason why this study was undertaken. The problem area lies in the extent of transformation of social work practice and education in South Africa. The study thus aimed to explore the extent to which change within social work education and practice took place. The chapter further outlined the methodological process through which the study was conducted and lastly provided a synopsis of what each chapter entails.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

> "Knowledge is never constructed inside a psychological vacuum; instead it is made through specific social, political, cultural and linguistic contexts." (Nylund & Nylund, 2003 cited in Hetz & Johansson, 2011, p. 34).

2. 1 Introduction

Where the epistemology of research is not made explicit, it is assumed that the research is done from a modernist paradigm (Thayser, 2001). The perception relates to the seemingly objective nature of social science which is located in the positivist paradigm.

However, no knowledge is value free and no research is neutral (Freire, 1996). The postmodern paradigm provides the space for alternative voices, and experiences to be incorporated and thus "renders it necessary to make epistemological assumptions transparent to the reader" (Thayser, 2001). This research was done according to a post-modern paradigm.

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section aims to describe the epistemology of modernism and postmodernism. Furthermore, an attempt was made to trace the philosophical roots of social work (modern social work) internationally as well as provide postmodern insights to social work. A brief discussion of postmodern blackness and its appropriateness for Post-Apartheid South Africa is highlighted.

CHAPTER 2

SECTION I

2.2 Modernism

Modernism rejects all claims to knowledge through pre-modern ideas where knowledge was taken from the senses and everyday experiences of the primitive society. Modernism reflects the values of the enlightenment era which can be estimated between the periods 1650-1950 (Thompson, 2013).

2.2.1 Enlightenment thought

Inglis and Thorpe (2012, p. 29) sums up the enlightenment era up as follows:

"Just as there were laws of physics and biology, so too were there laws of society and the study of society (sociology) could therefore be modelled on the procedures of natural sciences, including their commitment to be being wholly objective and unbiased".

The enlightenment era is also known as the era of science, and more specifically the natural science. Knowledge was defined and accepted if it could be proven through scientific enquiry. These scientific activities are usually executed by the educated and those with specific expertise in the science. As the modern world became more sophisticated, spontaneous experiences and discoveries were labelled as out-dated, primitive and belonging to another era. Society was now sophistically explained in educated terms around laws of how human beings are supposes to live and behave. The natural sciences and their approach to life became the barometer for social sciences and human interactions (Inglis and Thorpe, 2012).

2.2.2 Positivism

According to Best & Kellner (1991), the ontology of positivism is situated in the idea that there is one reality that exists outside and independent of human beings. Knowledge and truth is seen as being objective, neutral, universal or vehicles of

progress and emancipation. Positivists claim that there is a single, objective reality that can be observed and measured without bias using standardised instruments. Their goal is a universal truth, a rule or explanation that is always true so long as specified conditions hold. In terms of research, the positivist sees him/herself as a neutral recorder (Best & Kellner, 1991, p. 15).

Jakobsen (2013) describes positivism as a philosophical position that emphasise empirical data and scientific method. Thus, the world operates according to a set of rules and laws. These rules and laws are set out to control. According to Inglis and Thorpe (2012, p. 70), positivists 'operates on behalf of the powers that be and sees the claims by them [positivists], to be unbiased and neutral as false and pure pretence.'

People's experiences, narratives and general knowledge or perception of their world is not of much importance. 'Positivism is about how norms, rooted in institutions and social structure, exist outside of the individual minds but is internalized by individuals, thus guiding their actions in patterned ways' (Inglis and Thorpe (2012, p. 31). They thus observe people according to a set of rules as, like in the natural sciences, they assume these rules to be the same for all. Different experiences and the context in which it is created, is rejected and does not count as knowledge (Inglis & Thorpe, 2012). According to positivists like Durkheim (1982-1985), social structures have an independent existence and those institutions and the norms set out by these institutions, compel people to think and act in certain ways (Thompson, 2013).

2.2.3 Modern Social Work

Payne (2005) locates social work theory within a modern framework as its origins are situated in the modern Western societies when it took over the welfare role of the earlier Christian churches. This single focus has been strongly influenced by American and English language perspectives. The fact that social work can understand and study social problems and societies, and take rational action to solve these problems places it further within the modernist framework. Social work is inherently modernist because it has a theory that guides action, thereby locating the knowledge within a reductionist, logical-positivist rationality (Payne, 2005).

Ferguson (2001, p. 45) explains it as follows:

"In order of simple modernity, identity was structured through external controls impose by the church, family, experts and tradition itself (the binding nature of how things always have been done)."

All of these methods seem to put social work as an objective observer, observing how the world works. It is believed that these methods will explain how one action causes another based on 'universally' defined criteria (Ferguson, 2001). According to Healy (2001), social work theories have always rested on assumptions about power, identity and change. These practice theories usually seek to unify social work around common causes and practices. This is also a common feature of modernist projects of critical and non-critical social work (Healy, 2001). This single Western viewpoint is often used as the barometer, from which all societies are defined, categorised and problems are solved.

2.3 Postmodernism

In contrast to modernist single viewpoint of the world, postmodernism rejects the idea that knowledge can ONLY be created in one way and that is the scientific way of knowing (modern equation of knowledge). It advocates for more ways of knowing and claims that one way of knowing s not necessarily better than the other. Each way is seen as valid as the other (Kroeze, 2012). According to postmodernist thinking, knowledge is created within a specific context around specific experiences unique to that situation (Lyotard, 1984).

Kroeze (2012) defines postmodernism as

"An overarching philosophical paradigm, presupposing that realities are created (ontology), that knowledge is fluid and provisional (epistemology), that interpretive and critical methods are more suitable to study a plural society (methodology) and that no one set of values are per definition better than the other (axiology)."

Best and Kellner (1991), indicates that postmodern theory rejects unifying modes of modern theory. They [postmodernist] see enlightenment as a rationalist myth and

reductionist as it does not acknowledge the differential and plural nature of the social field. Politically it entails the suppression of plurality, diversity and individuality in favour of conformity and homogeneity (Best & Kellner, 1991). Central to the postmodern thought is difference and the fact that there is more than one way of knowing.

2.3.1 Lyotard's incredulity towards metanarratives

Metanarratives are the central ideas that underpinned the development of Western Modernity. Lyotard (1984) views metanarratives as fiction at it is ideas of particular groups created in a particular context with a particular purpose, who then pass those ideas off as being of universal interests and applicability. He [Lyotard], (1984, p. 197) explains that

"*Metanarratives are overarching, apparently all-encompassing accounts or stories, that purport to explain most of all things in the world."*

Metanarratives are the ideas of groups of people used to describe and explain any given phenomena. It is claimed that one set of ideas can be applied to any given situation. Lyotard is not willing to accept that. He sees it differently in the sense that narratives are unique to the circumstances as well as unique to the purpose and mission for which they were created. Knowledge is fragmented and very different from one another and Lyotard observed that in particular societies 'from Christianity in Medieval Europe to Liberalism and Marxism in modernity', these metanarratives were used cover up these disparities and fragmented view of knowledge (Lyotard, 1984, p.197).

The typical postmodern conditions of uncertainty and subjectivity have always been part of human life and have existed for over decades (Lyotard, 1984). These conditions of uncertainty and subjectivity are being 'subjugated by metanarratives as they tend to claim and pronounce their own monopoly of truth' (Inglis and Thorpe, 2012, p. 197 &198).

2.3.2 Foucault: Power/Knowledge

At the foundation of postmodernism is Foucault's (1977) study of power. He rejects modern theories' approach to power which according to him is dominated by two models, namely the Economist model (Marxist) and the Juridical model. These models portray power as anchored in macrostructures or ruling classes and are therefore repressive in nature (in Best and Kellner, 1991).

Inglis & Thorpe (2012) explains that the Juridical model analyses power in terms of law, legal and moral right and political sovereignty. These concepts and assumption according to Foucault continue to inform modern thought (for example, in liberal theory and repression theories of power in general). In contrast to the Juridical model, Foucault (1980b, p. 136) introduces a power that is productive, not repressive in nature, one which is 'bent on generating forces, making them grow, and ordering them, rather than one dedicated to impending them, making them submit, or destroying them. The Economic model, where 'economic power (Marxism), the idea of communist revolution and the complete emancipation of the working class in a future communist society is rejected as reductionist subordination of power to class domination and economic imperatives' (Inglis & Thorpe, 2012, p.190).

In his criticism of modernism, he [Foucault] aspires an 'autonomous, non-centralised kind of theoretical production, one that is to say not dependant on the approval of the established regimes of thought' (Foucault, 1980, p. 81).Through this statement, he makes provision for non-scientific ways of knowing – validating each experience as unique to the circumstances in which it was created. This creates an opportunity for ordinary individuals to contribute through their own lived experiences (Foucault, 1980).

According to Foucault (1980), the 'order' that came with the enlightenment thought was an attempt to deny the existence of conflict and struggle that were characteristics of the pre-modern era of spontaneity and instinct. Therefore he could claim that 'order is imposed by functionalist or systematic thought, which is designed to mask the ruptured effects of struggle and conflict' (Foucault, 1980, p. 82).

Foucault (1980) was in essence concerned with the knowledge that did not meet the standards of the powers that be.

His central concern was about the effects of power of a discourse which is considered to be scientific. He was concerned about the mechanisms of power; how it operates and subjugates as well as how things work at the level of subjugation… thus the effect of power at the level where it was no longer considered knowledge. It is for this reason that he rejected the contemporary analysis of power that is assumed to be repressive of nature, the institution, a class and individuals (Foucault, 1980).

2.3.2.1 Assumption on power by Foucault

Power relations are everywhere and individuals are not merely objects of power but are considered powerful subjects. Power only exists in action, meaning it is not given, exchanged or recovered and it is not exercised in isolation. In his rejection of the Marxist repressive approach to power, Foucault argues that power is more than something that only belong to certain groups (mainly, the have's) and thus employed to protect the interests of these groups. Power exists in relation to something. It is never static and it flows through and from individuals and thus every individual possesses power (Foucault, 1980).

2.3.4 Postmodernism and Social Work

According to postmodernism, knowledge is socially constructed within a particular context. The context in which knowledge is developed is not neutral and we cannot take for granted any knowledge. It rejects the essentialist notion of knowledge as all knowledge has the potential for change (Payne, 2005). Postmodernism challenges the assumptions about power, identity and change on which social work theories, critical and otherwise have rested. Healy (2001) indicates that postmodernism exposed the modernist frameworks in which critical and non-critical forms of social work are situated. Old attitudes of professionalism are challenged through the 'scepticism in postmodern thinking and postmodern conditions provide a new opportunity for social workers to empower themselves' (Aldridge, 1996, p. 179 &192).

Postmodernism further challenges critical social workers' negative view of power (Healy, 2001); in other words people have agency, meaning that they have the power to take action or intervention in their daily struggles. Rossiter (2005, p. 676) suggest that Foucault's idea on power 'prompt social workers to think about power critically to reflect on feelings, confusion, frustration, hero status, good intentions, and failure and to ask the question: whose voice is being silenced'. Furthermore, social workers' role as 'empowerer' is tested in the sense that 'it challenges social workers to think about their privileged position of power and how they exercise that power and for what purpose they use that power' (Wendt and Seymore, 2010, p. 672).

According to Payne (1997), postmodernism provides an understanding of how theories are constructed, because, 'like many ideologies, critical theories define objections in their own terms and explain them away' (Payne, 1997, p. 248). This understanding provides a framework for critique and analysis of social work theories. The complex and fragmented nature of postmodern thought coupled with the context in which practice and policies are created challenges critical and non-critical social workers to resist totalising or oversimplifying such processes. It further allows critical social workers to take historical and local context into account and creates opportunities for them to think broader and to locate their understanding not only in the material structures of oppression (Healy, 2001).

2.4 Postmodern blackness

This section provides a brief discussion of the work of bell hooks (1990), on Postmodern Blackness. In this section bell hooks criticizes postmodernists for the essentialist notion observed in their description and understanding of the "other". She argues that postmodernism still reflects a white male dominant narrative that does not include an authentic Black female voice in this case. However, hook acknowledges the benefits of postmodernism for Black females hence the reference to a Postmodern Blackness; which gives a distinctive character and voice to the different experiences of blackness (hooks, 1990).

hooks (1990) thus argues that even though postmodernist discourse calls attention to "otherness" and "difference", these works often exclude Black voices.. In her

reflection of the black power movements of the sixties, in which the identity of Black Americans were developed, she discovered that these identities reflected a modernist ideology, meaning that the hierarchical system is characterised by the politics of dominance in which patriarchy was accepted as the norm. According to hooks (1990), 'the politics of dominance is a system that gave voice to the needs and experiences of the most dominate class (upper and middle class), race (Whites) and gender (men) and the voice of the 'other' was ignored or not considered' (p. 626).

Within this modernist ideology, many Black underclass and especially Black women's voices were silenced and in other instances their experiences and understanding never expressed or documented. She emphasises the fact that one cannot talk about 'other' or 'difference' without the authentic voices of those that are considered to be other or different (hooks, 1990. p. 625).

For hooks (1990) a critique of the essentialist notion in blackness have transformational and liberatory power and potential as she indicates that "part of the struggle for black subjectivity is the quest to find ways to construct self and identity that are oppositional and liberatory" (p. 269)

For postmodern thinking to have transformational power a *critical break with the notion of "authority" as "master over" must be more than a rhetorical device' (hooks, 1990, p. 626). This is needed because white supremacist thinking that is reflected both in third world nationals and especially the elite and white critics "are not likely to produce liberatory theory that will challenge racist domination, or promote a breakdown in traditional ways of seeing and thinking about reality (*hooks, 1990. p. 626).

2.4.1 Benefits of postmodern critique to essentialism in blackness (hooks, 1990)

hooks (1990) found the postmodern critique of "identity" relevant for a renewed Black struggle (p. 627). She acknowledges the potential of postmodern thinking and the "insights it may offer that open [their] understanding of African- American experience" (hooks, 1990. p. 628).

According to hooks (1990) a postmodern critique of identity or Postmodern Blackness as she refers to it, (i) ‘empowers Black people to recognize multiple experiences of Black identity that are in the lived conditions which makes diverse cultural productions possible; (ii) is useful for those that wants to break with the “narrow constricting notion of Blackness”- thus providing a space for renewed construction of identities; (iii) opens up new possibilities for the construction of a self and the assertion of agency; (iv) allows for African-Americans to acknowledge the way in which class mobility has altered the collective Black experience so that racism does not have the same impact on our lives; (v) challenges colonial imperialist paradigms of Black identity which represents blackness one dimensionally in ways that reinforce and sustain white supremacy; (p. 629). hooks (1990) states that “when diversity in Blackness is ignored, it’s easy to see Black people falling into two categories; nationalist / assimulists or Black-identified or White-identified” (p. 630), hence her idea of Postmodern Blackness as a strategy to counter these essentialist notions in blackness.

2.5 Conclusion

Postmodernism provides the opportunity for the acceptance and inclusion of different perspectives. It particularly provides space for different worldviews, experiences that would otherwise have been accepted as normal, thereby reinforcing a modernist and predominantly Western Societal perspective. Postmodernism creates the opportunity for the inclusion of diversity of African perspectives and in the case of South Africa different Black experiences like different ethnic Black, Coloured and Indian to be regarded as valid and important as the modern Western White perspectives.

CHAPTER 2

SECTION II

2.6 Racism, Anti-racism and social work: an international overview

2.6.1 Definition of racism

Essed (1990, p. 11) defines racism as “the definite attribution of inferiority to a particular racial/ethnic group and the use of this principle to propagate and justify unequal treatment of this group.”

Racism is thus a combination of privilege and power and refers to that which maintains or worsens inequality of opportunity among people from different racial groups (Berman and Paradise, 2008). Put differently racism is the misuse of power by those that have inherited it and, who through their privileged status treat people from another racial group as lesser people than themselves. They then further explain these actions away with what would be seen as logical explanations to their behaviour (Essed, 1990).

2.6.2 Forms of racism

Racism occurs mainly in three forms namely Internalized racism, Interpersonal racism and Institutionalised or Systemic racism. In all three instances these actions ‘serve to maintain or exacerbate the unequal distribution of opportunities across ethno-racial groups’ (Berman and Paradies, 2008, p.4).

2.6.2.1 Internalised racism

Internalised racism refers to the incorporation of racist ideologies by individuals. The racist ideology thus becomes part of the person’s identity and whole being and this makes it hard for them to see their actions or attitudes as racist or doing harm to people from other racial groups (Paradies, 2006). Practical examples of internalised racism may be found in McIntosh’s (1988) *invisible knapsack*. McIntosh refers to the unearned privileges given to White people of which they are not aware of or whom they regard as normal to their existence as a group. These privileges and gestures

usually gives the White person an advantage over other racial groups and in many instances they feel that they have earned it and thus do not see their actions as racist or wrong. The following two examples as borrowed from McIntosh (1988, p. 129- 130) describes this internalised racism: (i) “I can avoid spending time with people whom I was trained to mistrust and who have learned to mistrust my kind or me”; (ii) “I can remain oblivious of the language and customs of persons of colour who constitutes the world’s majority without feeling in your culture any penalty for such oblivion.”

In South Africa, Jansen’s (2011) *Knowledge in the Blood* speaks of the pervasiveness of racism that is so part of the person that he/she does not even recognise or realise it. Jansen (2011) notes the call of a young Afrikaner on the racist ideology transferred to him in the following expression: “Racist ideology went unchallenged because we never heard dissenting voices; it seemed to be rational, and it seemed to serve the interests of all of us…” (p. 85). Jansen (2011) observes that in post-Apartheid South Africa, these “racial attitudes and orientations remain largely undisturbed” (p. 86) and racism increased because the knowledge that was transmitted to these young white people “presented black people as a threat to the very existence of white people” (p. 85).

2.6.2.2 Interpersonal racism

Interpersonal racism occurs in the interactions between people, in other words differentiated treatment for different racial groups which manifest itself in the day to day experiences between people through the practice of power and privilege to the detriment of persons of colour and “serve to maintain or exacerbate the unequal distribution of opportunity across ethno racial groups (Berman and Paradies, 2008. p. 4).

Njovane (2015) in her chapter on ‘The violence beneath the veil of politeness: Reflections on Race and Power in the academy’, provides the following example of interpersonal racism she experienced in a class setting: “During a seminar with several peers and a lecturer in my fourth year …there was a discussion of the concept of ‘noble savage’. One of the students turned to me, the only Black person in the class, and declared, ‘Oh, Thando, you can be our noble savage!’ This was followed by much laughter” (p. 121).

2.6.2.1 Institutionalised or Systemic racism

Institutional racism occurs when the "production and control of, and access to, material, informational and symbolic resources within society serve to maintain or exacerbate the unequal distribution of opportunity across ethno racial groups" (Berman and Paradise, 2008, p. 4).Thus, where systems and institutions are organised in such a way that it alienates or hinders people from other races to reach their full potential. This is done so that they can maintain their white privileged status (identity) and ensure a 'home' reserved for them (Whites) only.

In South Africa, racism was institutionalised through the Nationalist Party's apartheid policy in 1948 (Stevens, 2005). Jansen (2011) makes the example of institutionalised racism at the University of Pretoria where "this large institution had trained the white Afrikaner community, advanced the Afrikaans language and promoted the racial knowledge of the Apartheid state" (p. 115). The institutional cultures of these Higher Educational Institutions thus consist of racist practices of exclusion of all that does not advance the ideals of the Afrikaner. These practices is "a source of immense unhappiness and frustration among black students across institutions" as it was found be "uncomfortable with diversity and does not promote it" (Report of Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions (2008, p. 52 & 72).

2.7 Definitions of anti-racism

Rattansi (1992, p. 29,) defines anti-racism as

"*An activity that requires a dismantling of institutionalised practices of racism, whether in education, in employment, housing immigration policy, and so on, as well as a direct confrontation with racist ideologies…"*

Anti-racism is the framework through which racism is understood. It provides an understanding of how racism operates at a personal, ideological and institutional level and produces the parameters from which racism can be confronted and addressed.

2.8 White privilege

In exploring the denial and protection of male privilege in women's studies, McIntosh (1988) reflectively found the same parallel processes at work in her life as a White woman; namely the denial and protection of white privilege. She defines White privilege as:

"An invisible package of unearned assets which I count on cashing each day – a list of daily taken for granted experiences that is regarded as neutral, normal and universally available to everybody" (p. 10).

Therefore by virtue of being white (a higher hierarchical position bestowed through power and violence), one have unquestioned social and political privileges that manifests itself in every day interactions with people from other races. In coming to terms with her privileges status as a White woman, she pronounced that:

"My schooling gave me no training in seeing myself as an oppressor, as an unfairly advantaged person, or as a participant in a damaged culture. Whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative and average, and also ideal so when we work to benefit other, this is seen as work with which we will allow 'them' to be like 'us' " (McIntosh, 1988, p. 4).

2.8.1 Key features of whiteness

The Calgary Antiracism Education identified the following key features of whiteness. Whiteness is socially and politically constructed, and therefore learned behaviour. It does not just refer to skin colour but is an ideology based on beliefs, values, habits and attitudes, which result in unequal distribution of power and privilege based on skin colour (Frye, 1983; Kivel, 1996). Whiteness represents a position of power where the power holder decides who is white and who is not (Frye, 1983) and it is relational which means that 'White' only exists in relation/oppositions to other categories / locations in the racial hierarchy produced by whiteness. In defining 'others,' whiteness defines itself and it is fluid - in other words, who is considered white changes over time (Kivel, 1996). Whiteness is often invisible to White people, and this perpetuates a lack of knowledge or understanding of difference which is a rooted cause of oppression (hooks, 1990). Whiteness shapes how White people

view themselves and others, and places them in a place of structural advantage where white cultural norms and practices go unnamed and unquestioned (Frankenburg, 1993).

2.9 Anti-racism and social work

2.9.1 Defining anti-racism in social work

Dominelli (1988, p. 3), defines anti-racist practice for social work as an activity concerned with:

"Transforming the unequal social relations shaping social interaction between black and white people into egalitarian ones."

Social work thus recognized the hierarchical positions of black and white people and the negative influence it has on human relations. Recognizing inequality in black and white relations indicates an awareness of the power at play in the different spheres of society.

2.9.2 Background to anti-racism in social work

Anti-racist perspectives started during the period when social class dominated the focus of social work. All social problems were explained in terms of long standing class divisions in society. However, the framework at that time was inadequate to account for a wide range of social divisions (Graham, 2009). According to Graham (2009, p. 272) "race and gender required studies in their own right."

In Britain, the anti-racist struggles of the 1960s by Black workers against the exploitation in the workplace (Ahmed, 1994), led to Black social workers questioning how inequalities are reproduced by welfare institutions (Keating, 2000).

Dominelli (1992, p. 74) confirms that:

"…*it has been black people, writing from a black perspective rooted in experience of racism in Britain, that have begun to shift the eyes of white academics and social workers towards racism as a structural phenomenon …"*

Furthermore, the anti-racist focus in social work was mainly led by Black social work students as a form of resistance towards the western dominated social work programmes (Singh, 1996). Keating (2000) argues that race and racism were put on the social work agenda not as a result of the generosity of dominant groups, but by Black people and the fact that social work educators and practitioners chose to engage with them as a key oppression. He argues that 'if it had been left up to the profession to construct a response to racism, nothing might have happened' (Keating, 2000, p. 79). There was a need to reclaim black perspectives and thus the development of black perspectives in social work as a form as an anti-racist strategy as seen a major contribution to the discourse on 'race' and social work (Ahmad, 1990; Crawford, 1990. Green, 1993).

2.9.3 Components of black perspectives in social work

A major contribution of anti-racism was the conceptualisation of black perspectives for social work practice (Ahmad, 1990; Crawford, 1990).

Key components of black perspectives are the reclaiming and recognition of the history and cultures (language, traditions, religions) of Black people (Green, 1993); valuing differences and strengths in Black communities (Dutt, 1990); a rejection of 'white' norms (Ahmad, 1990); a political ideology from which to fight racism and promote positive images of Black people (Crawford, 1990); and a political alliance between all 'non- white' people whose commonality is their experience of racism (Singh, 1992). According to Crawford (1990), it is a process that is both individual and collective. Anti-racist social work practice thus acknowledges that even within social work inequality on the basis of race exists and these relationships within social work needs to be addressed in order to provide substance in the strive for social justice (in Keating, 2000).

As racism is based on whiteness, the anti-racist approach seeks to (1) explore white culture and 'whiteness' as an historically constructed positive and superior structural identity; (2) working from the belief that it is essential that white practitioners explore their own colour, culture and socially constructed superiority alongside and (3) increasing understanding of black perspectives and challenging institutionalised racism (Butler, Elliot, & Stopard, 2003).

2.10 Racial micro-aggression

According to Sue, Nadal, Capodilupo, Lin, Torino & Rivera (2008), racism is perpetuated through white privilege as it privileges Whites over others in society, blinds Whites to other experiences of racial discrimination and maintains their [Whites'] dominant status.

2.10.1 Defining Racial Micro-aggression

Racial micro-aggression refers to the covert and subtle forms of racism that are "pervasive and automatic in daily conversations and interactions" and are often "glossed over as innocent and innocuous" (Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino (2007, p. 273).

Subtle covert forms of racism have potentially more harm than overt forms of racism due to the fact that it is difficult to identify it and describe these behaviours as discriminatory" (Solórzano, Ceja & Yosso, 2000). These subtle acts, often in the form of "snubs or dismissive looks, gestures and tones," (p. 273) are most of the time "explained away by seemingly nonbiased and valid reasons" (Sue et al, 2007, p. 275).

2.10.2 Manifestations and Implications of racial micro-aggressions

The potential harm of racial micro-aggression to the perpetrator as well as the recipient lies in the fact that it is often invisible and "perpetrators are often unaware that they engage in such communication" (Sue et al, 2007, p. 271).

However, recipients of racial micro-aggression have a "vague feeling that they have been attacked and that they have been disrespected or that something is not right" and it leaves them with the "nagging question of whether it really happened" (Sue, et al, 2007, p. 276).

Racial micro-aggressions (1) creates psychological dilemmas that unless adequately resolved lead to increased levels of anger, mistrust and loss of self-esteem for persons of colour; (2) prevents white people from perceiving a different racial reality; and (3) creates impediments to harmonious race- relations" (Sue et al, 2007, p. 275).

It psychologically drains a person which subsequently affects their performance on all levels (Sue et al, 2007).

In response to the various forms of micro-aggressions, their numerous manifestations, the impact they have on people of colour as well as the need to eliminate racism, Sue et al (2007) created Categories of and Relationships among Racial Micro-aggressions. They further provide examples of racial micro-aggression as they believe that as therapists one cannot address what they cannot identify. These categories and examples provide a valuable frame of reference for the identification of subtle forms of racism that continue to haunt the South African society.

Table 1: Categories of and Relationships among Racial Micro aggressions

Source: Sue et al, 2007, p. 278

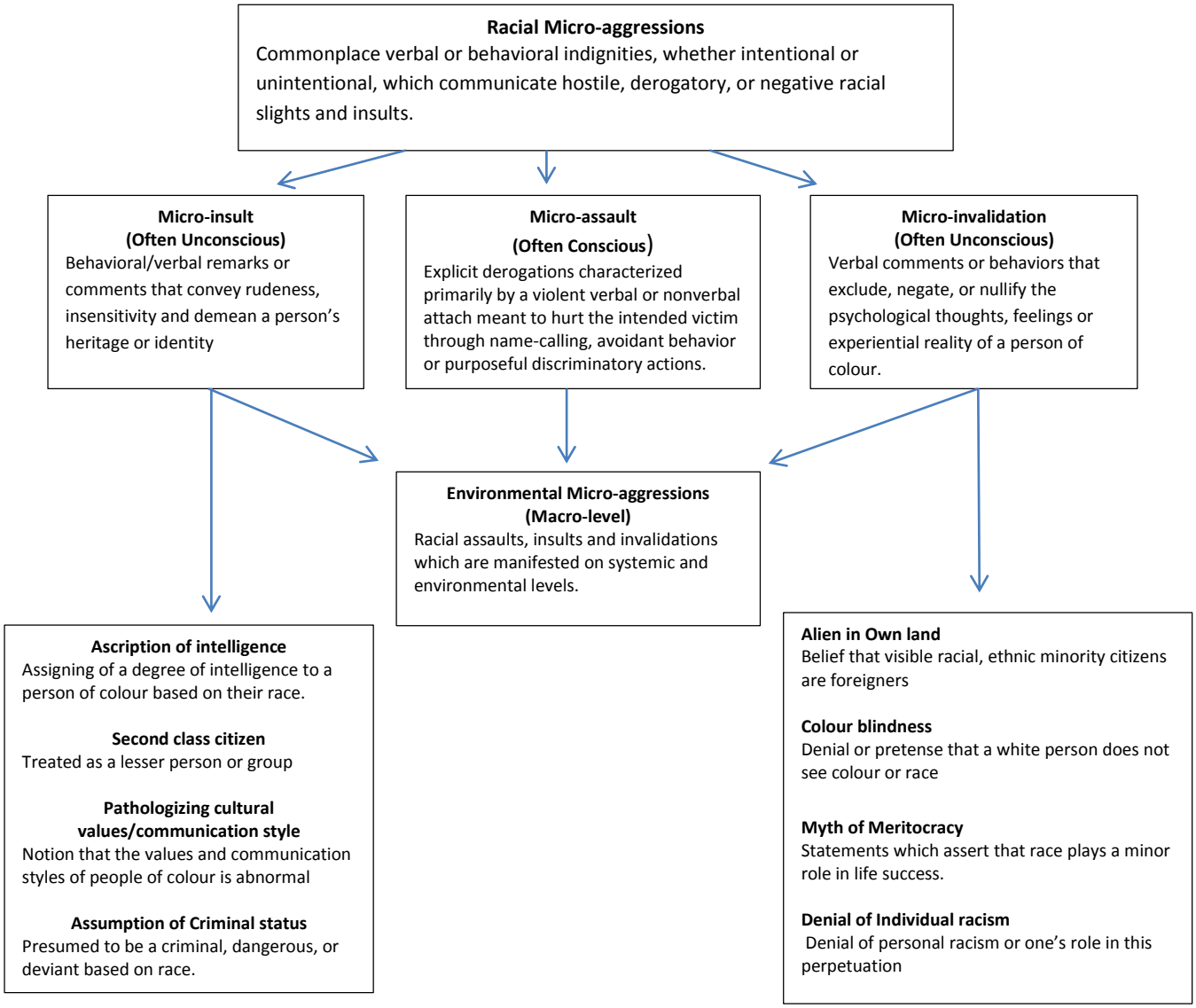


Table one provides a schematic image of the practical manifestations of racial micro-aggressions in everyday life. Racial micro-aggression is a term used to explain racial acts that are difficult to define or verbalise. These acts are usually covert forms of racism which makes it difficult to identify. Racial micro-aggression takes on three forms namely micro-insult, micro-assault and micro-invalidation meaning that it has the intention to insult, assault and render the experiences of people of colour invalid or less important. The relationship between whiteness and racism is often found in racial micro-invalidation and racial micro-insult as these manifestations mostly occur unconsciously. These 'unconscious actions' are manifested in whiteness and are in

many instances invisible (McIntosh, 1988) to white people. This indicates a lack of knowledge or understanding of difference that is the root cause of oppression.

Table 2: Examples of Racial Micro-aggression from Asian and Latin American Experiences

Source: Sue et al, 2007, p. 276, 277

Theme	Micro-aggression	Message
Alien in own land When Asian Americans and Latino Americans are assumed to be foreign born	"Where are you from?" "Where were you born?" "You speak good English!"	You are not American You are a foreigner
Ascription of intelligence Assigning intelligence to a person of colour on the basis of race	"You are a credit to your race." "You are so articulate."	People of colour are generally not as intelligent as Whites. It is unusual for someone of your race to be intelligent
Colour blindness Statements that include that a White person does not want to acknowledge race	"When I look at you, I don't see colour." "America is a melting pot." "There is only one race, the human race."	Denying a person of colour's racial/ethnic experiences. Assimilate/acculturate to the dominant culture Denying the individual as a racial /cultural being.
Criminality/Assumptions of criminal status A person of colour is presumed to be dangerous, criminal, or deviant on the basis of race	A White man or woman clutching their purse or checking their wallet as a black approaches or passes. A store owner following a customer of colour around in the stores A White person waits to ride the next elevator when a person of colour is on it	You are a criminal You are going to steal/you are poor/you do not belong. You are dangerous
Denial of individual racism A statement made when Whites deny their racial bias	"I'm not racist. I have several Black friends."	I am immune to racism because I have friends of colour.
Myth of meritocracy Statements which assert that race does not play a role in life success	"I believe that the most qualified person should get the job." "Everyone can succeed in this society, if they work hard enough."	People of colour are given extra unfair benefits because of their race People of colour are lazy and/or incompetent and need to work harder
Pathologizing cultural values/communication styles The notion that the values and communication styles of the dominant/white culture are ideal.	Asking a black person: "Why do you have to be so loud/ animated? Just calm down." Dismissing an individual who brings up race/culture in work or school setting	Assimilate to the dominant culture Leave your cultural baggage outside.
Second-class citizen Occurs when a White person is given preferential treatment as a consumer over a person of colour	Person of colour mistaken for a service worker Having a taxi cab pass a person of colour and pick up a White passenger	People of colour are servant to Whites. They couldn't possibly occupy high status positions. You are likely to cause trouble and or travel to a dangerous neighbourhood.

2.10.3 Other forms of racial micro-aggression

Constantine (2007) differentiates between different forms of micro-aggression which includes (1) questioning the existence of racial-cultural issues, (2) making stereotypic assumptions', (3) cultural insensitivity', (4) colour-blindness, (5) denial of personal bias and (6) minimization of racial cultural issues. According to Burkard (2004) & Neville et al (2000); colour-blindness in particular has been associated with higher levels of racism and lower levels of empathy.

2.10.4 Examples of racial micro-aggression from the South African Society per themes and the message it carries as outlined by Sue et al, 2007

Theme	**Micro aggression as experienced by black South Africans in the academic space**	**Message**
Alien to own land	Njovane(2015, p. 121) "You speak so well, where did you learn to speak like that?"	You are a foreigner in South Africa
Ascription of intelligence	Njovane(2015, p. 121) "I fucking hate Black people, but you're cool" "You speak so well…"	It is unusual for someone of your race to be intelligent
Colour blindness	Jansen (2011, p. 22) "You keep referring to yourself as black but I do not see you as black…"	Denying the individual as a racial cultural being Assimilate/acculturate to the dominant culture
Denial of individual racism	Njovane (2015, p. 122) " … the very man would make offensive black jokes in my presence, and when I questioned it, he defended himself by telling me it was okay because his 'black friend' told it to him"	I am immune to racism because I have friends of colour.
Pathologising cultural values.	Njovane (2015, p. 127) " student related an incident in which she was in a tutorial session and the other students were 'throwing around words like :barbaric" to described Xhosa initiation practices'"	Assimilate to the dominant culture-the notion that the values and practices of the dominant/white culture are ideal.

2.11 Reflective summary of section II

Anti-racist perspectives emerged in 1980 (USA) when social class tended to be the main social division. In 1989 anti-racist social work was mandated to inform teaching and social work programmes. These anti-racist perspectives and approaches are well established in social work teaching and practice in societies in the West (Ahmed, 1994; Dominelli, 1988, 1992; Keating, 2000; Graham, 2009).

Very little literature could be found on anti-racist frameworks, perspectives and approaches in social work education and practice in South Africa. Smith (2013) in her exploration of critical imperatives for social change discovered that during the period 2000-2009, “no attention is paid to issues of transformation and non-racism.” “Race”, she states “still appears as a stratifier in social work discourse without any evidence of critical engagement. Content around racism, social justice apartheid ideology and structural change seemed to be completely neglected” (p. 180).

2.12 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the subjectivity involved in any research process. Through a comparative discussion of modernist and post-modernist epistemologies, the researcher found relevance in the application of a postmodern paradigm to contemporary South African social work context in which knowledge production and academic spaces still seem to exclude the authentic black voices of social workers.

Black perspectives and specifically a postmodern critique to essentialism in blackness or postmodern blackness as hooks(1990) defines it, has relevance and importance for Black and White social workers because they offer a framework that informs anti-racist practice. Colonialism together with its class tendencies impacted negatively on the majority of South Africans, but Apartheid and Bantu-Education as legislated systems that deliberately humiliated Black people, ask for a perspective to help both Black and White social workers to come to terms with the realities of racial South Africa.

Lyotard (1984) and Foucault’s (1980) postmodern critique of modernism, provides a relevant theoretical framework for the research study in which the researcher challenges the status quo in South African social work education and practice.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

A literature review focuses on a 'specific topic of interest in relation to the research study and includes a critical analysis of the relationship among different' (Rallis, 2006, p. 1) components of the study. This chapter is divided into two sections. Section one provides an historical account of the South African society that shaped the social work discourse in South Africa. Section two reflectively focus on the development of social welfare and social work given from its deeply ingrained roots in apartheid South Africa to its current state, twenty years into democracy**.**

SECTION I

3.2 The South African context

3.2.1 Racial Segregation before Apartheid

Racism and racial segregation were practiced in South Africa cities and farms by whites for decades, long before 1948. During the period between 1880-1939 a series of national disasters, wars and economic depression plunged Afrikaners into large scale poverty. Unique to the modern South African era, the Juridical and Socio – Political systems of Segregation, and its successor Apartheid (Alexander, 2013) was implemented through a set of laws or legislation. These laws included, but was not restricted to the Land Act (1913), derived from the blue print contained in the Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903 –1905 (Alexander, 2013). According to the Natives Land Act (1913), African people were only allowed to own 13 %t of the land. Although Whites were only 20% of the population, 87 % of the land was kept for white ownership and occupation (Bottomley, 2012). Alexander (2013) suggests that 'the patriarchal racial caste system of the pre-capitalist period provided sociological material from which a subsequent system of racial capitalism came to be fashioned' (p. 4).

3.2.2 Apartheid Ideology

Afrikaner Nationalism was an ethnic Nationalist Movement that utilised Apartheid as an operating ideology. The relationship between Whites and Blacks were defined and ordered by the Apartheid ideology 'in a way that at least concealed Afrikaner domination' (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007, p. 307). Giliomee & Mbenga (2007) records that the construction of Apartheid rested on several bases namely (1) restriction of all power to Whites. Alexander (2013, p. 5) in this instance comments that 'political segregation was recommended along the lines that Black people who fulfil certain literacy and property requirements would be represented in parliament by whites", (2) racial classification and racial sexual laws that prevented Black and White people from having social relationships with each other, (3) Group areas for each racial group was established to ensure the existence of each community on its own thereby weakening the unity amongst the Black majority, (4) segregated schools and universities that would ensure a lower level of education and training for Black communities where they could not compare and compete to the superior training of Whites on all levels, (5) elimination of integrated public facilities and sport to prevent Whites and Blacks from interacting in social spaces , (6) protection of whites in the labour market to promote their economic advancement to the detriment of the Black population and to maintain the 'master-slave' relationship that would ensure the continuation of white privilege, (7) system of influx control that stemmed the movement of blacks to the cities because Blacks were seen as a threat to the job security of the poor whites and (8) designated under resourced 'homelands' for Blacks as the basis for preventing them from demanding rights in a common area as well as to weaken Black solidarity through the divide and rule strategy' (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007, p. 288).

3.2.3 Apartheid not merely an ideology

Ngubane (1963) in Giliomee & Mbenga (2007) rejects the notion of Apartheid 'as a mere political outlook or an ideological aberration.' According to Ngubane (1963), fundamentalism, absolutism, repudiation and race hatred are the main pillars of this life and they are integral parts of the only political heritage that was his lot to inherit from history. Apartheid as a policy bore the sole aspirations of the Afrikaner through

which it could secure unity among Afrikaners and by the use of the system of racial segregation ensured a firm control over Black labour and 'undiluted white supremacy' (in Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007, p. 315 & 324).

Brink (1983) confirms the fact that apartheid was more than an ideology as he argues that before 1948, the Afrikaner has never solely governed South Africa. In 1910 they [The Afrikaner] ruled in the shadow of the British Empire and in the 1920s through coalition. In agreement with Ngubane's (1963) pronouncement on the fact that apartheid was more than an ideology, Brink (1983) states that 'the victory of 1948 implied triumph of something Afrikanerdom had come to see as its *own* identity (p. 18). Apartheid ideology as a sign of identity now penetrated the 'value-system, which includes all territories of social experience, economic, philosophy, morality and above all the religion of the Afrikaner.' It was during this infiltration of apartheid ideology into the identity of the Afrikaner that 'Afrikaans as a language was turned into the language of apartheid and an instrument of oppression' (Brink, 1983, p. 19)

3.2.4 Hendrik Verwoerd and the Apartheid system

Hendrik Verwoerd was the Minister of Native Affairs in 1950. Historians like Giliomee and Mbenga (2007) reported that as a professor in sociology, Verwoerd discovered research as an important aspect of the social sciences through which he could shape and defend social policies, such as apartheid. They indicated that through the establishment of a research division at the time, he became aware of the fact that there was no biological grounding for racial differentiation (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). However, this did not stop him from socially constructing the apartheid system as he stated that 'the fact that there are no biological differences between races was not really a factor in the development of a higher social civilisation by the Caucasian race' (Alexander, 2013, p. 34). According to Giliomee & Mbenga (2007), he marshalled arguments for white privilege so as to make it appear that it was not actually the intention for Whites to be the principle or even sole beneficiaries. Verwoerd brought an 'essential academic approach to the race problem and he became well-known when he organised a conference about the problem of poor whites' (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007, p. 34).

3.2.5 The Poor White Problem

3.2.5.1 History of the poor white problem

According to Giliomee and Mbenga (2007, p. 280) 'poor white' was a term imported from the United States and generally refers to whites so desperately poor that they could not maintain themselves as members of the dominant group. Bottomley (2012) views the development of the poor white problem as an evolution from poor white to 'poor white' to 'white trash', a machine that could not be turned off'. This machine, according to him, 'took in respectable whites and spat out the dangerous and impoverished poor' (p, 33).

According to Bottomley (2012), the poor white problem started in 1885, with the bulk of poor whites located in Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand due to the size of the cities and promise of employment offered by the mines. At first it was an Afrikaner problem which by then was handled by the colonial British government overseeing South Africa. As South Africa was known as a small beacon of white civilisation in an unknowable continent (Africa), the poor whites became a burden/problem to the British government. It disturbed colonial relationships in a society where national survival was on top of the agenda in most households as 'the existence of the poor white was a constant reminder of how fragile white existence in Africa was' (p. 36). The poor white thus posed a threat to white supremacy under colonial rule and later under the rule of the National Party (Bottomley, 2012).

Characteristics assigned to the poor white such as being unwilling to do certain kinds of unskilled labour which they labelled as 'kaffir work', (Bottomley, 2012, p. 36) having a disdain for education and an unwillingness to do supervised work and other characteristics such as laziness, drunkenness, criminal tendencies and lack of respect for racial boundaries, threatened the superiority of the white race (Bottomley, 2012) .These characteristics undermined white prestige, pulling these impoverished colonisers closer to the level of the 'white kaffir' (Bottomley, 2012, p. 36). Bottomley (2012) indicates that the poor white problem appeared to have been solved after World War II, and they 'vanished from sight, hidden in enclaves of poverty where they were taught how to 'act' as 'proper whites' (p. 32).

Later, after 1948, the poor white problem was deployed in the interest of the racial superiority through segregation as they were ‘a menace to the self-preservation and prestige of the white people’ (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2007, p. 280). It was their position and location next to Black Africans that caused the most anxiety’ to the government of the day (Bottomley, 2012, p. 36). Research (like the analysis of the Report to the Carnegie Commission of enquiry led by Verwoerd) and initiatives and developments to address the poor white problem were responses to the call from Malan in 1938 for whites to remain white and live white. The National Party was to commit itself to help the poor whites to ‘live white’ (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2007, p. 282).

3.2.5.2 Whiteness in Apartheid South Africa

In his discussion of the poor white problem, Bottomley (2012) outlines how whiteness as a social construct operated in Apartheid South Africa. Stemming from the European global hegemony, being white in the 18th and 19th Century meant better treatment, better living conditions, better pay. This explains the keen interest of the colonial government and later the Apartheid governments to keep their citizens ‘white’. These interests and concerns were mainly to ‘racially re-inscribe white identity’ (p. 41)

Biko (2004, p. 50) described this [rescuing of the poor Whites] as White racism where ‘even the most downtrodden White worker was protected by several laws against competition in work from the majority.’ White racism or white domination had the intention of ‘preparing the Black man for a subservient role in South Africa’ (Biko, 2004, p. 30). The poor whites were economically the nearest to the Blacks, but the system allowed a dangerous anti-black attitude to build up amongst whites (Biko, 2004). Mandela (1995) pronounced that at the time ‘to be poor and Black was normal and to be poor and White a tragedy’ (p. 260). Apart from the poor whites, Blacks were viewed as a ‘problem that needs to be solved’ as they spoiled the otherwise ‘beautiful’ *white* [my emphasis] view of South Africa (Biko, 2004, p. 24).

The National party committed themselves to help the poor whites to live ‘white’ through the ruthless implementation of the two main laws amongst others, namely the Group Areas Act and the Bantu Education Act under the Minister of Native

Affairs, Hendrik Verwoerd. The government of the time ensured white racism (Biko, 2004) while ignoring the gross harm and humiliation inflicted on the Black majority (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2007, p. 314).

3.2.6 Some major turning points in South African History

The 1950 repressions and non-violent resistance from mainly Black South Africans, the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre in which several young people were brutally killed by Apartheid police and the 1976 Soweto uprising of the youth against the use of Afrikaans as a language of instruction marked some of the major turning points in the struggle against the Apartheid Government. One significant contribution was the formation of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) as a form of resistance to white racism (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007).

3.2.6.1 Black Consciousness

3.2.6.1.1 Definition

According to Biko (2004) being Black '….is not a matter of pigmentation but it is a reflection of a mental attitude' (p, 52). This implies that blackness does not necessarily refer to the colour of one's skin, but to the consciousness one portrays in relation to the day to day experiences of those previously excluded by the Apartheid legislation.

Black Consciousness is a term used to unite all people who by the laws of the time were not regarded as part of the White race and thus not allowed the same rights and privileges of the South African society. Black solidarity was meant to establish unity amongst various segments of the black community namely the Coloured, Indians and Blacks as they all were oppressed by the same system. This solidarity was thus established to counter the deliberate design from the Apartheid Government that was intended to stratify (divide) the Black majority.

In a country where white racism and the preparation of the black man for a subservient role in society (Biko, 2004), was the norm, Black Consciousness attempted to provide a 'collective alternative aimed at rebuilding the psyche and worth of those brutalised by the system's racial oppression so that they could stand

up and speak up for themselves and each other and take up their rightful place in all spheres of society without any fear or favour' (p. 30).

3.2.6.1.2 The aims of Black Consciousness

The aims of the Black Consciousness Movement as a form of resistance to white racism and black inferiority was to produce a conscious awareness, 'an inward looking process' (Biko (2004, p. 31) in the Black person of himself as a dignified human being. Through its approaches and interventions, a sense of pride was instilled in Black people so that they can perceive themselves as equal, and not subordinate to the white man. It further aimed to correct the false images of themselves as Black people in terms of culture, education, religion and economics as they recognised how education and religion have created a false understanding of themselves amongst others (Biko, 2004).

Black Consciousness did not seek to 'reform the system because reform implies acceptance of major points (white superiority and black inferiority) around which the system revolves. Liberation was of utmost importance to the concept of Black Consciousness as 'we cannot be conscious of ourselves and remain in bondage' (Biko, 2004, p. 48). Liberation implied actions that would defy 'the lie' that Black people are different from 'normal', in other words White. The liberation of Black people would therefore mean the complete transformation (radical change) of the system to make it what they wish and not as prescribed by the white world (Biko, 2004).

3.2.6.1.3 Black Consciousness as resistance to white racism and black inferiority

Through community work the Black Consciousness Movement set out to create a spirit of self-reliance among Black people in South Africa. These approaches focussed on African cultural concepts that according to Biko (2004) were 'uncomplicated, simple and person-centered. Communication was an enjoyable experience between groups of people rather than just between two people. Care in the community was important and a visit was always: 'what can I do for you'. Communities were supported and sustained by farming activities and poverty was a

strange concept to them. Their mental attitudes towards problems were not based on a Western-problem-solving approach but on an 'African situation of experiencing because they are a very religious group that accept the existence of God without a doubt' (p. 44). They rejected Western values as well as the power based society that came with it. They further embraced UBUNTU where "a person is a person through other people" (Tutu, 2007, p. 2).

Building on the foundation of the Black Consciousness Movement, Ramphele (2012) states that communities are often not aware of their skills and talents because they have been treated disrespectfully. She indicates that co-discovering of the assets residing in communities is a liberating process that unleashes energy for sustainable development. Ramphele (2012) is of the opinion that "communities are often keen to co-invent in development programmes but their voices are crowded out by officials and development workers and activists too keen to disburse money before assessing what exists within even the poorest communities" (p. 195). In essence this implies that communities need to rediscover their own voices and their own strength; they need people who believe in their ability to help themselves and are willing to walk the sometimes slow path to self-discovery with them. Communities need partners, not experts who enforces on them their opinion of what they think is best for people.

3.2.7 Impact of Apartheid on Blacks and Whites

Apartheid was tied up with white supremacy, capitalist exploitation and deliberate oppression and this had a dehumanising effect on Black people. Biko (2004) described this dehumanising effect as:

'...*the black man has become a shell, a shadow of a human, completely defeated and drowning in his own misery. A slave and ox bearing the yoke of oppression, with sheepish timidity.'* (p. 30).

According to Biko (2004), the type of Black man we have today forgot what it is to be human. A person who can no longer think for himself/herself, therefore just doing what he/she is told to do; a person that accepted this lack of self as normal. This person no longer trusts leadership and is afraid to openly condemn white racism, but privately he condemns the white man. According to Biko (2004), this type of Black

man longs to be White and to enjoy the comfort of the white society. This longing created self-blame for not being 'educated' enough that would prove him/her worthy of such luxury' (Biko, 2004, p. 30). The depth of the oppression experienced by the Black man, caused supressed emotions of anger. It instilled a fear for white people so he/she could never express how they feel about the oppression they experienced. However, as Biko (2004) describes above, these supressed feelings appear to find expression in black people's relationships with each other, leading to hate, jealousy and violence in black communities. Instead of appreciating the inherent connectedness and celebrating the UBUNTU that existed in black communities, they [Black people] now long to be 'white'; meaning to be superior, to be privileged and to have power; not power that will liberate, but the power the White man has to subjugate. It seems that it was in this longing, that Biko (2004) observed that Black people had lost themselves.

3.2.8 Liberation of Whites

Attention is given to two Afrikaners (among others) that, through their work openly opposed the Nationalist Apartheid Government which in turn led to their rejection and isolation by the white society. This does not include the work by white liberals that fought against the Apartheid system.

Brink (1983, p. 19) as an Afrikaner anti-apartheids activist, through his writings as a form of resistance to the Nationalist ideology, saw Apartheid as the denial of 'what is best in the Afrikaner himself'. According to Brink (1983), Apartheid revealed only that side of the Afrikaner which was characterized by 'fear, suspicion, and uncertainty, hence the arrogance, meanness, narrow-mindedness, pig-headedness. Furthermore, the Apartheid state denied the Afrikaner's reverence for life, his romanticism, his sense of the mystical, his deep attachment to the earth, his generosity and his compassion' (p. 19).

According to Ryan (1990), Beyers Naude and his Christian Institute which was a non-racial Ecumenical Organisation were banned in 1977. Naude and later Brink (1983) saw the struggle against apartheid as 'not just a struggle aimed at the liberation of blacks from oppression by whites, but also a struggle for the liberation of the Afrikaner from the ideology in which he has come to negate his better self' (p.

20). These actions confirm Freire's (1996) description of the fact that oppression dehumanises the oppressed as well as the oppressor and that both need to be liberated from this state of inhumaneness.

3.3 Anti-racism in South Africa

3.3.1 Introduction

This section intends to stimulate the debate around multi-culturism and anti-racism in post- apartheid South Africa. Drawing on a South African definition and origins of racial practises in South Africa, it further lays the foundation of anti-racist frameworks which inevitably informed the Anti-Apartheid struggle. Specific attention is paid to the construction of racial identities in South Africa, as it aims to highlight the fact that **'**'unlike situations in America and elsewhere, South Africa is not dealing with a minority syndrome" (Alexander, 2013, p.153).

3.3.2 Social construction of race in South Africa

In South Africa, 'race' is understood as a social construct and cultural phenomenon, not as a biological phenomenon (Seeking, 2008; Alexander, 2013; Posel, Hysop & Nieftagodien, 2001). The architects of apartheid's racial classification policies with specific reference to Verwoerd (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2007, p. 34) recognised explicitly that racial categories were nothing more than social constructs (Alexander, 2013, p. 119). While there was no scientific evidence of the differences between people as human beings, in their quest to maintain a 'superior' white race, the Apartheid Government classified people according to the Population Registration Act of 1950 in statutory groups of Whites, Indians and Blacks. 'Coloured people were classified according to social standing and white public opinion based on white beliefs and stereotypes about racial differentiation. White classifiers would judge as person's race descent, in extreme cases their fingernails were examined and combs pulled through their hair and if a comb encountered tough curls, a person was identified as Coloured and not White' (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007, p. 316).

Racial differentiation was officially constructed through apartheid laws and legislation. These laws derived from the 'blue print contained in the report of the South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903 -1905 and the racial capitalist

system developed from the patriarchal racial-caste system of the pre-capitalist period' (Alexander, 2013, p. 118). Systematic racial classifications of Apartheid had three objectives, namely (1) ideological which means maintaining racial purity; (2) to ensure and protect the privileged economic position of the white minority and (3) to maintain political dominance' (Seeking, 2008, p. 3).

3.3.3 Racism – 'the most frightening ghost'

3.3.3.1 Definition of racism by South Africans

Biko (2004, p.27) defines racism as:

"The Discrimination by a group against another for the purpose of subjugation and maintaining subjugation. In other words one cannot be racist unless he has the power to subjugate."

Racism does not only imply the exclusion of one race by another but it aims to exclude, with the purpose to control the other race through force. This definition relates to the history of anti-black racism and it serves as a 'reminder of the material conditions in which people live that result in imbalanced power relations' (McKaiser, 2012, p. 67).

Based on the Constitution of South Africa, McKaiser (2012) defines racism as "Unfair or unjust discrimination on the basis of race" (p. 69). This definition addresses the fact that racism in South Africa did not occur in a historical vacuum, but in a particular historical and socio-political context. It further highlights that despite the fact that South Africa now has a Black Government, 'millions of Black South Africans continue to be socially, economically and some would say even politically marginalised' (McKaiser, 2012, p. 69).

3.3.3.2 Non racialism and the silence around race

According to Biko (2004, p. 22), a non-racial approach allows the liberals to 'claim a monopoly on intelligence and moral judgement, setting the pattern and pace for realisation of the Black man's aspiration' as they believed that the Black man could only be liberated through the help and assistance and approval of the White man according to his [white] standards. Biko (2004) regards non-racialism without proper

authentic encounters with racist system and ideological grounding that gave rise to the various segregated communities with their 'in-built complexes of superiority and inferiority, as artificial and pretentious' (p. 21).

Given the fact that race was highly politically charged and the realities of apartheid oppression and therefor the subject of intense conflict, the politics of non-racialism was an attempt to stay away from the issue of race. The ideological commitment to non-racialism on the left was a tool of organisational discipline to prevent the emergence of deep racial fault lines. There was a tendency within opposition movements and intellectuals associated with them, to speak rarely on the subject of race (Posel, Hysop and Neiftagodien, 2001).

According to Seekings (2008, p. 8), race was a prominent topic for research until the mid1960s. Race has been neglected thereafter in favour of Marxian studies of class formation and conflict. The race – class debate dominated the historiography of apartheid throughout the 1970s – 1980s (Alexander, 2013). There was very little research into the social meanings of race under apartheid. In the quest for an understanding of this academic 'repression of race, the theoretical and historical debates about race are located in the context of the politics of intellectual production during the apartheid era' (Posel, et al, p. i).

The debates around race were constructed by Marxist historians and sociologists. They took a 'liberal' stance towards the dominant approach to apartheid and focussed on the relationship between apartheid and capitalism (Posel, et al, 2001).The sociology of race and racism and the showing of how the ideology of Apartheid served as a tool of 'ethnic mobilisation' (Adam & Giliomee, 1979; Magubane, 1979) was not given much attention. According to Posel, et al (2001), research generated from this debate showed little reference to racist institutions and practices that seemed more remote from the capital nexus. The realities of race and racism were taken as a given and on the Marxist side, the concept of race was never explicitly defined (Magubane, 1979). The vicious implementation of the Apartheid ideology in the discourse and experiences of South Africans made the Apartheid State a very powerful entity that nobody dared to question or oppose and racial segregation and discrimination became the norm.

Posel et al, (2001), indicates that liberal scholars of apartheid assumed that by employing a colour-blind logic to economic growth, the burden of racism as imposed by Apartheid on the country's labour market, would disappear. The instrumentalist treatment of apartheid's race policies as a tool of class interest remained unchanged (Posel, et al, 2001). According to Evans (1990), this suppressed epistemology of race was seen as inextricably linked to the structure of academic production in South Africa, in which whites shaped the historical research agenda and enjoyed preferential access to research skills and resources.

Nyoka (2013, p. 16), in his critical evaluation of the epistemological basis of the academic discipline of sociology in South Africa, contends that in 'equating the Black workers' struggle with that of their White counterparts under the impression they are both *ONLY* (*my emphasis*) fighting capitalism, Marxist sociologist left an important category of supremacy namely whiteness, unaddressed.' This category of white supremacy is confirmed by Mafeje (1997c, p. 1) as he observed that:

"Liberals and left-wing advocates recognise only the incompetence of Africans and reserve the right to guide them until they attain the required standards."

Posel, et al (2001) discovered that the use of apartheid's race policies as a tool of class interests did not change. This confirms the argument that 'the social sciences in South Africa thrive on racist paradigm where the black majority are either spoken of or spoken for' (Sitas, 1998, in Nyoka 2013, p. 3). According to Biko (2004, p. 25), whiteness (a category of supremacy) is reinforced by Blacks 'loosing themselves in a world of colourless and a sort of common humanity.'

Most recently, Schutte (2015) highlighted the 'deafening silence from the larger White population on racist incidents and this either means that they do not care or they think they are not implicated in the incidents and thereby reveal their unconscious racism by what they choose to remain silent about (p. 4).

3.3.3.4 Multiculturalism vs. Anti-racism

Alexander (2013) describes the ANC's non-racialism as a politically inadequate multi-racialism as it failed to come to terms with race (Posel, et al, 2001, p. xv).

Anti-racism is in essence, emphasis and teaching, different than the non-racial and multi-racial discourse. It recognizes the overt or the covert practices underpinned by race. It therefore highlights the practice, intentional or otherwise, of racism. Anti-racism affords you the diagnostic table of intentional or unintentional racist practices from the victim's perspective –It therefore facilitates self-liberation of both the victim and the victimizer from the legacy and contemporary practice of racial supra-infra-relations. It does not speak to the homogeneity of race but it identifies the power or powerlessness of race as a social construct and liberates the victim as well as the victimizer from lack of pronouncement where racism occurs (Damons, 2013).

According to anti-racist activist, Lee (1997), multi-racial pluralism is a liberal ideological position which clouds the need for unmasking the racism and inequality of the hierarchical privilege of 'whiteness'. Lee (1997) contends that multiculturalism disguises racism under universal claims, in such a way that it institutionalises racism because, 'whatever is white, is treated as normal' (as cited in Bereng, 2008, p. 56).

Alexander (2013) is of the opinion that a colour-blind ethos renders race invisible and therefor creates a silence around matters of race in public. Furthermore, avoidance and silence around race perpetuate racial prejudice in repressed and disguised forms that will continue to disfigure the faces of countries attempting to transform their societies. This can be seen in the Cuban society where inherited racial and discriminatory categories were discarded, yet racial prejudices in repressed and disguised forms continue to impact negatively on that society (Alexander, 2013).

Ahmed (2012) is of the opinion that race is inherently connected to identity, history, values and beliefs. Alexander (2013, p. 124) confirmed this claim when he pronounced that '…racial identities, though fiercely contested, have nonetheless become a 'fact of life' for the majority of people' in Post-Apartheid South Africa.

3.4 Racism – the continuing ghost

According to Ramphele (2008), four 'stubborn ghosts', namely racism, sexism, ethnic chauvinism and authoritarianism continue to haunt present day South Africa. Out of the four**,** racism represents the most frightening ghost. The fact that black people were believed to be intellectually inferior, made them ashamed of themselves as if

they were responsible for their own lack of education. Together with shame, it created immense anger within themselves and towards each other for this lack of education. In seeing white people succeed due to what they have been denied, a sense of hopelessness for not being 'good enough' still seems to haunt black communities (Ramphele, 2008).

The South African Human Rights Commission (2012, p. 8) highlighted that, despite commendable strides been made, it would take a huge amount of effort to undo the legacy of the 'ghost', referring to the pervasiveness of racism and its influence. Bereng (2008) contends that post 1994; South Africa's anti-racist struggle has only changed in form, but not in substance. Alexander (2013) confirms that the anti-racism and anti-apartheid initiatives of the previous dispensation inspired young people to build a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic alternative to Apartheid; however, these beliefs seem to be lost in Post-Apartheid South Africa.

Duncan (2012) is of the opinion that anti-racist strategies in post-apartheid South Africa can only be developed when there is a full understanding of the residual racist consciousness left over from the apartheid era, when the social function of racism post-apartheid is unpacked and addressed. In agreement with Duncan (2012), there seems to be a general consensus that the race issues must be tackled from a racial point of view (Bryson, 2014; Jansen, 2011, McKaiser, 2012; Wa Azania, 2014), as they point out the various manifestations of racial micro-aggression in Post-Apartheid South Africa. The persistence of racist incidents in contemporary South Africa proves that we are not beyond racism nor do we live in a colour-blind non-racist rainbow society (Schutte, 2015; Wa Azania, 2014; Jansen, 2011; Biko, 2004; McKaiser, 2012).

Gumede (2013) in his Introduction of *the No easy walk to freedom of Nelson Mandela* indicates that 'colonialism and apartheid left behind broken individuals with a damaged sense of self… leading to fractures in the fabric of society which continue to influence South Africa to this day. It left South Africans with massive "existential insecurity". He describes existential insecurity as 'A persistent, generalised sense of threat and unease. It leaves a deep void; it has generated: liberal attitudes, violent crimes, lower-levels of tolerance or differences; xenophobia and social conservatism' (p, 11).

3.5 South Africa through the eyes of a ‘born free’

As a twenty two year old and born into democracy, Wa Azania (2014) describes South Africa as a country of Black families like hers “… who struggle and continues to struggle”; “… young black people born at the dawn of democratic dispensation who were filled with the optimism of a rainbow nation that never was”; “… young black children whose humanity is destroyed by the brutality of life in the townships, a modern day concentration camp where poor black people find little comfort is afforded to them by a system that sucks the hope out of their very hearts”; and where “ … democracy is just a word because millions of black people are starving, unemployed and landless”(p. 170).

These characteristics, defines a generation that is supposed to enjoy the fruits of freedom and democracy, but instead continues to be haunted and chained by the ‘ghosts’ of Apartheid. Freedom in the true sense of the word for them remains a dream yet to be achieved and a road they need walk on their own. The statement by Biko (2004, p. 100) “black man you are on your own” signifies this challenge faced by young people in South Africa today.

CHAPTER THREE

SECTION II

3. 6 Social welfare and social work in South Africa

3.6.1 Introduction

The literature review explores the history around social welfare and social work and attempts to expose how under the illusion of development and democracy, social work still sets out to maintain the status quo as inherited from the Apartheid social welfare and social work approaches. Further areas of exploration includes the role of social work in the Apartheid State and how through education and practice Apartheid's racist ideology has become the foundation on which social work in South Africa has been developed.

3.6.2 Social Welfare

There is a link between the history of social work and social welfare (Gray, 1996). Social welfare was a response to the poor white problem and in line with the National Party's call on Afrikaners to commit themselves, to helping the poor white to 'live white' (Malan) and according to Malherbe - to ensure that poor white people does not spoil the image of and prestige of white people (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007, p. 282)

Giliomee & Mbenga (2007) records that during modernisation and the industrialisation period (1860), the circumstances for whites worsened as the mining industry employed Blacks as migrant workers to work in the urban areas. Welfare planning saw the spending for poor white people to have doubled from 1912-1926. During 1930-1931, loans for farmers were given by the Hertzog government, and to boost unemployment, relief and subsidies for temporary employment were provided to those poor Whites that needed it. In 1931 vocational and schools of industry were opened all over the country. In line with the aim to keep the poor white to 'live white' (Bottomley, 2012), boarding schools helped to ensure that virtually no white child as out of school. A Department of Social Welfare was established in 1937 by Hendrik

Verwoerd who headed the Continuation Committee of the Carnegie Commission (Malherbe 1981, in Nicolas, 2010). It was during this time that Verwoerd introduced the quota system in 1937 to ensure the inclusion of Whites into professions and industries. Furthermore, schemes provided training and education for unskilled labourers and children so that they could escape the cycle of poverty and maintain their 'whiteness' (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2007, p. 280).

All these developments took place to the detriment of the Black majority. This is however not surprising given the fact that black were seen as a 'problem to be solved' (Biko, 2004) so that the government could attend to and get on with devising strategies and mechanism to 'rescue their own'. With the Group Areas Act and the establishment of Homelands and Bantu Education, the Black majority was left to look out for themselves. Through the Anti-Apartheid Movement and specifically the Black Consciousness Movement, Blacks got involved the rebuilding Black communities that have been brutally affected by the Nationalist Government. Social welfare in the Black communities was thus spontaneously organised and they relied on the inherent African value system of UBUNTU and community (Biko, 2004).

3.6.3 Establishment of Social Work

Social work in South Africa at first mirrored that of England and America, but as South Africa's racist policies began to take hold, so South African Social Work began to assume its 'distinctive character' (Bernstein and Gray, 2010, p. 66).

Verwoerd's paper on ' Combating poverty and the reorganisation of welfare work at the National Conference in Kimberly (1934) is regarded as one of the foundations of social work in South Africa (Beyers in Nicholas, et al, 2010, p. 42). Verwoerd headed the Continuation Committee of the Carnegie Commission on the poor white, which resulted in the establishment of the Department of Social Welfare in 1937 (Nicholas et al, 2010).

Social work was greatly influenced by 'this ruthless application of apartheid, ignoring the gross and humiliation inflicted that was indicative of the kind of 'ideological certitude that Verwoerd conveyed to his followers' (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2007, p. 314). Drawing from the work of De Vos (1972), Nicholas (2010) reveals how Professor Erika Theron 'followed in the footsteps of Verwoerd and made social

workers aware of their ‘proud background’ through the respect and love she brought to bear in her writings on Verwoerd as a welfare planner’(p. 44). Smith (2012) also reports nostalgia for early Afrikaner nationalist social work ideology in social work education.

The features of Apartheid social work were mainly to deal with White people without regard for Black poverty. The focus was on remedial, individualistic casework interventions mainly associated with social control (Lombard, 2008; Gray & Lombard, 2008 & Smith, 2013) which meant keeping whites ‘hidden in their poor white areas where they were taught how to ‘act’ as ‘proper Whites’ (Bottomley, 2012, p. 32). There was also an excessive preoccupation with professional status in Social Work and of keeping others out of their field through legislation (McKendrick, 2001).

3.6.4 Definition of Social Work

An Act of parliament (originally called the Social and Associated Workers Act but now called the Social Work Act, no. 110 of 1978 as amended) legally defined the activities of social workers as follows:

“Any act, activity or method directed at diagnosing, eliminating, preventing or treating social malfunctioning or problematic functioning in man, or at promoting social stability in man, and includes any process which is calculated to promote the efficient performance or application of such act, activity or method” (Bernstein & Gray, 2010, p. 64).

This definition coincided with the socio-political era of the time where the main purpose of social welfare was to assist the poor whites to ‘live white’. Given the political threat posed by the Black majority and their location next to the poor Whites to the status of white supremacy and privilege, social work, ‘through social control, work force programmes and increased bureaucratisation of services’ (Smith, 2012, p. 117) needed to maintain ‘social stability’ and the status quo. Bernstein & Gray (2010, p. 65) contends that this approach advocated for a professional social worker who has the power and expertise to attend to the ‘malfunctioning or problematic functioning of individuals.’

In the Social Work Amendment Act, no. 48 of 1989, the old definition was withdrawn, and currently no definition of social work is provided. Bernstein & Gray (2010) indicates that the reason might be because social workers 'cannot agree on an appropriate definition for their profession' (p. 65). This lack of consensus could possibly be seen as the reason why in the *Introduction to Social Work*, the authors, Nicholas, Rautenbach and Maistry (2010) utilises the international definition of social work.

3.6.5 Professional status of Social Work

According to an Act of Parliament (Act 100 of 1978), a Council for Social and Associated Workers was established in order to regulate and develop the social work profession, exercising control over the professional conduct of social work students and setting minimum standards for social work education (as cited in Bernstein and Gray, 2010). From the modernist point of view and in line with the period of industrialisation, most South African social workers on a professional level, like their counterparts in the West, were concerned with seeing social work accepted as a profession which led to a reduced interest in social transformation and an increased interest in counselling middle class clients.

A post-modern view on professionalism points out how the development of social work into a profession saw it sacrificing its commitment to social change (Biklen, 1983). As an occupational group it needed to identify with the standards and values of the status quo which meant the adoption of an Afrikaner Nationalist Ideology (to the detriment of the Black majority) in order to gain professional recognition. The profession thus operates within the 'confines imposed by politicians and those in power (i. e. ruling elite) that control the state '(Bernstein & Gray, 2010, p. 58). Social Work, just like Psychology (Suffla, Stevens & Seedat, 2001) has in its eagerness to establish itself as a discipline, made an unambiguous ideological choice that was very much indicative and reflective of the socio-historical context in which it was being forged. Social work's role under the influence of Verwoerd was vital in the recommendation to the poor white problem as spelled out in the Carnegie Commission's Report.

3.6.6 Resistance to racialized Social Work Services

As a form of resistance towards the predominantly white Council, most Black social workers chose not register with the Council as they did not consider it representative of all South Africans. This was done in solidarity with those social workers who were denied membership to the Council as they have lived in the then Homelands and who were thus not considered as South African citizens (Gray & Lombard, 2008).

At the backdrop of these racialised social work services, was a 'progressive social welfare fraternity' that positioned itself amongst the masses in the fight to end oppression (Ntebe, 1994, p. 41). According to Gray (1996) mainstream social workers united for change and at a historic meeting in Cape Town in the late 1980s, they rejected the racially divided social welfare system. The Black Social Work Association (SABSWA), its student organisations in line with the aims of the Black Consciousness Movement, was involved in consciousness raising efforts of grassroots organizers and progressive activities (Brown and Neku, 2005). Other Associations like the Social Work Forum of Concerned Social Workers were involved in challenging the dehumanising practices of the apartheid state and social workers collectively or individually spearheaded human rights campaigns (Bak, 2004). Healy (2008) specifically names two social workers namely Shirley Gunn and Ellen Khuzwayo that formed part of the Anti-Apartheid struggle. However, little or no account of these individuals and other progressive social workers' experiences and stories are captured in the textbooks of social work in South Africa.

3.6.7 Social Work Education

Apartheid's policies with specific reference to Bantu education (engineered by Verwoerd) used separate and poor quality education to further degrade and humiliate black people and to undermine their intelligence. Evidence of this is also found in social work education where Black people were only allowed to study social work in the late nineteen forties.

The first schools of social work in South Africa were the University of Cape Town (1924), University of the Witwatersrand (1931) and the University of Stellenbosch (1932). The establishment of these schools coincided with the Hertzog government's initiative to devising programs to create opportunities for poor white people like

workers in the railways, municipalities and agriculture settlements (Mazibuko & Gray, 2004).

Through the funding of social work training that took place in the Transvaal University College in 1929, it could be argued that the Dutch Reformed Church and the Suid-Afrikaanse Vroue Federasie (South African Women's Federation) as civil society expansions of the National Party ensured the transference of this Nationalist Ideology into social work education and practice (Muller (1968) as cited in McKendrick, 1987). According to Cock (2008), the Dutch Reformed Church started training social workers in 1938. The training of Black social workers was restricted to Diploma training and was only introduced in the late 1940s and early 1950s (Mazibuko & Gray, 2004, Bernstein and Gray, 1996). In 1960 and in line with the extended Separate Universities Act, Ethnic Universities like the University College of the North, Zululand, Fort Hare, Western Cape and Durban Westville, were established with the intention that social workers should be trained to serve their own communities thereby implying substandard social work for the substandard living conditions of the time (De la Ray, 2001)

Social work training was urban biased and dominated by rehabilitative, psycho-social and pathological approaches in theory (Ntebe, 1994). The White Paper indicated that social work education has generally 'prepared practitioners for therapeutic and restorative interventions and has not prepared them to respond to the most important social development needs of South Africa' (Brown & Neku, 2005, p. 306). They were further trained to work for people and not with people (Mampiswana and Noyoo, 2000). Thus reflecting the same trend as it was during apartheid years.

Smith (2013) found the following examples of coercive status quo maintenance approaches to community work and community development. These examples are (1) "Asset Based Community Development Approach (Mathie and Cunningham, 2003); (2) Social Planning Approach of Cox, Elrich, Rothman & Tropman (1987) and Weyers (2011); (3) Individualistic Approaches such as punitive criminal justice and substance abuse programmes as well as the strengths perspective (Saleeby, 2002) that placed the responsibility for social difficulties on the individual and the family as well as (4) Social Philanthropy Approaches which encourages charity and coping

with social difficulty"(p, 119).These examples of coercive status quo maintenance indicates that social work education in essence have not changed yet.

3.6.7 1 Transformation in Higher Education

The Higher Education environment is primarily governed by the Higher Education Act (1997) and the Education White Paper 3: A programme for the Transformation of Higher Education (1997) which is based on the South African Constitution. These educational legislative documents supported by the Employment Equity Act (1998), The Skills Development Act, (1998), Broad-Based Economic Empowerment Act (2003) and the Promotion of Equality and the Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, are aimed at redressing the imbalances and legacy of the racist oppressive Higher Education system inherited from the past that continue to negatively impact on the lives of the poor Black majority. These pieces of legislation are intended to transform workplaces of which the Higher Education Institutions are part of (Williams, 2014).

Furthermore, the National Plan for Higher Education (DoE, 2001), considers the transformation of students as well as staff demographics at formerly white universities a priority in South Africa as the formerly white universities provided the academic space in which Afrikaner Nationalist ideology could be protected, captured and transferred and through which knowledge production could be manipulated to advance the goals of the old Apartheid government (Jansen, 2011).

It was envisaged that the implementation of the Education White Paper 3 would lead to (1) Increased and broadened participation within HEI resulting in effective and successful participation of a diverse staff and student population; (2) a responsiveness to societal interests and needs, provision of relevant scholarship, human resource development (leadership and citizenry) to address social interests and needs; (3) co-operation and partnerships with government, civil society, business and other HEIs; and (4) the creation an enabling environment and culture that embraces and affirms diversity (The Education White Paper 3: A programme for the Transformation of the Higher Education, 1997).

However, the Report on Transformation, Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in the Higher Education Sector (2008) found that "discrimination, in particular with regard to racism and sexism, is pervasive in institutions. They also

found that there was a disjuncture apparent between institutional policies and the real-life experiences of staff and students and that the progress in student equity has not being matched with staff equity" (p. 13).

It is thus evident that the broader lack of transformation of the Higher Education Institutions that house Departments of social work inevitably impacts negatively on social works' social justice and human rights ideals, because how can a system that perpetuates oppression and discrimination produce professionals that will be psychologically and spiritually equipped to deal with the plight of the majority of people who still suffers under the legacy of the Apartheid System?

3.6.8 Social Work in Post-Apartheid South Africa

The amalgamation of social work administrations took place after 1994. The framework for a transformed social welfare system was captured in the White Paper for Social Welfare in 1997. While the social welfare fraternity united after 1994, social workers still maintained their separate associations. It was only in 2007 that the National Association for Social Workers in South Africa was established to unite all social workers and to enhance the image of the profession of social work in South Africa. These processes brought about their own set of challenges and difficulties that have far reaching influences on the professional milieu of the social work discourse in South Africa.

Earle (2008) indicates that the new Bachelors of Social Work (BSW) degree was introduced in 2007 in order to address the general lack of problem-posing type of education, the absence of African specific knowledge in curricula. It needed to cater for social work students from diverse backgrounds through empowering educational processes, the lack of reflection on the larger African population group and the impact of structural problems on social ills such as mass poverty and malnutrition. She further highlighted two problems in the higher educational context namely the lack of representative staff profiles, particularly at the Historically Advantaged Institutions and institutional cultures that have not transcended the racial divides of the past.

Conventional social work methods and theories seem to still dominate the education of social work students in South Africa. In the move towards a developmental

approach, the assumption can be made that "… the value stance towards injustice and oppression", was reduced to "… approaches that try to explain the status quo without any attempt to change it" (Wehbi & Turcotte, 2007, p. 8). This assumption is based on the fact that theories such as the Resilience Theory which is intended to help people cope with their current situation, is highly emphasized within the social work academy. This incorporation is a narrow view of Saleeby's (2006) intent as he focused on the poor and marginalized after radically challenging and influencing the systems of inequality. While this approach adds valuable theoretical grounding to conventional practices, it still does not challenge the underlying ideological assumptions that gave rise to the vast amount of social ills and specifically unemployment, inequality and poverty, still experienced by the majority of South Africans.

Wehbi & Turcotte (2007, p. 8) maintain that:

"… anti-oppressive approaches that have been based on transformative notions of social change are relegated to the world of acronyms. What was meant to challenge the status quo is now swallowed up by it in our desire to fit into a 'profession."

Person-in-environment approaches speak to the Systems Approaches and Resilience Perspective thus fits very well into that paradigm. However, the critical questions that need to be asked are: Resilience of whom? Who needs to learn to cope with what? Are we as social workers saying that people must adapt and find mechanisms to cope with a poverty situation which they never created and participated in? Are we saying that people must continue within the oppressive state in which they found themselves and continue to find mechanism to cope with the oppressive and discriminatory climate that have shaped the social welfare discourse in South Africa? The Strength Perspective, with its emphasis on resilience enhancement programmes 'does not adequately recognise the notion of the culture of poverty. It may be too simplistic because it ignores the effects of adversity on power relationships among different groups in the society' (Guo & Tsui, 2010, p. 237).

Smith (2012, p. 368) concluded that social work knowledge and discourse rest on a continuum that differentiates between "oppressive, domesticating and colonising social work knowledge and practice; coercion and status quo maintenance

knowledge and practice; societal and institutional and reformist knowledge and practice; transformative and critical knowledge and practice; revolutionary and radical social work knowledge and practice." This implies that social work is trapped between two sides of a coin that on the one hand can either move the profession in South Africa forward or on the other hand leave it in the pit of oppressive realities.

3.6.9 Gap in literature

Very little literature could be found regarding the experiences and perceptions of black South African practitioners with specific reference to racial discrimination and oppression and how those views especially of the marginalised can be incorporated into the African social work curriculum, policy and practice settings. This however is not surprising given the fact that social work developed in the context of silence around matters of race. Further explanations could be traced to the fact that whiteness was accepted as the norm and social work was part of the main role players in the system that intended to help poor Whites stay white and assist in the 'solving of the black problem' (Biko, 2004).

South African social work literature (Nicholas, et al, 2010; Bernstein & Gray, 2010 and Patel, 2005) further all conveys the same trend, namely the maintenance of the status quo. Smith (2012) confirms this trend in the academy and how through the well-intended Developmental Approach social work discourse in South Africa is still immersed in 'conservative ideologies that maintain the status quo and perpetuate class and race based structural oppression, social injustice and inequality (p. 367) and how 'personal responsibility, asset based approaches and Strengths Perspectives that seems to have become a taken-for-granted hegemonic ideology in social work knowledge' (p. 361).

Other literature around the transformation of social work seems to be concentrating on the adaption of social workers in the new democratic dispensation and how social work, given its new focuses after 1994 to serve ALL the citizens of the country. Examples of these are found but not restricted to Ntenga (1999) as she indicates in her analysis of the implementation of the white paper how the current welfare legislation enshrines the fragmented system of the past, when different government departments operated in isolation from each other and stakeholders involved in the

legislation process were neglected. She argues that existing legislation is not based on planned implementation and continuous evaluation of a comprehensive welfare policy. Furthermore, Mamphiswana & Noyoo as cited in Brown & Neku (2005, p. 303) who argue that Blacks who were in the greatest need, received the smallest portion of the budget and were least likely to have access to infrastructure such as housing, running water and electricity.

While there seems to be an agreement by social work authors that that the profession was seen as an apartheid 'tool' used to maintain and promote social oppression and marginalisation (Lombard, 2005; Patel, 2005 & Earle, 2008), none of them explores how this role has been developed and how it might still operate as a tool for discrimination and oppression in post-apartheid South Africa. Thus, the power involved in social work and how social work education and practice consciously and unconsciously used these powers to subjugate and oppress, is left unattended (Smith, 2013). Cock's (2008) exploration is another example of the uncritical discussion of and conclusion on the adaption to transformation agenda in South Africa. She indicated that the focus on anti-oppressive and anti- discriminatory approaches adds a further burden on the already overloaded social work practice that is struggling with the adaption to new legislation, yet no reference is made to any of these concepts being practiced or given attention at the workplace while all her findings seem to point at the fact that social workers find their working environments to be oppressive in nature.

3.6.10 Conclusion

South Africa under colonial rule signifies the oppression of the Afrikaner by the British which resulted in consequent wars and violent resistance that saw the Afrikaner gaining full control over the country in 1948.

The period since 1948 could be viewed as the modern South African period since the Apartheid Government totally rejected the natural, spontaneous and deeply grounded spiritual beliefs of the Black communities. They classified these beliefs as 'uncivilised' and Blacks were thus seen as subhuman species and inferior to that of the white race which, according to them, represented civilisation and scientific advancement. This period saw South Africa being segregated by apartheid laws that

were well informed by scientific research and manipulated in such a way to secure white supremacy and black inferiority. Through Afrikaner Nationalism as an ideology an attempt was made to rescue mainly poor Whites who were living next to the Blacks as it had one objective which was to secure an 'undiluted white race' - an illusion of white identity through which the Afrikaner came to define themselves. The poor whites were used by the Apartheid Government for their own narrowly defined views of what is good and what is bad for people. The poor white problem with Verwoerd at the head seemed to justify Apartheid Ideology and the ruthless application of it thereafter as the poor whites were the closest to the blacks.

The brutalised application of Apartheid led to resistance from the black majority to this inferiorisation and dehumanisation. The Anti -Apartheid Movement and specifically the Black Consciousness Movement can be viewed as a black post-modern (hooks, 1990) turn to the modernist white supremacist South Africa. The Black Consciousness Movement did not seek to reform the system but it set out to completely reject the system in total. This rejection is well described in Lyotard's (1984) 'incredulity towards meta narratives' as the system was created within a certain context, with a specific purpose to subjugate and deny the existence of the other. Subjugation and the denial of the existence of the other were characteristics of the Apartheid system.

In Foucault's (1980) exposition of power as a positive and fluid concept which everyone possesses, one could argue that, although oppressed and subjected to the powers that be, the Black Consciousness Movement came to realise their own power within and collectively organised themselves to resist these powers. The Black Consciousness Movement was aimed at Black people rediscovering their own histories and writing their own stories as they came to realise how apartheid wrote biased untrue stories of them or as Foucault (1980) calls it, the subjugated knowledge - knowledge that black communities lived by before and during colonial and apartheid rule, but was never regarded as good enough for the powers that be. Furthermore through community work interventions, Black communities were made aware of their own power to build themselves up.

Apartheid's Nationalist ideology did not only dehumanise Black people, but it dehumanised the Afrikaner as well. Brink and Naude amongst others understood

how this ideology came to create a false sense of self also to the Afrikaner, an illusion that they and ONLY they can be better, live better and know better. The implication of this history for social work is to understand the power involved in the poor white problem and how these powers were used to subjugate and oppress.

The transition of social work in South Africa seemed to have changed in form and not in substance as the Black social work voices and their role in history as well as their current day to day realities are still silent in the academic space. Literature around social work and social welfare reveals that while social welfare policies have changed from a narrow racist approach to a developmental approach, the persistent approaches and methodology still seem to maintain its nationalist ideological roots under the pretence of development through the continued exclusion of Black social workers and their role and activities in Black communities under the Apartheid Government.

While great strides have been made to unite the social work fraternity , it seems like the 'most frightening ghosts' of apartheid- racism and its deeply rooted ideological grounding continues to haunt social work training and practice with the its colour-blind approaches and continuing silence around matters of race. Social work is also confronted with this false sense of superiority and inferiority inherited from its apartheid's past and in its strive for social justice twenty years into democracy, Biko's (2004) 'inward looking' approach seems to provide the appropriate framework within which both Black and White social workers can find themselves.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The aim of the methodology chapter is to provide a description of the methods that were utilized in the qualitative process, as well as to explain how the researcher arrived at the themes that are set out to ultimately inform the findings on the lack of transformation social work or the impact of this lack of transformation on the social worker and social work student.

4.2 Research design

Bless et al (2013, p. 46) define research design as:

"The plan of how proceed in determining the nature of the relationship between variables".

A qualitative interpretive research design was utilized to explore the 'lived experiences' of the respondents and the meaning it has for them. Qualitative research provided the tools to explore from participants what it feels like to be oppressed and discriminated against on the basis of one's race. The flexibility of the qualitative research design, allowed for the researcher to modify the research process and it could be adjusted to the context in which the participants found themselves (Bless, et al, 2013).

An postmodern emancipatory research approach (Alston and Bowles, 2009) allowed for the interrogation of the 'power dynamics which exist within social work praxis and education as to liberate as well as to expose on-going subjugation and racial practices within social work praxis and academy' (Wendt & Seymour, 2012, p. 680).Through the different narratives of the respondents and the literature review, the emancipatory approach uncovered the 'myths, beliefs and social construction that contribute to the continuation of the status quo in South Africa. It revealed how power relations within social work education and practice operate to control the powerless (Alston & Bowles, 2009, p. 14).

The interpretive paradigm through the qualitative research design provided a way to understand participants' own meanings and understanding of their world as captured in their narratives.

4.3 Sampling

A sample refers to a section of the population for inclusion in the research (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, & Deport, 1995). According to Neuman (1997), the term, "target population" refers to a specific pool of cases that a researcher wants to study. The population from which the sample was drawn consisted of registered Black social workers in the Department of Social Development in the Free State. The population was chosen on the basis of convenience and availability which forms part of non-probability sampling (Bless, et al, 2013).

In order to uncover the hidden dichotomies within social work practice and training, a careful selection of potential respondents were needed. The population from which the sample was drawn consisted of all black social workers within the Department of Social Development in the Free State. Thirty potential respondents that meet the selection criteria were approached. Respondents were thus purposefully selected based on their different years of experience in the field of social work and in the accordance to the following criteria:

4.3.1 Must be a registered social worker, thus must be legitimate in the practice of social work;

4.3.2 Must have studied at a formerly white Afrikaans university;

4.3.3. They must be black social workers.

Purposive Random Sampling was initially utilised, but the challenges posed by the practice setting necessitated a Purposive Snowball technique through which the sampling frame was later constituted.

The sample consisted of eighteen Black social workers working at the Department of Social Development in the Free State province. A non- probability sampling method with a purposive sampling technique was utilized to identify respondents. According to Alston & Bowles (2009, p. 66) non-probability sampling allows for the researcher

to carefully select the sample for a particular purpose and are used for exploratory qualitative research. De Vos, et al. (1995) point out that qualitative research seeks individuals, groups and settings where specific processes are most likely to occur. Participants were selected according to the set criteria.

The National Plan for Higher Education (DoE, 2001), considers the transformation of students as well as staff demographics at formerly white universities as a priority in South Africa. Formerly white universities (especially Afrikaans ones) provided the academic space in which Afrikaner Nationalist ideology could be protected, captured and transferred and through which knowledge production could be manipulated to advance the goals of the government of the time. It was within these spaces where the exclusion of Blacks was ensured. Black social workers were chosen due to the fact that they were previously excluded. Their experiences would therefore provide valuable insight as to how these spaces of learning with specific reference to social work knowledge and practice has changed or not.

Unlike the former 'open' universities, formerly white Afrikaans universities have specific significance for the study as they have never been open to Blacks and have always ensured the existence of the Afrikaner Nationalist ideology that gave rise to the formal social work discourse in South Africa. It is on this basis that formerly white Afrikaans universities were chosen.

4.3.1 Recruitment and selection process

Permission to conduct the study within the Department of Social Development in the Free State has been granted by the appropriate authorities (See Appendices K & L).

The Human Resource Development section provided a list of all potential participants that have completed their social work studies as from 2008. Due to the fact that some of the contact details and locations of potential participants were not updated, the researcher requested name lists from social work managers in three different locations. This information assisted the researcher to locate potential participants in specific locations for logistical purposes. Participants for both focus group and individual discussions were then randomly selected according to their location. Thirty potential respondents were selected through purposive random sampling that was initially utilised to make contact with the first ten potential

respondents. However, the challenges posed by the practice setting necessitated a purposive snowball technique through which the rest of the respondents were selected through referral from those randomly selected. The researcher phoned each potential respondent. In two areas participants were either located in the same office or close to each other. Thus, as participants agreed, an arrangement with one participant was made in order to secure the location and time for individual or focus group discussions. This was done so that the normal day-to-day activities in the offices would not be severely disrupted and so that participants could plan amongst themselves who is going to be available and when. In areas where managers struggled to provide name lists, the researcher made an appointment and went to see them personally to allow her access to potential participants that could not be traced according to the list from Human Resource Development.

The participant's information sheets were sent to 30 potential candidates. In the end nine participants agreed to individual interviews and fifteen participants agreed to three focus group discussions in three different locations. The three groups consisted of five participants each. These participants indicated to the researcher via one representative when and where they would meet. The researcher travelled to the locations at the set dates and times.

Participants were again asked in those locations if they were willing to participate in focus groups and they were reminded that they do not have to agree if they do not want to. In the first location all five participants still agreed. In the second location work priorities hampered the participation of one, so there were only four that participated. In the third location, the researcher found out on the day that those that agreed were occupied and they referred other potential participants to the group in their place. Five potential candidates agreed to the focus group.

The information of the one focus group was not utilized during the data analysis phase as there was an error in the composition of the focus group. The participants have been notified about the fact that their data could not be utilized and the researcher apologized for the inconvenience, via email and personally where they could not be reached via email (See Appendix I).

4.4 Research instrument

4.4.1 Semi-structured discussions with open – ended questions

The qualitative nature of the study allowed for the researcher to conduct the individual face-to-face interviews as well as focus group discussions in a very open-ended conversation type of way. The interview process was guided in an unstructured way according to the semi-structured interview schedule. The researcher used her facilitation skills to stimulate robust discussion in the focus group by managing the group dynamics effectively.

Semi structured discussions using open-ended questions allowed for conversation – type discussions and as each individual participant felt free and safe to express their own views, more enriched contributions emerged in the focus group as well as during the individual face-to-face interviews. Furthermore, semi-structured discussion interviews also made provision for the re-arrangement of questions rather than being forced to rigidly follow the interview schedule even when the discussion indicates the need for variation from the format (Bereng, 2008).

4.5 Method of data collection

Data was collected through face-to-face and focus group discussions at times and places set out by the participants. The personal and emotive nature of the study necessitated face-to-face interaction that the individual interviews and focus groups provided, in comparison to the questionnaire which is more impersonal. These methods of data collection provided valuable insight into the transformation of social work from different perspectives. The individual interviews provided the opportunity for participants to feel safe and secure where mostly personal and sensitive information were shared. The focus group allowed for robust debates and interaction on issues of a more common nature that validated findings from the individual interviews.

4.5.1 Face-to-face individual interviews

The researcher started the data collection process by first ensuring that the individual participants were comfortable. Small talk was made to ensure this. The individual participant's information sheet were again read and discussed with the participants so that all ambiguities and uncertainties could be eliminated before commencement of the process. The participants' consent for voluntary participation in the interview process were sought and obtained through the signing of the forms.

The researcher utilised the pre-determined questionnaire to guide the process. The open ended questions provided a point of entry and assisted in the exploration of the views, ideas and experiences (Niewenhuis, 2007) in social work training and practice.

Nine individual face-to-face interviews were conducted at a time and place that were most convenient to participants. The interviews were approached with awareness of the sensitivity of the questions. The interviews were done in a conversational manner and participants were reminded that they do not have to answer if they are not comfortable. The tape-recorder was switched off where participants requested to break. On their request the tape was switched on and the interview continued. Through probing, summarizing reflection new aspects that arose during the interviews were clarified. (Bless, et al, 2013, Maree, 2007).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted around the parameters as set out in the pre-determined questionnaire during the face-to-face interviews. The open-ended questions were developed according to the overall research question and subsequent objectives. The open ended questions provided a point of entry and assisted in the exploration of the views, ideas and experiences (Nieuwenhuis, 2007) in social work training and practice. Discussions for the individual interviews centred around Social Work Practice, Social Work Education, Inequality, oppression and discrimination, Diversity and Social Justice and Human Rights (See appendix A). The face-to-face interviews were approximately thirty to forty-five minutes long and were done at a time and place convenient to the participants. A debriefing session was held after each interview and each participant was provided with a participants'

information sheet that indicated other counselling services available from the Department.

4.5.2 Focus group discussions

The researcher started the data collection process by first ensuring that each individual participant in the group was comfortable. This was ensured by making small talk. The participant's information sheet for participating in the focus group were again read and discussed with all the participants so that any ambiguities and uncertainties could be eliminated before commencement of the process. They were informed about that fact that the researcher cannot guarantee the confidentiality between members. Each participant's consent for voluntary participation in the focus group was sought and was obtained through the signing of the forms.

Before commencement of the discussions group participants agreed on group rules and all of them signed a group agreement. The explorations and debates were guided by a set of statements which were approved by the ethics committee of the University of the Witwatersrand**.**

Three focus group discussions took place. Data from one focus group were not utilized as there was an error in the composition of the group. Focus group discussions focused on different topics aimed to create specific discussion around the socio-political context of social work (See appendix B). The focus group discussions were approximately held for an hour to an hour to an hour and a half and were done at a time and place convenient to the participants. A debriefing session was held after each focus group and each participant in the focus group was provided with a participants' information sheet that indicated other counselling services available from the Department.

4.5.3 Tape recording

With the separately written permission (See Appendix E & H) from the participants in the interviews and the focus group, the discussions were recorded. The recorded data was transcribed by an independent transcription company with whom the researcher signed a non-disclosure agreement. The transcribed interviews provided a means of reflection that assisted to validate the correctness of interpretations and

field notes (De Vos et al 1995). The full analysis of data was done from the transcribed interviews. The recordings from the group where the error occurred were destroyed immediately before it was transcribed.

4.6 Methods of data analysis

4.6.1 Analysis methodology

A qualitative interpretive approach to data analysis situated in a postmodern paradigm, was utilized. Qualitative research is concerned with meaning in context and therefore involves interpretation.

A postmodern paradigm allowed for the researcher to identify the dominant structures operating in social work practice and education, the power of these dominant structures over the participants and how these power relations (Foucault, 1980) shaped and continue to shape the social work discourse in the Free State. The plurality, diversity and fluidity (Lyotard, 1984, Foucault, 1980) of the postmodern approach provided the space for the inclusion of different components of theoretical approaches to the analysis process. The categorization of racial micro-aggression by Sue et al (2007), as described in the theoretical framework, provided the tools to identify racism where lack of pronouncement occurred. Through Biko's (2004) Black consciousness approach, dominant structures operating in practice and training were identified. The Black Consciousness Approach further provided the historical context of this dominance and its on-going manifestation of white supremacy and black inferiority, also in social work.

Thematic content as well as discourse analysis was used to analyse the data. Nieuwenhuis (2007, p. 102) describes discourse analysis as

"concerned with studying and analysing written text and spoken words to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias, and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced and transformed within specific social, economic, political and historical context".

4.6.2 Analysis process

The researcher was concerned with describing the lived experiences of participants and the depth of these lived experiences. The richness and in-depth explorations and descriptions as well as the flexibility are considered to be the greatest characteristics and strengths of qualitative research (Bless, Higson-Smith & Sithole, 2013). The data presentation reflects this richness and depth of the participants' experiences.

The analysis process was recursive rather than linear (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which means that in line with a postmodern fluidity, the researcher moved between the different phases of coding and fluctuated between examining the original data set, the themes that were being extracted and the data that were developed into themes (Garber, 2014).

A deductive coding approach was used to answer the predetermined research questions. Inductive coding was used to pull out emergent trends in the data. Some of the codes were predetermined based on the research questions while others were emergent.

4.7 Positionality of the researcher

The researcher identifies herself as Black politically according to Biko's (2004) explanation of blackness, as well as Coloured culturally due to the specific cultural characteristics that have developed around the term and not because the researcher subscribed to the classification imposed on her. Alexander (2013), McKaiser (2012) and Ahmed (2012) confirm this cultural specific characteristics as South Africans' identities have been shaped and continued to be modelled around these concepts. The researcher thus has insider status to the lived socio-political realities of the participants.

The researcher was familiar with the prospective participants as they are working in the same Department even though participants were not employed in the same section. The researcher had effectively taught social work from April 2010 to December 2010 and was thus also familiar with some of the participants as students. However, the researcher held no power over the participants, which may have

implied a hierarchical relationship that might have led to any coercion of participants to participate in the study.

Furthermore, the researcher had been transparent about her position and intension since the initial phases of the research process. The research proposal stating her positionality had been approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand (See Appendix J). The researcher, in agreement with Robus and Macleod (2006), is of the opinion that her familiarity with social work practice and education settings and her awareness of the 'fine-grained dynamics' involved, enhanced rather than hampered the data analysis process (p. 471).

4.8 Trustworthiness

According to Maxwell (2008), validity talks to the question of how the researcher might be wrong and he state that it is not as a result of indifference, but of integrity. Maxwell (2008) indicates that qualitative research does not have or attempts to design controls in advance that deal with anticipated and unanticipated threats to validity. However, it does require that a particular threat in question be identified and that ways to rule out that particular threat be developed.

The two potential threats to this research were bias and reactivity. The first threat is bias. In qualitative research, the main concern is not about eliminating *variance* between researchers in the values and expectations that they bring to the study but how particular researchers' values influence the conduct and conclusions of the study (Maxwell, 2008, p. 243).

The second threat is reactivity. Maxwell (2008, p. 243) describes reactivity as the 'powerful and inescapable influence' the researcher has on the data collected and mentions that the goal in a qualitative study is not to eliminate this influence but to understand it and use it productively. Reliability of the data is done through triangulation where data was collected from three different sources with three different interval periods in which change need to take place. These sources and different timeframes provided trustworthiness to the findings in presenting the data to the reader with minimum interpretation. In postmodern research, the researcher recognizes the subjectivity involved in the process and advocates for transparency of the process (Thayser, 2001). The researcher's awareness of her own

preconceptions and the fact that she did not hide or disguise it, further adds to the integrity to the research process (Kroeze, 2012).

Alston & Bowles (2008, p. 205) mention that

"Because qualitative studies take into account the context in which the research is conducted, researchers have the flexibility to check and re-check their findings in the field."

A journal was kept throughout the research process. The researcher vigorously took field notes and reflections on data and discussion thereof with participants took place.

4.9 Ethical considerations

Ethical clearance has been granted by the Ethics Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand before commencement of the study (See Appendix J).

4.9.1 Voluntary participation

Participants were informed that they may refuse to participate and that such a decision will lead to no negative consequences for them. On the other hand, they were also told that participating in the study will hold no rewards, financial or otherwise and that they may withdraw from the study at any time or refuse to answer any questions that they may choose. This information as captured on the participant's information sheet for individual interviews (See Appendix C) and focus group discussions (See Appendix F) were explained to participants at the beginning of each interview and focus group discussion.

4.9.2 Informed consent

Participants in the study were contacted before the study commenced so that the rationale, purpose and aims of the study could be explained, in order for them to make an informed decision on whether or not they want to participate in the study. The participants were continuously reminded that they can withdraw from the study at any time. Written consent was obtained from individual participants and their willingness to participate in a focus group discussion was clarified (See Appendix D

& G). An agreement on norms for the focus group was reached prior to commencement of focus group discussions. Confidentiality was ensured through withholding names and surnames and by the coding done on the participant's information during the data analysis process. Each participant was assigned a numerical study ID prior to collection of data and this unique ID number was inserted onto their data document. The numbers for the participants in the focus group differed from that of the individual interviews. These numbers were utilized throughout the analysis process and it also appears like that in the analysis chapter.

4.9.3 Confidentiality

Confidentiality was ensured through the process as explained above. Results are presented in an anonymous manner in order to protect the identities of the respondents. All data collected was kept securely in a locked cabinet in the researcher's office. The data was kept secured through a password on the researcher's computer. Only the researcher knows the password.

4.9.4 Non-maleficence

Participants have been informed about the counselling offered as explained on the information sheet. Debriefing session after the focus groups and individual interviews took place that assisted them to share their experiences of the process. Participants whose information could not be utilised have been informed about this in writing (See Appendix I).

4.10 Limitations of the study

The study does not claim that the sample is representative of the whole community. However, as this is a qualitative research design, the aim is not to generalize the findings to all other social workers. The aim is to understand, to greater depth, the experiences of the participants.

The study is limited to ethnic Black voices of social workers in the Department of Social Development Free State only. The opinions and experiences of social workers in other Government and non-governmental organisations within the province were not considered. Further explorations of ethnic Black social workers in other provinces

would provide more insight into the extent of racial and discriminatory practices in the country.

CHAPTER 5

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The aim of the data presentation and analysis chapter is to describe the findings from the raw data that were analysed and interpreted. The chapter begins with a description of the analysis process that was followed. The demographic data provided information with regard to the legibility of participants to the study. A comprehensive overview to the analysed data is provided in table form. Data is than organised into nine categories with the themes and subthemes relating to the category.

5.2 Analysis process

Thematic content as well as discourse analysis simultaneously took place. Nieuwenhuis (2007, p. 102) describes discourse analysis as being ‘concerned with studying and analysing written text and spoken words to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias, and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced and transformed within specific social, economic, political and historical context.’

The richness and depth explorations and descriptions as well as the flexibility are the greatest characteristics and strengths of qualitative research (Bless, et al, 2013). The data presentations reflect this richness and depth of the participant’s experiences.

The analysis process was recursive rather than linear (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which means that in line with a postmodern fluidity, the researcher moved between the different phases of coding and fluctuated between examining the original data set, the themes that were being extracted and examined the data that were developed into themes (Garber, 2014).

5.3 Demographic description of participants

5.3.1 Table 3: Demographic information according to race

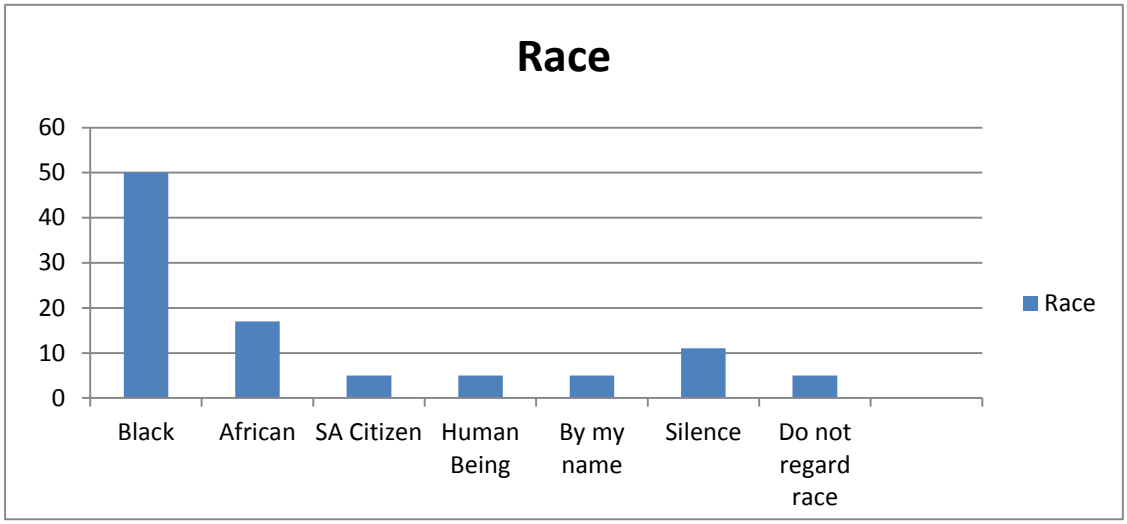


Table three indicates that nine (50%) of participants themselves as black, three (17%) regarded themselves as African, two (11%) did not answer the question at all and one (5%) regarded themselves as a human being, South African citizen and the other one (5) did not regard him/herself in terms of race.

Black social workers were of particular interest to the study as their voices and experiences are still marginalised in academia and praxis. These voices bear the aspirations of the poor Black communities from which they come and which continue to suffer under the consequences of Apartheids Oppressive system. Based on Biko's definition and theory of blackness (Biko, 2004), it could be argued that some participants were ashamed to identify themselves as Black or would not want be associated with what Blackness meant during the Apartheid years. So, while individually all related differently to Blackness, the stories, experiences and feelings reflects the interconnectivity of the Black world and Black communities. However, the myths and stereotypes around the black condition can only be defied when Blacks, as Biko (2004) advocates, can confidently take pride in their blackness that is not less valued or subordinate to whiteness.

5.3.2 Table 4: First year of social work training

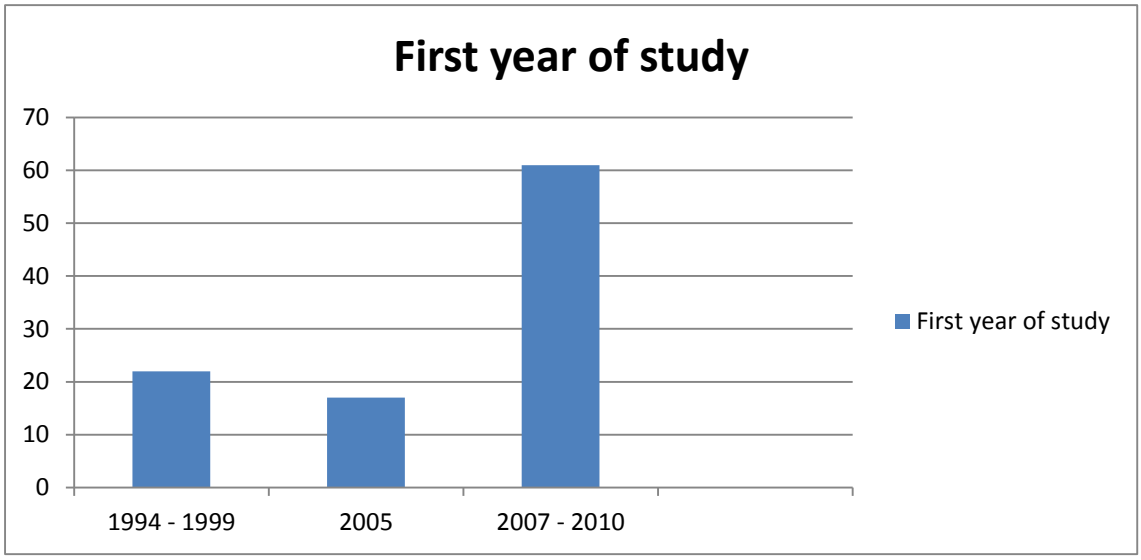
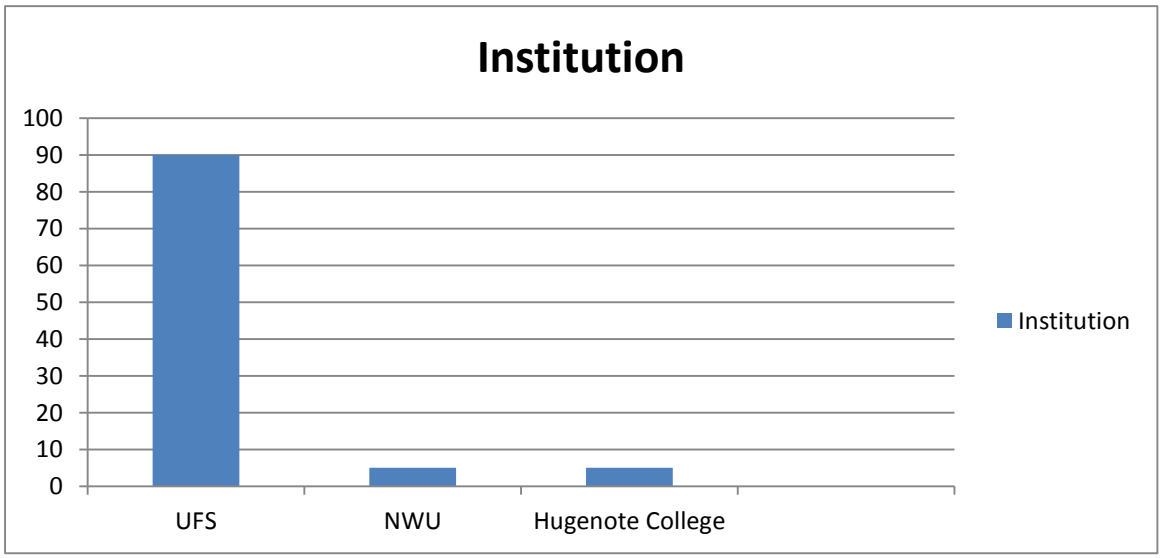


Table 4 indicates that 4 (22%) participants started their social work training between 1994 and 1990. Three (17%) started in 2005 and eleven (61%) started their social work training between 2007- 2010. The different years of study assisted in tracing when change took place as well as to show how change never really took place. The year 2005 was entered to indicate an interval between the first group that studied just after 1994 and the last group who were supposed to be trained according to the new BSW (2007).

5.3.3 Table 5: Institution of higher learning



According to table 5, sixteen (90%) of the participants studied at the University of the Free State, while only one studied at the North West University (Potchefstroom, previously referred to as Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education) and the Huguenot College, respectively.

5.3.4 Table 6: Years of experience

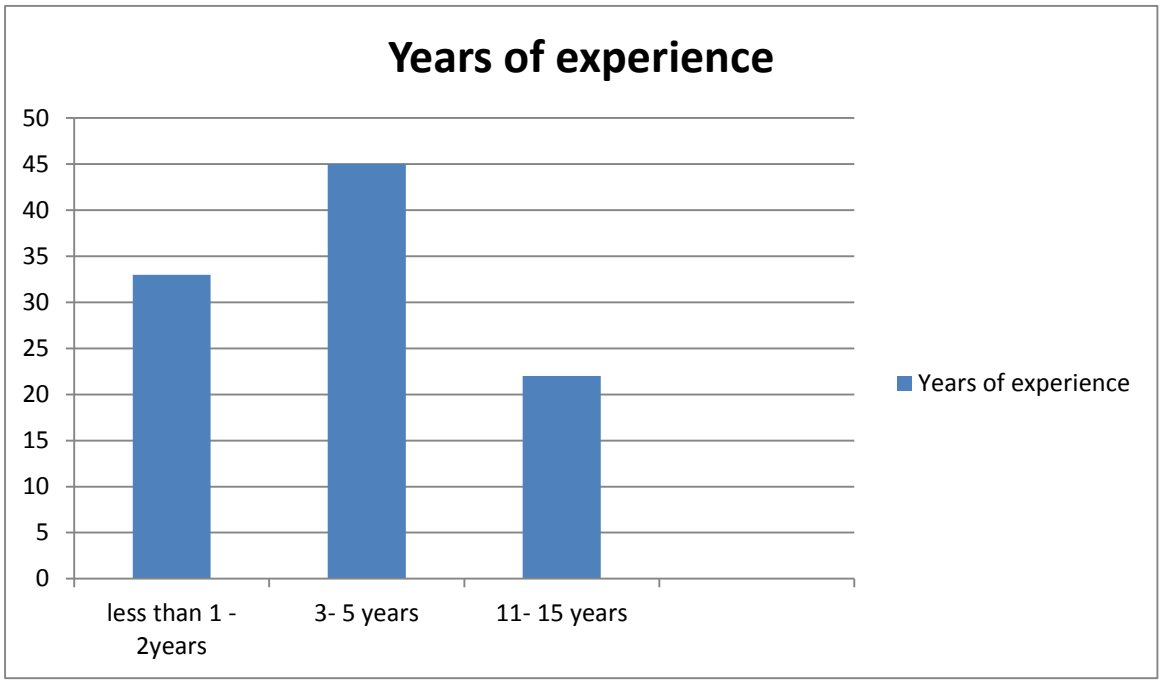


Table 6 indicates that six (33%) of the participants have less than one to two years' experience. Eight (45%) have 3 - 5 years' experience and four (22%) have 11-15 years' experience. The years of experience provided different perspectives on social work practice since 1994.

5.4 Background to data analysis

5.4.1 Description of period 1994 – 1999

Participants in this category provided insight into the state of social work training and practice after democracy. The amalgamation of social work administrations took place after 1994. Their responses set the parameters from which the other periods were analysed as to see how change occurred or did not occur. This period also signifies several policy changes, and specifically the introduction of the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) and the development of the Recruitment and Retention Strategy for Social Workers (1999). A submission to the Truth and Reconciliation

Commission was done during this period where the social work fraternity acknowledged that the social welfare sector, despite a few movements and initiatives, have failed citizens in the areas of social justice and human rights (Lombard, 2005, Patel, 2005, Lombard, 2000). It is assumed that the submission to the TRC during this period would not only be lip service or paper indications of regret, but a genuine commitment to do things differently.

5.4.2 Description of period 2005

This period coincides with the transition period from the old qualification to the new BSW that was introduced in 2004. The assumption is made that the shift in policy from a residual to a developmental approach (Patel, 2005; Lombard, 2005), ten years into democracy, would have significantly changed the day-to-day realities of black students, social work practitioners as well as communities that had been directly affected by the ideologies of the apartheid government and the old paradigms that shaped social work education and practice. Information from this group gave insight into the social workers' experiences ten years in to democracy and differs from the last period as the BSW was not made compulsory for social work training during this time.

5.4.3 Description of period 2007- 2010

The significance of this period is that it gives insight into the experiences of newly appointed social workers that had been trained according to the new BSW (2007) which was supposed to produce social workers that were equipped to deal with the specific social and political context of South Africa (Earle, 2008). This period also signifies the country entering its second decade of democracy after the first democratic elections in 1994. The views expressed by the participants in this period were by newly graduated students and the assumption is made that they are well conversant with the new curriculum and changes that had occurred in social work. The assumption is also made that the new educational focus would be transferred into practice and changes in people's lives would be more tangible, however, the impact of social welfare services on the structural causes of poverty and inequality, remains limited (Lombard, 2008).

5.5 Overview of categories, themes and subthemes

Table 7 provides an overview of the different categories, themes and subthemes. The themes were organised as they relate to the categories of questions (deductive approach) and subthemes (inductive approach) and are captured chronologically**.**

Table 7: Overview of categories, themes and subthemes

Category	Themes	Subthemes
1. Social Work Practice	Impact of Social Work Services	
	Diversity of clients	
	Constraints to social work practice	Perception that social work is a charitable calling
		Shortage of social workers
		Oppressive working environments
		Perception that social work theory is for white people
		Dependency of communities
		Racial Discrimination in supervision
2. Social Work and Politics	Contradictory role of social work	
	Master-slave narrative	
	Manifestation of oppressor consciousness	
3. Social Work Education	Demographics of lecturing staff	
	Curriculum content	Alienating content
		Textbooks reflect untrue stories of black people
	Teaching focus	
	Extent of training in social inequality, oppression and discrimination	
	Extent of training in diversity	
	Extent of training in social justice and human rights	
	Lived Experiences of participants	Preferential treatment of white students
		Manifestation of racial micro-aggression
		Divide and rule
	Perpetuation of racism through student practical placements	Scenario 1: Separate kitchens for black and white social workers
		Scenario 2: Black students allowed, but meetings held in Afrikaans
		Scenario 3: Only white students allowed for practical
		Scenario 4: only Afrikaans speaking students allowed for practical
	Resistance to oppression	Student organisations like SASO
	Impact of experiences of racism in schools of social work	Psychological dilemma
		Physical and spiritual paralysis
7.Obstacles to transformation in social work education	Anti-black attitude from lecturers	
	Lack of genuine concern for black students	
	Whiteness as the norm in social work	
	Language as cover for racism	
	Universities resistance to change	
	Social work is a career for whites	
8. Race and social work	Relation between race and culture	
	The perception that talking about race is racist	
	Implication of silence about race for social work practice	
9. Liberating power of social work		

5.6 Discussion of themes and subthemes per category

5.6.1 Social Work Practice

The discussion on social work practice centred around the participants' view on social work, there daily work experiences and challenges or frustrations with regards to their practice settings. Participants' responses over the three periods are categorised according to the following themes.

Table 8: Themes and subthemes for social work practice

Themes	Subthemes
Impact of social work services	
Diversity of clients	
Constraints to social work practice	Perception that Social Work is charitable calling
	Shortage of social workers
	Oppressive working environments
	Perception that social work theory is for white people
	Racial discrimination in supervision

5.6.1.1 Impact of social work services

It was envisaged with the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) that social work services would change from casework to a group and community development approach in order to address the needs of the poor Black majority. Brown & Neku (2005) and Lombard (2008) indicate that while the shift in casework to community work was encouraged; the level of poverty and inequality did not change significantly.

Participants reflected this lack of impact on the broader community and they expressed that there had been no real shift from case work to community work. There also seemed to be an exclusive focus on case-work and specifically foster care. Services to the communities include monitoring of funded NGOs. There was an indication that social workers were lagging behind in group and community work.

> *"I don't think I'm doing enough because we are busy doing foster care so most of the time you will focus on the foster care cases. Especially the ones that are on the backlog because that's what the management wants us to do. So in terms of case work and group work as well as community work I think for us social workers who are working within the department we are lagging behind.*

Because what we do on a daily basis is doing admin work" (Part, 037, p1, par 5).

"The broader community, for me I would say that because I work mostly with individuals than the community, we haven't started the whole community work there… But working with the broader community in general, because it's quite challenging… But I work mostly with individuals, that community work ... Individuals, basically time, I don't have time for groups" (Part, 039, pg. 2, par, 6).

"you can only guide but you're not doing much because there's so much that can be done with lack of resources that we are encountering it's stopping us … Because if people are living in poverty a lot, and especially in the communities … because there are not jobs and people are not even educated. And as a result they end up living their life in crimes in order to survive "(Part 008, pg. 2, par 7).

Social work services seem to be restricted to individuals through casework. While there is recognition of the needs of the broader community living in poverty, the lack of resources and day to day administrative responsibilities around foster care backlogs seem to keep social workers office bound with no time to impact on communities through group and community work activities.

5.6.1.2 Diversity of clients

Before 1994, services were rendered according to the racial divides of apartheid with social workers rendering services to their 'own' racial groups. Ntenga (1999), in her review of the implementation of the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997), indicates that racially biased services to communities had to be addressed. Responses from participants seem to indicate that the biased racial services did not change as they still work with Black people

"I am solely working with black people. I think we are [placed] according to race" (Pg.5, Par, 30).

"Since I started working I haven't seen any white social worker here. I heard there was somebody but she moved from here…" (Pg. 5, Par 10).

Services continue to be rendered along racial lines which indicate that racial stratification with regard to social work services seem to be an on-going structural issue that has not yet been addressed. Brown and Neku (2005) reported that client service utilisation and employment choices remains unchanged as Black social workers continue to be employed in rural areas and white social workers in urban areas.

5.6.1.3 Constraints to social work practice

5.6.1.3.1 Perception of social work as a charitable calling

In a manner similar to the development of social work internationally, the history of social work in South Africa dates back to its earlier connection with the Nationalist Government and the Dutch Reformed Church in the early twentieth century, from where it developed as a discipline (McKendrik, 1987; Cock, 2008). The charity of the church funded formal social work programmes and social work was seen as a Christian duty to 'care' for the poor. However, as later seen, this charity was never genuinely in the interest of the poor, but to serve the interest of the ruling (Bottomley, 2013).This perception seems to be the reason why even today social workers still have the challenge of low salaries and poor working conditions, while communities and leaders expect social workers to hand out food-parcels as can be seen from the following statements:

"…there are people who still, especially people in authority, who believe that social workers, I don't believe social work is a calling, I don't, social work is not a calling for me, once you subscribe to social work being a calling, you simply say, people must do whatever because it's a calling, they must just go with the flow, like that fish, so, there are people who believe that social work, social workers are here for, in the profession, it's a calling and they must, they must earn peanuts"(Part, 034, pg., 9, par, 33).

"…like from the beginning the social worker was more of charity, you know. And that charity it has developed a dependency upon the client, even in that

day, of which we are going through the same thing even in this century whereby there is also that dependency where our clients depend on food parcels of which you can go back it's also a charity to them. And also like depend on a foster care grant of which it can also be charity…" (Pg. 2, par, 10 &11

Social work is undermined by policies of poverty alleviation that seems to be restricted to social grants and services around that. These policies further reduced social work's value to that of charity that implies no serious commitment in terms of remuneration and decent living and working conditions. The important role of social work in terms of sustainable human development and its progressive and radical potential to the psychological liberation of the poor black majority is swallowed up by this perception of a charitable calling.

5.6.1.3.2 Shortage of social workers

The Department of Social Development developed the Recruitment and Retention Strategy for Social Workers (2009) in order to address the skills shortages. While the demand for social workers is acknowledged, there seems to no real commitment to address this demand through the employment of social workers. One participant explains it as follows:

"…the country is in need of social workers, probably it's a question of the readiness to absorb them into the job market, or the reluctance thereof, to put effort and this cut across all employers…"(Part34, pg., 9, par, 33).

Lombard (2008, p. 169) indicates that the skills shortage 'seriously undermines social work's capacity to responds to its social change and development function.' This means that the on-going lack of social workers robs communities of their right to dignified human and social development services.

5.6.1.3.3 Oppressive working environment

Freire (1996, p. 37) defines oppression as "any situation in which "A" objectively exploits "B" or hinders his or her pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person. Such situation in itself is violence, even when sweetened by false generosity

because it interferes with the individual's ontological and historical vocation to be more fully human." Social work had a history of social control, workforce programmes and bureaucratisation of services (Smith, 2012) which hindered the development of the black majority through the apartheid laws. In this study, participants similarly seem to experience their working environment as oppressive:

> "…*It is also at our workplace, I feel oppressed, I feel like I cannot say anything whenever I want to say it. I, not by saying I want to say that not respecting the other person, but saying it because I'm not comfortable with that. Our people who are supposed to be leaders are not leaders, they are bosses. So, it's not leading you for you to be a better person tomorrow, for you to be able to be a leader, né. But they are just telling you when to do it, and how to do it, no matter how you feel about it, no matter whether you have a different opinion about it, no matter whether you see it differently it doesn't matter, you must just do it. As long as I, as number 10, now get a position higher than number 8, now I'm going to show her, you understand. Now is my time to exercise my power over her, instead of trying to lead her, trying to show her in order for her, for me if I'm not there tomorrow, for her to be able to take over, instead of building each other. But now, what do we do, we are oppressing each other. It's unfortunately" (Pg. 15, Par 96 &97).*

The participants seemed to find the bureaucratic system in the workplace as oppressive rather than empowering:

> "*In the workplace, everything is about procedure, everything is about the system. If you have a concern you must start with your supervisor, then you will go to, you know that system so it's frustrating to start with. So for you to just start thinking about it, it is not easy for you to do it. It is done purposely so that it frustrates you. For me that's oppression" (Part, 004, pg., 5, par 24).*

> *"…if you want to bring something new and different specifically for those who are fresh from school,…you don't have support for that…because everything you have to fight…"(Part, 039, pg., 3, par, 4).*

The White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) has been developed out of the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP, 1994), which placed the

development of human potential through partnerships with individuals, groups and communities at the centre of development (Gray, 1998). However, the RDP has subsequently been replaced by neoliberal capitalist macro-economic policy of Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) in which development is defined in economic terms to the detriment of human development (UNDP, 2003). These neo-liberal policies based on a capitalist definition of growth and development brought with it a managerial approach that seems to have swallowed the human development initiatives intended by the RDP and described in the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997). The neo-liberal policies further impacted dramatically on the nature of social work services. What was meant to rebuild the people of the country with the RDP (1994) and the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997), is now being used to advance the interests of the have's to the detriment of the have-not's (the poor marginalised black community), a situation in which social work is forced to compromise its social justice ideals.

5.6.1.3.4 Perception that social work theory is for white people

White Schools of Social Work were initially developed to prepare social workers for working with the poor whites (Mazibuko & Gray, 2004; Bernstein & Gray, 2010). Blacks were trained in substandard conditions for substandard living conditions. It seems that participants still encountered such incongruence between the client population and the theories which they were taught. The incongruence between education and the practice situation was reflected in the following statement:

> *"when you get here even older social workers will tell you, no, don't apply those methods because here you are in the real world… those models don't work, here we are working with real people, we are not working with white people. White people are the ones that need therapy and everything. So for us black people if you just provide a client with whatever she wants then you are all right" (Part 037, pg., 2, par 13).*

This view confirms the statement by Rautenbach & Chiba (2010) that theory taught in the apartheid era, differs to a large extent from the realities of the majority of South Africans. This is still perceived to be the case as reflected in the following statement

"…that is not how it works in real life because you don't get to use that knowledge that you've been taught at school…" (Part, 035, pg., 2, par, 12).

Social work theories do not seem to fit into the work with the poor black communities. Services to black people seems to be needs based and centred around everyday life challenges, rather than being restricted to models and theories that sets out how people are supposed to live their lives. Practice realities poses different challenges to social workers than what is taught in schools of social work.

5.6.1.3.5 Dependency of communities

There reportedly seems to be a perception from the community that social work is welfare (as indicated previously) which according to the participants created dependency with little or no cooperation from clients:

"…you don't get that cooperation from clients. It's like they just want you to do things for them. They don't want to become part…like they don't want to form that partnership with you" (Part,035, pg., 1, par, 10).

"…it has been done by previous social workers before, which they were not really empowering them but however they were doing things on behalf of our clients…that are what I've seen" (part, 035, pg., 4, par, 19).

The historical charitable calling of social work seems to be an obstacle to development initiative where communities need to take responsibilities for their own lives. Mamphiswana & Noyoo (2000) confirms that social workers have been trained to work for people and not with people. This dependency is thus created though social work education and the image social work has portrayed to communities for over decades. The Department of Social Development Strategic Plan 2012 – 2015, emphasises the fact that a new approach, moving away from a passive citizenship receiving services from the state to one that systematically includes the socially and economically excluded, where people are champions of their own development, is needed.

5.6.1.3.6 Racial discrimination in supervision

Whiteness is socially and politically constructed, and therefor learned behaviour; it does not just refer to skin colour but is ideology based on beliefs, values, habits and attitudes, which result in unequal distribution of power and privilege based on skin colour (Frye, 1983; Kivel, 1996); it represents a position of power where the power holder defines that categories which means that the power holder decides who is white and who is not (Frye, 1983). The manifestation of racism and the privileges of whiteness are highlighted by the supervision relationship of the following participant:

> *"…a white colleague of mine who is also working with me, within the same group that we fall in, and we also have a white supervisor. So at the end of the day she will have more privileges than us. When you are on sick leave and then you come to work the following day your supervisor will want a sick leave [letter], it's true, she has to. But then come your white colleague, she is also sick, she comes to work the following day, the supervisor doesn't say anything. In terms of tools the supervisor gives her the printers and everything to do her work as well as school work, things that are not even falling under the work environment. So I will say there is an inequality" (Part, 037, pg., 7, par, 43).*

Based on the Constitution of South Africa, McKaiser (2012) defines racism as "Unfair or unjust discrimination on the basis of race" (p. 69). Furthermore, social work recognizes the hierarchical positions of Black and White people and the negative influence it has on human relations. Recognizing inequality in Black and White relations indicates an awareness of the power at play in the different spheres of society. It is within this hierarchical position between Black supervisee and the White supervisor that racism is perpetuated.

5.7 Social work and politics

The discussion around the socio-political context of social work indicates the contradictory role of social work. Discussions further revealed what was perceived as a 'master – slave' relationship between social work as a profession and the state as indicated in table 9.

Table 9: Themes for social work and politics

Themes for Social Work and Politics
Contradictory role of Social Work
'Master – slave' narrative

5.7.1 Contradictory roles of social work

Earle (2008, p. 16) maintained that "Social work occupies the challenging, sometimes contradictory roles of simultaneously being an advocate for the poor and oppressed and an agent for implementation of state policy." One participant explains this contradiction as follows:

> *"In 2014 we spent half of the year, the generic social workers, we were forced, we were not asked, we did not volunteer, we were forced to work on Saturdays, especially us who are working in the outside towns. There was this thing called a community outreach that social development was expected to be there. SASSA, Home Affairs and IEC. It was before the elections. So we go to the farms, they are going to apply for IDs and grants for those people on the farms who do not have identities.*
>
> *So what is our role there? Our role is we are expected to write a report. A grandmother will bring a child to me at the service point; I am expected to write a report saying that this child is an orphan with no proof. So I have to do that, which is for me illegal, it's unethical because I can be held responsible if this child is a kidnapped child from another country or from somewhere. I must commit myself without taking it to court, getting a court order so that I go to Home Affairs, Home Affairs can be able to register this child's ID" (Pg. 4, par 17 &18).*

Social work, being the closest to the poor and the marginalised, are favourably positioned to advocate on their behalf. However, it seems like this position is being abused and undermined by the unfair political demands placed on social workers.

5.7.2 'Master – slave' narrative

Social work has a history of unquestionably doing what the government of the day wants. Earle (2008) described this relationship that social work had with the apartheid government as a 'master – slave' relationship and has observed that with the new dispensation, this relationship did not change. The following narratives describe social works current relationship with the state as follows:

> *"We are, I'm feeling like we are oppressed. We are very oppressed. There is this thing that if you don't do, if you don't take the orders, I'm afraid where will I be. We are free to be victimized" (Pg. 3, Par 15).*

> *"...when the politicians comes, I will just keep quiet, I'm not going to voice out because I'm afraid that I'm going to lose the job, so how can I develop a client wherever I can't stand for myself. That is the serious challenge for the social worker at this moment, because we are doing our work pleasing other people, you understand. That is the problem, we are afraid to be victimized, we can't voice out, we are afraid, it's like that" (Pg. 13, Par 78).*

> *"…now we are being ruled by a black President, our government is black, what can you say, black, we are being led by the black African government, if can put it like that. But still we are, we are still oppressed. We are still oppressed. We are oppressing each other nowadays, and I personally think that because of the previous disadvantages, when somebody gets a piece of bread now, you want to keep it for yourself. It's not easy for that person now to share, because of the previous whatever that happened. And now if you look at our politicians, né, they have all now, and they don't want to share with the lower class, if I may put it like that" (Pg., 14, Par 95).*

The examples above are indicative of an oppressor consciousness that Freire (1996) refer to. The oppressor consciousness, according to Freire (1996, p. 40) 'tend to turn everything around it into objects of their domination and into objects of their purchasing power'; hence their strictly materialistic concept of existence, where everything is measured in terms of money and profit is their primary goal. It could be argued that the present Government is operating within the inherited frame of the Apartheid system because although there were political and legislative changes,

structurally the Black people in South Africa still feel oppressed as can be seen from the responses of the participants "… *now we are being ruled by a black President, our government is black, what can you say, black, we are being led by the black African government, if can put it like that. But still we are, we are still oppressed…. "(Pg., 14, Par 95).*

The acts of government can never be compared to that of the Apartheid regime (oppressors) who created and maintained it. However, 'the moment the new regime hardens into a dominating "bureaucracy" (referring to the revolution which becomes stagnant and turns against the people, using the old repressive, bureaucratic), the Humanist dimension (which in this case is at the centre of social work services) of the struggle is lost and it is no longer possible to speak of liberation" (Freire, 1996, p. 39). Freire (1996) further indicates that it is in these instances that if the government of the day is not conscious of their acts, they might become oppressors themselves. These actions are paralysing social workers' quest to serve the poor Black majority effectively.

5.8 Social work education

The debate around social work education centred around Earle's (2008, p. 63 & 65) pronouncement that the new BSW (2007) had to address the general lack of problem posing type of education, the absence of African specific knowledge in curricula, the need to cater for social work students from diverse backgrounds through empowering educational processes, the lack of reflection on the larger population group and the impact of structural problems and social ills such as mass poverty and malnutrition. Further attention needed to be given to the lack of representative staff in particularly the historically advantaged institutions and the institutional cultures that have not yet transcended the racial divide of the past.

Table 10: Themes and subthemes for social work education

Themes	Subthemes
Demographics of lecturing staff	
Curriculum Content	Alienating content
	Textbooks reflects untrue stories of Black people
Teaching focus	
Extent of training in social inequality, oppression, and discrimination	
Extent of training in diversity	
Extent of training in social justice and human rights	
Lived experiences of participants	Preferential treatment of White students
	Manifestation of racial micro-aggression
	Divide and Rule
Perpetuation of racism through students practical placements	**Scenario 1:** Separate kitchens for Black and White social workers
	Scenario 2: Black students allowed, but meetings held in Afrikaans
	Scenario 3: Only White students allowed for practical
Resistance to oppression	Student Organisations
Impact of experiences of racism in schools of social work	Psychological Dilemma
Obstacles to transformation in social work education	Anti-black attitude from lecturers
	Lack of genuine concern for Black students
	Language as covert racism
	Universities resistance to change
	Social work as a career for whites

Table 10 highlights the various themes that emerged around the discussion on social work education and are discussed in detail below.

5.8.1 Demographics of lecturing staff

Responses from participants throughout all three periods (1994-1999; 2005; 2007-2010) indicated that they believed that since 1994, nothing had changed in terms of the race profile of social work lecturers at their particular tertiary institutions of learning. One of the participants highlighted the on-going appointment of white staff at a social work department

> *"… if you can just look back and check even our lecturers, they are no black lecturers. There are no black lecturers, it's just white lecturers, and then if you can say… colour I think is still one on our side. There are still new lecturers now, there are new social worker lecturers, but they are still white. So the issue of race, it is really not addressed from varsity" (Pg. 7, Par 44).*

According to the Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education

Institutions (2008), the progress in staff equity in higher education in South Africa has been limited and university personnel remain predominantly White and progress in transformation pertaining to employment equity remains slow. This is of particular concern to social work, as this slow pace of equity change, directly impacts negatively on the very fibre of South Africa's human development potential which is situated in anti-racist social work (Dominelli, 1988), as it is 'concerned with transforming the unequal social relations shaping social interaction between black and white into egalitarian ones'(p. 3).

5.8.2 Curriculum Content

5.8.2.1 Alienating Content

Bereng (2008) found that in the discipline of education, the content was alienating and did not reflect student realities, was irrelevant to their own context, and their realties were invisible in the learning materials. All participants were of the view that they could not relate to the content in the textbooks.

> "*I don't think any, any textbook was, was representative of, of the indigenous groups or the demographics of South Africa. I've not come across any textbook that was probably, say, written by a, a black academic, so, most of the books that were prescribed and selected and preferred will be those ones that perpetuate stereotypes"* (Part, 034. pg., 5, par 15).

Responses further indicated that textbooks were seen to be not African or South African specific and lacked culturally specific communication skills that differ according to race and ethnic groups as evident from the following input.

> *"…the curriculum is not as South African as possible so like culturally there are a lot of things that are different…if a person speaks Xhosa that is the only way I can ask this question, there is no other way I can basically put it. So I would say that is a challenge for me at times to put the theory whatever my curriculum to now my day to day working…"(Part, 039, pg., 4, par, 18 &19).*

Gray & Fook (2004) and Thabede (2008) highlight the dilemma of relevance of social work knowledge in South Africa that is based on European Western paradigms. Thabede (2008) in his description of Indigenous social work, argues for an

Afrocentric perspective where the 'subjugated, marginalised African culture-based epistemologies' (p. 234), will form the basis of Social work knowledge and intervention strategies to black people, while also recognising the need for the incorporation of worldviews such as those of coloured and Indian people in South Africa. These different African experiences seems to be captured in Hochfeld's (2000) description of indigenous social work which relates to a 'strong radical framework focused on structural change, in a social development context through a postmodern perspective that values diversity and pluralism' (in Gray & Fook, 2004, p. 630).

5.8.2.2 Textbooks reflects untrue stories of black people

The intention with apartheid was to create false images of black people through education. It is thus assumed that the stories about blacks in textbooks would reflect a white orientated education (Biko, 2004).The stories about black South Africans as shared by participants since 1994 still seemed to reflect this racist paradigm of the ideology of apartheid that was intended to undermine the substance of the African culture.

Participant that trained during the period 1994- 1999

> *"The only books that you could read, well, I should mention that I also studied, when I was doing social work, I also had the modules in, such as, Setswana. I was shocked to see books that were written by Afrikaans, Afrikaans, Afrikaners or Afrikaans-speaking professors, Tswana books that we were to read, and then, for me, it was fundamentally wrong. There were a lot of errors in terms of the textbook context and, and substance, they twisted what, in actual fact, the language, Setswana was about. There were a lot of errors there and I think that compromised and also undermined the integrity of the Batswana people, it actually, for me, it was an insult" (Part, 034, pg., 5, par, 16).*

Participant that trained in the period 2007 - 2010

> *"…it wasn't written by a black person…they were just addressing the side of how marriages are viewed and weddings in the African culture…so I asked myself …the writer, did they actually go to find information on the real source, again, it was based on certain stereotype…it was sort of sending the wrong information in a way because you can't compare…my marriage cultural values as compared to a Sotho person is totally different…"(Part, 039, pg, 6, par 32).*

It is thus not surprising that social work textbooks reflect bias stories of Black people that negates, rather than validates the different ethnic Black experiences.

5.8.2.3 Teaching focus

The problem solving approach, according to Biko (2004) is a Western concept based on a scientific approach through which solutions are generated. Everything that cannot be logically explained is rejected. According to Biko (2004), this approach differs from the African approach in which situations are experienced and allows for both rational and non-rational elements to impact on them. Participants' views indicate this distinction.

> *"…it was about you having to know what is Kharkov, what is problem solving model, what is, the details of the modules, that is what seemed to be critical, not like how you're going to take this that you're learning and you're going to now use it in relation to the social ills like you said poverty, inequality and unemployment"(Part, 004, pg., 5, par, 20).*

> *"…when we were doing practical, I would picture myself in a very nice office and dealing with certain problems. You know you will picture yourself seeing maybe...focusing on family therapy and stuff and counselling the families, and showing them the technique of parenting and stuff. But when you get to the reality of things you think it's even worse than you can ever imagine" (Part, 004, pg., 3, par 10).*

The problem-solving model as indicated by the participants seems to reflect a managerialist individualistic approach Smith (2012). It further reflects a hierarchical

position of power where the social worker is the expert that will direct how the client needs to handle his/her life. These inputs confirm the pronouncement by Mamphiswana and Noyoo (2000) that social workers have been trained to work for people and not with people. Dialogue and reflective partnership lies at the centre of liberation and empowerment. Instead of being the expert, the social workers should trust the clients and their ability to reason. Failing to do that will turn clients into 'objects which must be saved from a burning building and in turn transform them into masses which can be manipulated' (Freire, 1996, p. 47).

5.8.2.4 Extent of training in social inequality, oppression and discrimination

Discussions around the extent to which these concepts as requirements for the new BSW, are addressed, indicates that social work training around oppressed groups is limited to the Children's Act, basic knowledge of the role of social work as an activist (doing awareness campaigns) and the pronouncement that social workers should not discriminate against people. The examples from newly appointed social workers to those with 5 years' experience provide the following evidence:

> "*That is the truth, the only thing that we know is that we can play as an activist for those people like we can do awareness on discrimination and all that but we didn't [unclear] on that. One of the things that we didn't really focus on that…"(Pg. 18, par, 87).*
>
> *"…the issue of Children's Act, that module was more stressed. You can see these people were hell bent to make sure we understand everything in this module. But coming to the issue of discrimination and taking into account disability we could have had more details. There is a module here and there talking about discrimination then that's the end of it. Maybe if we there could have been a module and maybe you have to make a practical project to get a clear understanding of how this discrimination affects people and understand the dynamics it would have been much better" (Pg. 18, par 92).*

Respondents reported that they did not have any specific in depth training on the concepts of social inequality, oppression and discrimination in social work. Training on these concepts seems to be limited.

"…in a way there were some modules that hint at those things, at discrimination and things" (Part 035, pg., 8, par 48).

Another participant stated:

I think, yes, social work training should focus on oppressed groups. And then again I will raise the question, I will say, who are the oppressed groups? I will say black people" (Pg. 16, Par 107).

According to Rautenbach and Chiba (2010), the purpose of the Bachelor of Social Work (BSW) degree was to equip learners with the skills to challenge structural causes of poverty, inequality, oppression, discrimination and exclusion, amongst others. However, as seen from the most recent graduates in the BSW, none of these concepts have been addressed. Their comments is validated by the fact that in the book *Introduction to social work*, the concepts of social class, race and ethnicity, gender, religion and spirituality, are hidden in the second last chapter where all the concepts that lies at the heart of structural inequality, are condensed into two pages. This is then not surprising that there is little evidence on the way in which social welfare impacts on the structural causes of poverty and inequality as reported by Lombard (2008).

5.8.2.5 Extent of training in diversity

Diversity refers to difference, for example race, class, gender, religion, able bodiedness, etc. In many instances the institutional cultures of organisation do not allow space for diverse experiences that can enrich the individual as well as the originations, but view diversity in a negative sense as something to be avoided. In social work we need a reflective, pro-active and critical engagement with issues of diversity; however as can be seen from the responses of participants', engagement with issues of diversity seem to be non-existent.

There seemed to be no communication around issues diversity and the silence around diversity seem to be accepted as the norm. A participant with three years or less experience gave the following input:

"…everyone seemed to be fine with the way things are. It just didn't bother them…With them they don't see anything different, those are white kids that

are fine, those are black kids that are fine. There's nothing unusual for them because they are only interacting with themselves also because it's only them" (part, 039, pg., 5, par 24).

Separation between black and white seem to be normalised and matters of diversity is just brushed over. It is also evident from the literature review in Chapter three that the concepts of diversity that are manifested the intersections of race, class and gender disparities amongst others do not receive the necessary attention needed to empower social workers in their day to day interactions with different people from different spheres of the societal spectrum. Another stated

"…you just deal with your issues in one lesson and it is gone. So there is not much emphasis on diversity" (Part, 003, pg7, par 40).

"…we didn't have a module but they would just say in passing that you have to deal with diverse groups, you have to, like I said treat all people equally no matter their race, no matter their gender"(Part, 037, pg., 8, par 47).

5.8.2.6 Extent of training in social justice and human rights

Training around social justice and human rights seem to be restricted to one of the roles that social workers have to play which is advocacy. Further deliberations yielded the following responses from newly appointed participants:

"It would actually make a lot of difference because now even though we have principles, even though we have values, we still have a responsibility, more especially myself. All right, everybody that comes from the community, we all come from the community, we all have seen the injustices and stuff, like that" (Part, 003, pg., 8, par, 48).

South Africa has a long history of violent human rights violations through the establishment and gross implementation of apartheid laws. The legacy of these human rights violations in Post-Apartheid South Africa, finds its manifestations in poverty and inequality, crime, violence against women and children, and racism (Noyoo, 2004). Social work as a social justice and human rights profession has the responsibility to defend the basic human rights of each individual, group or

community but this ideal cannot be achieved when social workers are not even aware of the human rights legislation as evident from the following input

> *"…even in terms of human rights I don't even have the green book or the Bill of Rights, so it shows that we didn't have enough training on human rights issues. Also with social justice because there are those clients that will be harassed by police and then they come here. And then you ask the client what did they do to you? And then the client will say no they did one, two, three but I don't know how to help this client, to say to the client no go and open a case against the police or what. I just stay in between and wonder now how do I handle this case" (Part, 037, pg., 8, par, 14 &50).*

While the progressive social work fraternity in the past struggled against these human rights violations by spearheading human rights campaigns, it now 'seems that many social workers have gone back to their mundane day-to-day issues like getting through caseloads' (Noyoo, 2004, p. 365).

5.8.2.7 Lived experiences of participants

5.8.2.7.1 Preferential treatment of white students

A common feature of the poor white problem (on which grounds social work developed as a discipline), was its deployment in the interest of racial superiority through segregation. Poor Whites and Blacks were separated as to ensure the advancement of racial superiority to the detriment of the black majority (Biko, 2004, Bottomley, 2012; Nicholas, et al, 2010; Bernstein & Gray, 2010; Patel, 2005). The narratives from the participants' lived experiences seem to reflect the advancement of whiteness to the detriment of blacks in social work.

> *"I started in1999 and it was a whole group of us blacks in classes and the whites were in other classes in Afrikaans. I remember once when I was in my second year there was a girl who wanted to study social work in our English class but then the department advised her to study in the Afrikaans class. And I was questioning myself about that, and I was like she preferred the English*

class but they chose for her to do it in the Afrikaans class" (Part, 008, pg., 3, par, 12).

Most recent view (participant who had trained during 2007-2010

"…if you are a black student and then you fail they will say to you go and be an auxiliary worker but for a white student they wouldn't say so. They will try by all means that you would pass at the end of the day as a white student" (Part, 037, pg., 5, p22).

At another institution during the same period

"…my coloured friends that they used to say in my class, no, the white kids in our class have personal numbers of the lecturers and they can call at any time. And they are always partying but when we come to tests they do well. So they believed that they got more information when it comes to tests or exams and everything" (Part, 039, pg., 9, par, 48)

Deliberations from participants reflect the nationalist ideology of the apartheid regime that reserved certain occupational categories for whites only. Blacks were only good enough to serve whites (Bottomley, 2012; Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). This situation seems to be the same for social work.

Furthermore, the input from the next participant is an example of internalised racism - the incorporation of ideologies by individuals which serves to maintain the unequal distribution of opportunities across ethno racial groups (Berman & Paradies, 2008).

"I had a case whereby I was asking one of my lecturers a question but the answer was not positive, but when someone else went to the office and asked the same lecturer the problem that I had, she was able to give her the correct answer, instead of answering me, what do you think should…what was the correct answer or how would you answer that question, you know. And then this other lady went…an Afrikaans speaking lady went and she got the answer I was looking for" (Part, 035, pg., 4, par, 22).

The response indicates that the lecturer was seen to view as normal, helping the White student and not the Black student. The preferential treatment given to the

White student appears to be invisible and that is a manifestation of white privilege as described by McIntosh (1988).

5.8.2.7.2 Manifestation of racial micro-aggression

Racism is often difficult to identify and pronounce as it appears in subtle covert or overt forms that are most of the time explained away by seemingly non-biased reasons (Sue et al, 2007). The Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions (2008) highlights this pervasiveness of racism as they indicate that participants reported that "racism is ubiquitous, (but) it can't be seen and them you feel you must be mad" and in another pronouncement: "you feel it but can't pinpoint it. Talking to (white) colleagues and you feel a wall coming up…" (p. 44). One participant describes this as follows:

> *"…I see around me colleagues are coming in, but only white colleagues. So I'm not aware of what's happening, it's fine, I make my coffee. But I could sense something is not okay, but nobody said anything to me…" (Pg. 17, Par, 117)*

Micro-insult refers to behavioural/verbal remarks or comments that convey rudeness, insensitivity and demeans a person's heritage or identity.

> *"….she come back again and say you are dumb or you are lazy or you do this and then black people are like this…"(Part, 037, pg., 7, par 41).*

Micro- insults further occur when a person of colour is treated as a second class citizen or treated as a lesser person because of the colour of their skin and White people gets preferential treatment (Sue et al, 2007). The following examples demonstrate how micro-insults manifested in the classroom and the collective identity of Black people has been insulted.

> "*I still remember before the elections, it was 2011 local elections. The lecturers said you guys go and vote for useless government again, corrupt ones. So some of the things we had to hear now and then from lecturers" (Pg. 20, Par, 99).*

"…and then the manager spoke Afrikaans most of the time…An we were expected, okay, to relax and listen…and understand…and then I spoke Sotho, they were like, uh, uh, uh, I don't understand, speak English. So, it was like, okay, that's how it's supposed to be…"

As can be seen from the example above, racial micro-aggression is a form of racism that appears in everyday interactions between people and due to the normalisation of racism in South African academy, it does not appear to the white person as being racist.

5.8.2.7.3 Divide and Rule

The anti-black approach of the Apartheid Government affected the Whites' attitude towards blacks to the extent that they [blacks] hate/despise each other or self (Biko, 2004). The divide and rule strategy was a common feature of the Apartheid era. It was employed to weaken the unity between Black people by dividing them into separate areas for different cultural groups for example Coloured, Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, etc. and thereby strengthening the White minority (Biko, 2004). Twenty years in democracy it seems like this strategy is still implemented for example to weaken the support black students give to each other in an oppressive environment of learning. One participant explains her current experience of Divide and Rule as follows:

"…those people they are capable of even trying to make you enemies. It's so dangerous to them because now, they will come to you and ask you, now how is she? And then by the time you realise that, okay, I, because it was me and my fellow students, how can those people know what I have been doing when I was outside, [inaudible] not there. So they even tried to make us, like, hating each other now" (Pg. 2, Par, 187).

5.8.2.8 Perpetuation of racism through student practical placements

With the support of the apartheid government, social work played a dominant role in social services across all sectors and the result was that private and voluntary organisation as civil society extensions of the National Party were heavily subsidised

to render these social work services to poor Whites (Gray & Lombard, 2008). Participants' experiences as students bear witness to the fact that Apartheid ideology is transmitted through schools of social work to their counterparts in these organisations and institutions of which they formed part of.

The following three examples gives an indication of the kind of racial practices students are exposed to during their practical training in three different Non-Governmental institutions (NGOs). It further highlights how social work educators endorse these practices in the NGOs.

Scenario 1: Separate kitchens for black and white social workers

This example reflects the dialogue that took place amongst group members and their amazement that such practice is still happening in 2012.

> *"…when I was doing my fourth year training, practical. I was in this institution I realised that there are two kitchens there. The other one is for the whites, and the other one is for the blacks. And then unfortunately I didn't know, or can I say fortunately I didn't know, when they, because that kitchen was closed to the office that we were with, that I was taken to when I first got there. When I was told that, this is the office that you are going in, so that kitchen was a bit closer to that office. So to my understanding I thought, okay, this kitchen is for this office that are closer, and then this one is for that other offices that are that side. So I took my cup in the morning. my supervisor then, at that particular institution, she came with, we were, let me see, we were four ladies, she came with four cups, she bought us four cups, four coffee mugs for us, and she gave it to us, né. I didn't understand why would she do that, it's fine. She gave to us and said, no, you know what; I don't want you to be bothering people with their mugs. Its fine, we took those coffee mugs. So, that particular day I took my coffee mug, and here I was, I went to the kitchen to make myself some nice coffee. So, when I'm busy with the kettle, the kettle is on, okay I see around me the colleagues are coming in, but only white colleagues. So I'm not aware what's happening, it's fine, I make my coffee. But I could sense something is not okay, but nobody said anything to me.*

I made myself a nice cup of coffee, and then I said when I was going out of that kitchen and one my colleagues said, hey, what are you doing in there? Making myself coffee. Uh uh, that is not our kitchen; you are supposed to go to that kitchen. I said, uh uh that kitchen is very far, that's what I said. Uh uh, that is not for you, it's for white people that kitchen. I was so surprised; really, I was so surprised, like, what…. Which year was that? Fourth year. Which year? 2012. 2012. In this democracy? Yes, I was so surprised. And you know what made me very sad, is like, it was a social worker who was saying that to me. She was a social worker working there, but allowing that thing to happen to her, if you understand. So I, this thing, the thing is, going back to number 7 what he said, we are being taught to be oppressed. We are being trained to be oppressed, so we end up… Being oppressed"

To the extent that we see it as the right thing. As a right thing. Normally, that's normally. But that's normally. Like that social worker, she was working there…Yes. She is living that to the extent that she is telling you, don't go there, in other words you are doing a wrong thing.

Yes, I stopped; I stopped, because now, again she told me they are going to be shouted. And you will be reported at the institution where you studied,… then now you're going to get a reassessment, another year again. You understand. Another year again. So I stopped (Pg. 17 & 18, Par 117 – 130).

Scenario 2: Black students allowed, but meetings only held in Afrikaans

"we were doing like practical in the same institution, but in different offices. So during our induction we were like, two offices were together, né. And then the manager spoke Afrikaans most of the time, né. And we were expected, okay, to relax and listen…And understand. And understand né. And then when I speak Sotho, they were like, uh uh, uh uh, number 7 I don't understand, speak in English. So it was like, okay, that's how it's supposed to be. They must understand, but my feelings, how I feel is just going to be oppressed like that, and it's normal" (Pg. 18, par 132).

Scenario 3: Only white students allowed for practical

> *"I remember one of my colleagues, because I was not with you guys. One of my colleagues, it is a Xhosa lady. So, she was supposed to go to the institution where they said they are looking for only white. She struggled with her practical, and then no one was assisting her at our institution. She went back to the institution and complained, I can't take it anymore, because now I can't, the language, all those things, you understand, and the treatment. The answer that she got from the varsity that, you must just go and do your practical, but if you want to repeat you can stay at home, then you will come next year, then we will take you to the black institution. It's how it's happening. So to voice out, and not voicing out is the same" (Pg. 19, par 144).*

Racism and racist attitudes are supported by schools of social work. The key features of Apartheid Ideology was separate public and private spaces for Blacks and Whites, advancement of Afrikaans to the detriment of other languages, and preferential appointments to White people (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). These are still alive in these scenarios and still set to maintain white superiority and black inferiority. The cry from one participant, "so to voice out and not to voice out is the same"(Pg. 19, par 144), echoes Biko's (2004) assertion that the system that is kicking you still wants you to react in a certain way to that kick and 'damn if you do, damned if you don't', thus leaving an overwhelming sense of hopelessness.

5.8.2.9 Resistance to oppression

The aspirations of the Black students against the oppressive educational environment and the forced used of Afrikaans as a language of instruction were locked up in their student organisations like SASO. The conscious awareness of their situation as a collective, made their own liberation inevitable (Biko, 2004).

Participants during the period 1994 -2003, reveals such forms of resistance to the oppression specific to their departments of education. These views are reflected below:

"…we had to go back to the administration block and go and complain to say when we applied you said your university is parallel medium. So the next day we were taught English class aside, Afrikaans class aside" (Part, 002, pg., 3. Par, 11).

"Honestly it was difficult because at first we were lectured only in Afrikaans, 1995, the first month it was Afrikaans, the whole class, whole lot of us in there. And then because of that a lot of students, black students, decided to quit social work. And then it was only a few of us left at that time, like we're going to do this, either we're going to do this in Afrikaans or English but we're going to do it. Fortunately as a student we came together, we fought against Afrikaans and then they separated the classes. For me personally it wasn't a nice experience having English classes and Afrikaans classes, it wasn't. I'm still not sure what was the rationale behind it but it wasn't, it was not nice" (Part, 004, pg., 3, par, 10).

Another participant stated:

"In terms of leadership, student leadership, I mean, we had to group ourselves and, and find unity in, find strength in, in unity, get involved in, in school, you know, in universe, in, in student politics. I was part of SASCO by then, SASCO, which represented students, [unclear] black students, so, most of the time you had to, in order for you to be heard, you had to toi toi, you had to demonstrate, you had to write petitions, so that certain things can be looked into. Financial exclusion, for example, was the key issue there, for me, where you, you'll find it it's, white students never had a problem with, with studying, especially because of financials, but you will be forced to queue and to be chased away and so on" (Part, 034, pg. 4, par, 13).

Progressive social workers have always resisted the oppressive conditions imposed on them through the apartheid regime. These scenarios show a continuation of those movements through collaborative efforts. However, no evidence from the groups since 2005 – 2010 could be found to be as active in the pursuit for social justice. A suppression of matters and experiences related to race seems to emerge again as can be seen from the discussion in one of the focus groups:

"…we are trained to be oppressed, so we end up being oppressed to the extent that we see it as the right thing. Like that social worker who was working there…She is living to that extent that she is telling you that you are going to be shouted and you will be reported to the institution…so I stopped…Yes, I stopped…"(Pg., 17 & 18, Par 117 – 130).

5.8.2.10 Impact of experiences of racism in schools of social work

5.8.2.10.1 Psychological dilemmas

Racism creates psychological dilemmas which lead to anger; mistrust and loss of self-esteem for persons of colour (Sue, et al, 2007).The narratives of participants with less than three years reflected these emotions:

"I felt humiliated and I also felt like how she can say so because she is the one who is saying to us, advocate when you go into practice, advocate for your clients. But how can she come back again and say you are dumb or you are lazy or you do this and then black people are like this?"(Part, 037, pg., 7, par 41).

"…I was having that low self-esteem in terms of going to lecturers and asking them questions…they always encouraged us to go for consultation but what's the point of going to consultation if you are not going to be helped…"(Part, 035, pg., 5, par 270.

Social workers are not immune to the devastating effects of racism. These dilemmas undermine the liberation and empowerment of social workers and its pursuit for social justice and human rights and continue to perpetuate white supremacy and black inferiority.

5.8.2.10.2 Physically and spiritually drains people of colour

Racism, especially in disguised forms, through racial micro-aggressions, "saps the physical and spiritual energy out of people with colour" (Sue et al, 2007) that ultimately impacts negatively on work performance. Biko (2004) talks about the fact that it reduced the Black man to an empty obliging shell where the person are no longer able to think for him/herself, but blindly just follow instructions as required.

There is no energy in the Black man to stand up for him/herself and ultimately gives up on the personal pursuit for liberation and education. These are evident in the following examples:

> *"…it will demotivate one… But I congratulate a lot of people who went through that because it was terrible. A lot of times the way that we were treated and the way that we were not even recognised, we would just only live per instructions and that's it" (part. 008, pg., 2, par, 8).*

> *"…we were a lot in our second year and as years went by we dropped and when we graduated we were only six…" (Part 002, pg., 5, par 21).*

> *"…then because of that a lot of students, black students, decided to quit social work. And then it was only a few of us left at that time" (Part, 004, pg., 3, par, 10).*

The occurrences of racial practices in schools of social work could be seen as adding to the possible skill shortages as it seems like the environment and structural constraints within these departments makes it impossible for social workers to graduate, hence the dropouts from social work courses as reported by participants.

5.8.2.11 Obstacles to transformation in social work education

5.8.2.11.1 Anti-black attitude from lecturers

The Apartheid system has allowed a dangerous anti-black attitude to develop amongst whites (Biko, 2004). Participants throughout the different time periods reflected these views.

A view from 1994 - 1999

> *"…the management, they didn't even look at us as blacks, it was just like the fact that we applied and we are in the department. Not much was said to us or explained in that; it was just like you are going to crèche and coming back from home. No interaction and not even your views would be considered in anything…" (Part, 008, pg., 5, par, 21).*

A view from 2007 – 2010

> *"…they are not comfortable, in the same space with the black students. So that person who is still uncomfortable with a black person, with a black person improving, with a black person becoming someone else. How will that person be able to lecture or to educate on discrimination because that person is still back in the nineties, back in the eighties, no matter how much she is trying to be this reformed new South African person? " (Pg. 22, par, 110).*

5.8.2.11.2 Lack of Genuine concern for Black students

Biko (2004) observed that most white people's idea for change does not come from a genuine concern for blacks and pronounced that most of them are not sincere. Participants' from the period 2005 – 2013 reflects encounters that are similar to Biko's observation:

> *"Our lecturers are white; our lecturers pretend to like black people. You could feel like, if you go one on one with them they pretend (Pg. 22, par10).*

> "*What we just got from the varsity was pretending lecturers because sometimes you would just find that smile, a fake smile when you pass them, they would just smile for a second and then they are done. And you would see that this is not a sincere smile" (Part, 11, pg., par 5).*

> *"You could feel that between the lecturer and the student whereas there's supposed to be some kind of relationship whereby you get to understand each other. So it was basically focused only on the books…and obviously if you are a white lecturer why will you be concerned who drops out and why does he drop out?"(Part 11, pg., 2, par, 6).*

Jansen (2011) refers to this lack of genuine concern as "superficial politeness" (p. 16) that is evident in formally white Afrikaans institutions of Higher learning. Njovane (2015) describes these actions as a 'veil of politeness' (p. 116) that is in essence so much more harmful as it disguises racist intentions under fake 'politeness' (Jansen, 2011).

5.8.2.11.3 Whiteness as the norm in social work

Through the many years of oppression the system has moulded the White man to believe that to be considered the best and good means to be white, hence the yearning within the Black man to be like him and to also enjoy his comfort (Biko, 2004). It seems like this aspiration is found also in social work where participants indicate that white social work students and social workers in the NGOs seem to reflect what social work is supposed to be.

> *"And I realised, okay, you're getting more training, a better training than me. And as a result now we are, we are practicing social workers, we still don't have confidence. We still don't have the power, we have degrees, but we still don't have the power. We don't, we are not empowering ourselves with policy. And I believe that white social workers, and NGOs, they don't do what we do. They are powerful; they are close to what a social worker is supposed to be" (Pg., 14, par 94).*

However, an encounter with a student from a former disadvantaged institution reflects a different perspective. The critical question that this scenario reflects is: what are the former disadvantaged universities doing differently?

> *"Formerly the city of Transkei, I did my practical in the Eastern Cape, the third year. Do you know when you, if you are from an institution where we have been oppressed you don't have confidence, you don't have that spirit, fight. Because I was, I was a student from the Free State, they expected, I do not know what they expected, they expected some… But there were students from that university, it's regarded as the lower class, but students from that university are so powerful, they are so confident because this practice of Afrikaans and English…" (Pg., 21, Par 61).*

Matthews (2015), in her discussion on White Privilege and Institutional Culture at South African Higher Education Institutions, indicates that the "university context privileges white academics "(p. 85) and one could argue white students as well. Through the use of metaphor and illustrations of McIntosh's' (1988) "invisible knapsack", she provides the following examples of how the university context privileges white people: "my students are not surprised to find someone like me

lecturing them and tend to accept me as an authority on my subject"; "The texts I prescribe to my students are mostly written by people who look pretty similar to me" and "it is clear to my students that people like me are experts on my subject" furthermore, "my mother tongue is spoken all day at my workplace" (p. 85 & 86). It is thus not surprising that black students cannot identify with, in this case; a social work discourse that does not represent them.

5.8.2.11.4 Language as covert racism

The identity of the Afrikaner was locked up in a racist apartheid ideology through which Afrikaans as a language was implemented as an instrument of oppression and exclusion (Brink, 1983). Afrikaans was reported as a barrier for the employment of black lecturers:

> "*So that they can balance their ration because I think for black South Africans not all of them can speak Afrikaans fluently" (part, 037, pg., g, par, 29).*
>
> *"…the institution that I'm coming from, there are only a few people who can speak fluent English and Afrikaans. I mean the real Afrikaans and English. So this is being used, because there are some posts I wanted to apply for, it was communication, I did communication, but they said we want someone who can speak Afrikaans and English fluently. So how many people can do that? Because some of us only learn Afrikaans from school. So some of the policies of the certain institutions make it very clear that we are not going to open our boundaries anytime soon, that's one of the things. Because some people can still be lecturers, some are professors or what, from other provinces, but if they come to this province to become a lecturer - I don't know Afrikaans. It's not like that person can't be a lecturer, you see, that's going to be a problem" (Part, 011, pg., 4, par, 18).*

Smith (2013) noted that "'language' may also be utilised as a further category to replace 'race and serves a similar purpose of euphemism and obfuscation of dominance and racism..." (p. 322). Jansen (2011) notes that Afrikaans up to today is the "strongest sense of unifying, defining 'essence' for the Afrikaner" (p. 33) and thus "since most Black students do not speak Afrikaans, and most Black teachers cannot teach in this language, Afrikaans becomes a respectable way of keeping out Black

people without the burdens of having to make any racial arguments" (p. 36). It can be deducted then that Afrikaans are still utilised as the tool of exclusion and discrimination.

5.8.2.11.5 Universities' resistance to transform

White Afrikaans universities were vehicles through which Afrikaner ideology was translated into education. The sole purpose of their establishment was to maintain the privileged white position through research and the written word (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007; Biko, 2004; Brink, 1983). Participants' seem to be distinctly aware of the deeply engrained history of these institutions as observed in their responses:

> *"were going through a process of transformation in the country, and it was just purely a resistance to transform, also informed by the history…my opinion is that there was a resistance from, because the university that I studied at, you know, was, for years, controlled by politics, especially the National Party"(Part, 034, pg., 3, par, 11).*

> *"…the stereotypes is basically the fact that people did not believe that a, a black academic will be able to write a book that can be prescribed and then be used by all people, black and white. I, I think it somehow suggested that, if a white child were to be given a textbook given by a black person, that would be an insult to the Afrikaner folk, so to speak, because of obvious reasons of segregation and dislike and distaste of whatever was black"(Part034, pg., 5, par 15).*

"…basically we just say blacks are dumb and they will always be working for whites. That's how I could relate to it" (Part, 008, pg., 4, par, 17).

Resistance to transformation is not an unfamiliar phenomenon and given the deeply rooted racist ideological roots in which the Afrikaner came to define him/herself, resistance to change is a given. Jansen (2011) reports on the resistance to transformation at the University of Pretoria through a comprehensive analysis of the period 1990 – 2007 and found "an astonishing number of critical incidents of resistance and disruption led by white students" (p. 117). Social work departments that are housed in these institutions are thus not excluded from these forms of

resistance given the pivotal role in and ideological position it took to support these exclusionary practices. The challenge with these departments remains as to what extent they still contribute to these institutionalised practices of exclusion and resistance to change.

5.8.2.11.6 Social work is a career for Whites

The history and development of social work was by White people for White people under the direct influence of Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid (Nicholas et al, 2010; Bernstein & Gray, 2010, Patel, 2005).The face and content seem to still reflect white social work education and this image seems to be evident in the responses of participants:

> *"… it's the introduction of the profession to us doesn't give us like you know you have it within you, you can write a journal, you can do this. The whole thing, the whole profession as it is introduced to us it doesn't allow you to find yourself" (Part, 004, pg., 5, par 13).*

> *"…if you are a black student and then you fail they will say to you go and be an auxiliary worker but for a white student they wouldn't say so. They will try by all means that you would pass at the end of the day as a white student" (Part, 037, pg., 5, p22).*

The response from another social worker that completed during 2008-2011, indicates the same perception about social work as an academic possibility:

> *"…the figures became just a norm to see that there is something awkward about the diversity mainly because even the staff itself is white and …it is just a norm. And somehow it was normal that only blacks were so few and the number of whites is so much because now it seems the career itself seems like it's for them… but for some reason it's viewed as not that much of a black person's career. I should go to teaching or nursing…" (Part, 039, pg., 7, par 38).*

The anti-black attitude, lack of genuine concern for Black students, the perception that social work is for whites and whiteness as the accepted norm, together with language as a cover for racism is indicative of ingrained apartheid ideology that is

evident in schools of social work. The advancement of Black voices in social work education is hampered by these inherent racist attitudes that are rigidly maintained in schools of social work. Alexander (2013, p. 5) comments that 'political segregation was recommended along the lines that Black people who fulfil certain literacy and property requirements would be represented in parliament by whites' According to Biko (2004, p. 50), white racism or white domination had the intention of 'preparing the Black man for a subservient role in South Africa' and in this case reserving social work for Whites and social auxiliary work for Blacks as the social auxiliary worker works under the social worker.

5.9 Importance of race in social work

5.9.1 Relation between race and culture

Race is inherently connected to identity, history, values and beliefs (Ahmed, 2012). Participants indicated that race is important as it is connected to identity and in this sense, culture. Participants were of the opinion that race is important in social work as it relates to culture:

> *"I think race should become an important aspect of social work because with race it also comes with culture, how things are done, like we can say things are done differently from the white race and the black race. So if we do not address the race then we will not have an understanding of an individual" (pg, 5, par 24).*

> *"It is important to know the different kinds of race. I think racists like hair, they always say the white salons are racist, they are not racist. A white woman cannot do a black woman's hair, like I cannot do a white woman's hair, so it is important to know because they are different. It's like in the black culture we say eye contact is disrespect, but in the white culture eye contact is respect" (pg., 6, par 29).*

5.9.2 The perception that talking about race is racist

Biko (2004) indicated that in challenging racial oppression in the quest for true humanity, a person might be accused of being racist, by the people who use the

values the Black man opposes. In the participants' view, social work lecturers viewed discussions around race as racist as can be seen through the following input:

> *"…it comes from education, we were not taught these things, and we did not focus on race. Because as they have said it will be viewed as racism or discrimination so I think transformation is also needed there" (pg., 6, par 28).*

> *"…it's not something that we usually talk about. When we …then we think of discrimination and all that. So you become too careful to say the word of race, whether you're white, whether you're black, so yes, we don't usually focus more on that because you are afraid of maybe discriminating unintentionally so.."(pg., 5, par, 25).*

5.9.3 Implication of silence around race for social work practice

The avoidance and silence about race perpetuates racial prejudice in repressed and disguised forms and thus makes it difficult for a therapist to identify and address it (Sue et al, 2007; Alexander, 2013). The following examples demonstrates the impact of lack of training around white clients for the black social worker

> *"Because like Afrikaans clients, they are very complicated people. If we were taught school how to deal with this kind of people from this kind of background you will know immediately when they come in your office how to deal with them. But now they will suffocate you because they want to be in control, they want to tell you as a social worker what to do. They do not listen to you at all. But if we had that knowledge you would know how to handle that kind of a person instead of feeling weak and just wanting to storm out of the office and leave the client there. So it is very important" (pg., 6, par 29).*

> *"So sometimes it's really, really difficult to work with a white client. And if we were taught on how to do so we couldn't have these complications. Because sometimes when you see a white client you are thinking, oh my God, what is going to happen now? You know it's going to be a drama, and definitely it's going to be a drama…" (pg., 6, par 31).*

According to Evans (1990), this suppressed epistemology of race was seen as inextricably linked to the structure of academic production in South Africa; in which

Whites shaped the historical research agenda and enjoyed preferential access to research skills and resources. Most recently, Schutte (2015, p. 4) highlighted the 'deafening silence about racist incidents from the larger white population, which according to her, either means they do not care or they think they are not implicated in the incidents and thereby revealing their unconscious racism by what they choose to remain silent about. She indicates that by 'remaining silent on issues of systemic racism you are participating in the perpetuation of racism.'

Race can no longer be ignored in social work education as the supremacist attitudes of white clients impacts negatively on the services delivered to them by Black social workers. Whiteness and white privilege needs to be addressed as, according to Sue, et al (2008), racism is perpetuated through white privilege because it privileges whites over others in society, blinds whites to other experiences of racial discrimination and maintains their [Whites'] dominant status.

In South Africa, just as the international social work domain, there was a need to reclaim Black perspective. This development of black perspectives in social work as a form of an anti-racist strategy was seen as a major contribution to the discourse on 'race' and social work (Ahmad, 1990; Crawford, 1990; Green, 1993).

5.10 Liberating power of social work

Power is fluid and creative and everyone possesses power, even the oppressed (Foucault, 1984). The liberation of Black people lies in an inward looking process of rediscovering who he/she is (Biko, 2004). Responses from participants reflect the need to rediscover their own strengths and to liberate themselves:

> *"…essentially it begins at home. If it can just start from us, you know, if we can be able to stand up for ourselves, if we can be able to talk for ourselves, if we can be able to stand up for our own rights. If I cannot talk for myself, you know. If we can just start by knowing our rights, if we can just know… even if we can just know why you are there, and then how… If you can just be able to – I do not know how to explain it – but be able to stand up for yourself, not being bullied in such a way" (Pg., 12, Par, 72).*

Rossiter (2005, p. 676) suggest that Foucault's (1980) idea of power 'prompt social workers to think about power critically to reflect on feelings, confusion, frustration, hero status, good intentions, and failure and to ask the question: whose voice is being silenced'. In this instance social workers realized that their voices together with those of the poor black majority has been silenced and needs to be heard.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The findings from the data have been interpreted in the previous chapter. In this chapter the researcher will summarise the aims of the research and compare them with findings from the data analysis chapter. Conclusions will then be drawn as to what extent change did or did not occur in social work practice and teaching (Bless et al, 2013).

6.2 Overall aim

The aim of the study is to explore the extent to which social work education and practice is transformed in the current South African context. It further aimed to explore the impact of social work transformation or lack thereof on the participants and beneficiaries of their services.

6.3 Summary of theoretical framework

Anti-racist perspectives emerged in 1980 (USA) when social class tended to be the main social division. In 1989 anti-racist social work was mandated to inform teaching and social work programmes. These anti-racist perspectives and approaches are well established in social work teaching and practice in societies in the West (Ahmed, 1994; Dominelli, 1988, 1992; Keating, 2000; Graham, 2009).

Very little literature could be found on anti-racist frameworks, perspectives and approaches in social work education and practice in South Africa. Smith (2012) in her exploration of critical imperatives for social change discovered that during the period 2000-2009, “no attention is paid to issues of transformation and non-racism.” “Race”, she states “still appears as a stratifier in social work discourse without any evidence of critical engagement. “… content around racism, social justice apartheid ideology and structural change seemed to be completely neglected” (p. 180).

Black perspectives and specifically Postmodern Black perspectives that provide space for different black voices as described by hooks (1990) have relevance and importance for Black and White social workers because they offer a framework that informs anti-racist practice. Colonialism together with its class tendencies impacted negatively on the majority of South Africans, but Apartheid and Bantu-Education as legislated systems that deliberately humiliated Black people, ask for a perspective to help both Black and White social workers to come to terms with the realities of racial South Africa.

6.4 Summary of literature review

South Africa under colonial rule signifies the oppression of the Afrikaner by the British which resulted in consequent wars and violent resistance that saw the Afrikaner gaining full control over the country in 1948.

The period since 1948 could be viewed as the modern South African period since the Apartheid Government totally rejected the natural, spontaneous and deeply grounded spiritual beliefs of the Black communities. They classified these beliefs as 'uncivilised' and Blacks were thus seen as subhuman species and inferior to that of the white race which, according to them, represented civilisation and scientific advancement. This period saw South Africa being segregated by apartheid laws that were well informed by scientific research and manipulated in such a way to secure white supremacy and black inferiority. Through Afrikaner Nationalism as an ideology an attempt was made to rescue mainly poor Whites who were living next to the Blacks as it had one objective which was to secure an 'undiluted white race' - an illusion of white identity through which the Afrikaner came to define themselves. The poor whites were used by the Apartheid Government for their own narrowly defined views of what is good and what is bad for people. The poor white problem with Verwoerd at the head seemed to justify Apartheid Ideology and the ruthless application of it thereafter as the poor whites were the closest to the blacks.

The brutalised application of Apartheid led to resistance from the black majority to this inferiorisation and dehumanisation. The Anti -Apartheid Movement and specifically the Black Consciousness Movement can be viewed as a black post-modern (hooks, 1990) turn to the modernist white supremacist South Africa. The Black Consciousness Movement did not seek to reform the system but it set out to

completely reject the system in total. This rejection is well described in Lyotard's (1984) 'incredulity towards meta narratives' as the system was created within a certain context, with a specific purpose to subjugate and deny the existence of the other. Subjugation and the denial of the existence of the other were characteristics of the Apartheid system.

In Foucault's (1980) exposition of power as a positive and fluid concept which everyone possesses, one could argue that, although oppressed and subjected to the powers that be, the Black Consciousness Movement came to realise their own power within and collectively organised themselves to resist these powers. The Black Consciousness Movement was aimed at Black people rediscovering their own histories and writing their own stories as they came to realise how apartheid wrote biased untrue stories of them or as Foucault (1980) calls it, the subjugated knowledge - knowledge that black communities lived by before and during colonial and apartheid rule, but was never regarded as good enough for the powers that be. Furthermore through community work interventions, Black communities were made aware of their own power to build themselves up.

Apartheid's Nationalist ideology did not only dehumanise black people, but it dehumanised the Afrikaner as well. Brink and Naude amongst others understood how this ideology came to create a false sense of self also to the Afrikaner, an illusion that they and ONLY they can be better, live better and know better. The implication of this history for social work is to understand the power involved in the poor white problem and how these powers were used to subjugate and oppress.

The transition of social work in South Africa seemed to have changed in form and not in substance as the Black social work voices and their role in history as well as their current day to day realities are still silent in the academic space. Literature around social work and social welfare reveals that while social welfare policies have changed from a narrow racist approach to a developmental approach, the persistent approaches and methodology still seem to maintain its nationalist ideological roots under the pretence of development through the continued exclusion of Black social workers and their role and activities in Black communities under the Apartheid Government.

While great strides have been made to unite the social work fraternity , it seems like the 'most frightening ghosts' of apartheid- racism and its deeply rooted ideological grounding continues to haunt social work training and practice with the its colour-blind approaches and continuing silence around matters of race. Social work is also confronted with this false sense of superiority and inferiority inherited from its apartheid's past and in its strive for social justice twenty years into democracy, Biko's (2004) 'inward looking' approach seems to provide the appropriate framework within which both Black and White social workers can find themselves.

6.5 Summary of findings

6.5.1 Social work practice

Social work services seem to be restricted to individuals through casework. While there is recognition of the needs of the broader community living in poverty, the lack of resources and day to day administrative responsibilities around foster care backlogs seem to keep social workers office bound with no time to impact on communities through group and community work activities.Services continue to be rendered along racial lines which indicate that racial stratification with regard to social work services seem to be an on-going structural issue that has not yet been addressed. Brown and Neku (2005) reported that client service utilisation and employment choices remains unchanged as black social workers continue to be employed in rural areas and white social workers in urban areas.

6.5.1.1 Constraints to social work practice

Social work is undermined by policies of poverty alleviation that seems to be restricted to social grants and services around that. These policies further reduced social work's value to that of charity that implies no serious commitment in terms of remuneration and decent living and working conditions. The important role of social work in terms of sustainable human development and its progressive and radical potential to the psychological liberation of the poor Black majority is swallowed up by this perception of a charitable calling. Lombard (2008, p. 169) indicates that the skills shortage 'seriously undermines social work's capacity to respond to its social change and development function." This means that the on-going lack of social workers robs communities of their right to dignified human and social development services.

The White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) has been developed out of the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP, 1994), which placed the development of human potential through partnerships with individuals, groups and communities at the centre of development (Gray, 1998). However, the RDP has subsequently been replaced by neoliberal capitalist macro-economic policy of Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) in which developed is defined in economic terms to the detriment of human development (UNDP, 2003). These neo-liberal policies based on a capitalist definition of growth and development brought with it a managerial approach that seems to have swallowed the human development initiatives intended RDP and described in the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997). The neo-liberal policies further impacted dramatically on the nature of social work services. What was meant to rebuild the people of the country with the RDP (1994) and the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997), is now being used to advance the have's to the detriment of the have not's (the poor marginalised black community), a situation in which social work is forced to compromise its social justice ideals.

Social work theories do not seem to fit into the work with the poor black communities. Services to Black people seems to be needs based and centred around everyday life challenges, rather than being restricted to models and theories that sets out how people are supposed to live their lives. Practice realities poses different challenges to social workers than what is taught in schools of social work.

The historical charitable calling of social work seems to be an obstacle to development initiative where communities need to take responsibilities for their own lives. Mamphiswana and Noyoo (2000) confirm that social workers have been trained to work for people and not with people. This dependency is thus created through social work education and the image social work has portrayed to communities for over decades. The Department of Social Development Strategic Plan 2012-2015, emphasises the fact that a new approach, moving away from a passive citizenship receiving services from the state to one that systematically includes the socially and economically excluded, where people are champions of their own development, is needed.

Based on the Constitution of South Africa, McKaiser (2012) defines racism as “Unfair or unjust discrimination on the basis of race” (p. 69). Furthermore, social work recognizes the hierarchical positions of Black and White people and the negative influence it has on human relations. Recognizing inequality in Black and White relations indicates an awareness of the power at play in the different spheres of society. It is within this hierarchical position between Black supervisee and the White supervisor that racism is perpetuated.

6.5.2 Social work and politics

Social work, being the closest to the poor and the marginalised, are favourably positioned to advocate on their behalf. However, it seems like this position is being abused and undermined by the unfair political demands placed on social workers. The views of participants are indicative of an oppressor consciousness that Freire (1996) refer to. The oppressor consciousness, according to Freire (1996, p. 40) ‘tend to turn everything around it into objects of their domination and into objects of their purchasing power’; hence their strictly materialistic concept of existence, where everything is measured in terms of money and profit is their primary goal.

The acts of government can never be compared to that of the Apartheid regime (oppressors) who created and maintained oppression of black people. However, ‘the moment the new regime hardens into a dominating “bureaucracy” (referring to the revolution which becomes stagnant and turns against the people, using the old repressive, bureaucratic), the Humanist dimension (which in this case is at the centre of social work services) of the struggle is lost and it is no longer possible to speak of liberation” (Freire, 1996, p. 39). Freire (1996) further indicates that it is in these instances that if the government of the day is not conscious of their acts, they might become oppressors themselves.

6.5.3 Social work education

According to the Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions (2008), the progress in staff equity in higher education in South Africa has been limited and university personnel remain predominantly white and progress in transformation pertaining to employment equity remains slow. This is of particular

concern to social work, as this slow pace of equity change, directly impacts negatively on the very fibre of South Africa's human development potential which is situated in anti-racist social work, (Dominelli, 1988) as it is 'concerned with transforming the unequal social relations shaping social interaction between Black and White into egalitarian ones' (p. 3).

Gray and Fook (2004) & Thabede (2008) highlight the dilemma of relevance of social work knowledge in South Africa that is based on European Western paradigms. Thabede (2008) in his description of Indigenous social work, argues for an Afrocentric perspective where the 'subjugated, marginalised African culture-based epistemologies' (p. 234), will form the basis of social work knowledge and intervention strategies to Black people, while also recognising the need for the incorporation of worldviews such as those of Coloured and Indian people in South Africa. These different African experiences seems to be captured in Hochfeld's (2000) description of indigenous social work which relates to a 'strong radical framework focused on structural change, in a social development context through a postmodern perspective that values diversity and pluralism' (in Gray and Fook, 2004, p. 630).

The problem-solving model as indicated by the participants seems to reflect a managerialist individualistic approach Smith (2012). It further reflects a hierarchical position of power where the social worker is the expert that will direct how the client needs to handle his/her life. These inputs confirm the pronouncement by Mamphiswana and Noyoo (2000) that social workers have been trained to work for people and not with people. Dialogue and reflective partnership lies at the centre of liberation and empowerment. Instead of being the expert, the social workers should trust the clients and their ability to reason (Freire, 1996). Failing to do that will turn clients into 'objects which must be saved from a burning building and in turn transform them into masses which can be manipulated' (Freire, 1996, p. 47).

According to Rautenbach and Chiba (2010), the purpose of the Bachelor of Social Work (BSW) degree is to equip learners with the skills to challenge structural sources of poverty, inequality, oppression, discrimination and exclusion, amongst others. However, as seen from the most recent graduates in the BSW, none of these concepts have been addressed. Their comments is validated by the fact that in the

book *Introduction to social work*, the concepts of social class, race and ethnicity, gender, religion and spirituality, are hidden in the second last chapter. All these very important concepts that lie at the heart of structural inequality are condensed into two pages. This is then not surprising that there is little evidence on the way in which social welfare impacts on the structural causes of poverty and inequality as reported by Lombard (2008). Separation between black and white seem to be normalised and matters of diversity is just brushed over.

South Africa has a long history of violent human rights violations through the establishment and gross implementation of Apartheid laws. The legacy of these human rights violations in Post- Apartheid South Africa, finds its manifestations in poverty and inequality, crime, violence against women and children, and racism. (Noyoo, 2004). Social work as a social justice and human rights profession has the responsibility to defend the basic human rights of each individual, group or community. While the progressive social work fraternity struggled against these human rights violations by spearheading human rights campaigns, in the past, it now 'seems that many social workers have gone back to their mundane day-to-day issues like getting through caseloads' (Noyoo, 2004, p. 365).

Deliberations from participants reflect the nationalist ideology of the Apartheid regime that reserved certain occupational categories for whites only. Blacks were only good enough to serve Whites (Bottomley, 2012; Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). The divide- and-rule strategy was a common feature of the Apartheid era. It was employed to weaken the unity between Black people. Twenty years in democracy it still operates and impacts of the young Black generation of social work scholars as what seems to be attempts to weaken the support Black students gave to each other in the oppressive environment of learning.

Racism and racist attitudes are supported by schools of social work. The key features of apartheid ideology was separate public and private spaces for Blacks and whites, advancement of Afrikaans to the detriment of other languages, and preferential appointments to White people. These are still alive in these scenarios and still set to maintain white superiority and black inferiority. The cry from one participant, "so to voice out and not to voice out is the same" (Pg. 19, par 144), echoes Biko's (2004) assertion that the system that is kicking you still wants you to

react in a certain way to that kick and ‘damn if you do, damned if you don’t’, thus leaving an overwhelming sense of hopelessness. Racial micro-aggression is a form of racism that appears in everyday interactions between people and due to the normalisation of racism in South African academy, it does not appear to the white person as being racist. The input from the first participant is an example of internalised racism - the incorporation of ideologies by individuals which serves to maintain the unequal distribution of opportunities across ethno racial groups (Berman and Paradies, 2008).

Having said all of the above, progressive social workers have always resisted the oppressive conditions imposed on them through the apartheid regime. These scenarios show a continuation of those movements through collaborative efforts. However, no evidence from the groups since 2005 - 2010 could be found to be as active in the pursuit for social justice.

Social workers are not immune to the devastating effects of racism. These dilemmas undermine the liberation and empowerment of social workers and its pursuit for social justice and human rights and continue to perpetuate white supremacy and black inferiority. The anti-black attitude, lack of genuine concern for Black students, the perception that social work is for Whites and whiteness as the accepted norm, together with language as a cover for racism is indicative of ingrained apartheid ideology that is evident in schools of social work. The advancement of Black voices in social work education is hampered by these inherent racist attitudes that are rigidly maintained in schools of social work. Alexander (2013, p. 5) comments that ‘political segregation was recommended along the lines that Black people who fulfil certain literacy and property requirements would be represented in parliament by whites.’ According to Biko (2004, p. 50), white racism or white domination had the intention of ‘preparing the Black man for a subservient role in South Africa’ and in this case reserving social work for Whites and social auxiliary work for Blacks as the social auxiliary worker works under the social worker.

6.5.4 Importance of race in social work

According to Evans (1990), this suppressed epistemology of race was seen as inextricably linked to the structure of academic production in South Africa; in which

whites shaped the historical research agenda and enjoyed preferential access to research skills and resources. Most recently, Schutte (2015, p. 4) highlighted the 'deafening silence about racist incidents from the larger white population, which according to her, either means they do not care or they think they are not implicated in the incidents and thereby revealing their unconscious racism by what they choose to remain silent about. She indicates that by 'remaining silent on issues of systemic racism you are participating in the perpetuation of racism.'

Race can no longer be ignored in social work education as the supremacist attitudes of white clients impacts negatively on the services delivered to them by black social workers. Whiteness and white privilege needs to be addressed as, according to Sue, Nadal, Capodilupo, Lin, Torino & Rivera (2008), racism is perpetuated through white privilege as it privileges whites over others in society, blinds whites to other experiences of racial discrimination and maintains their [whites'] dominant status.

In South Africa, just as the international social work domain, there was a need to reclaim Black perspectives and thus the development of black perspectives in social work as a form as an anti-racist strategy as seen a major contribution to the discourse on 'race' and social work (Ahmad, 1990; Crawford, 1990. Green, 1993).

6.6 Conclusions drawn from data

6.6.1 Social Work Practice

Several policy changes, specifically the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997) and the Recruitment and Retention Strategy for Social Workers (1999) within the Department of Social Work has been developed. The assumption is made that the shift in policy from a residual to a developmental approach as well as the change in training according to the new BSW, would have significantly changed the day to day realities of black students, social work practitioners as well as communities that have been directly affected by the ideologies of the apartheid government and the old paradigms that shaped social work education and practice.

However, data indicates that social work practice remains centred in an individualistic biased race based approach characterised by oppressive working environments that renders social workers unable to radically influence the lives of the poor Black majority. Furthermore, the perception of social work as a calling, coupled

with the dependency created through its charity history, the idea that social work theory is for White people, and racial discrimination evident in social work practice, supports Smith's (2012) assertion that the social work discourse in South Africa is still immersed in 'conservative ideologies that maintain the status quo and perpetuate class and race based structural oppression, social injustice and inequality (p. 367).

The single focus on casework and specific foster care provides evidence that social workers still do not adequately respond to the most important social development needs of South Africa (Brown & Neku, 2005).

6.6.2 Social work and politics

Social work has a long history of radical involvement in politics. As seen from its roots and distinct relationship with Apartheid Government, it enjoyed the institutional as well as political support from the apartheid's government to help maintain white supremacy and black inferiority. On the other hand the progressive welfare fraternity and its involvement in the Anti-Apartheid struggle to liberate Black people enjoyed no support from the government of the day (Comprehensively described in chapter 3).

Data from this research indicates that the relationship between social work and politics took on a distinct character that currently, neither reflects either support or recognition of the progressive welfare fraternity. In fact the contradictory roles forced upon social workers reflect a 'master-slave' narrative that subjugates its progressive potential in the detriment of the poor Black majority. The conclusion is made that the government seems to reflect an oppressor consciousness (Freire, 1996). One participant captured this conclusion as follows: "… we are oppressing each other nowadays, and I personally think that because of the previous disadvantages, when somebody gets a piece of bread now, you want to keep it for yourself…"(pg., 14, par 95) as captured in chapter five.

6.6.3 Social Work Education

The new Bachelors of Social Work (BSW) degree was introduced in 2004 but made compulsory for schools of social work in 2007. The different areas according to Earle

(2008) and the extent to which these areas have been addressed will be discussed through emerging themes from the data.

6.6.3.1 Demographics of social work lecturing staff

Social work just as any other discipline in the Higher Education Environment needed to reflect the demographics of the country in the appointment of staff. According to the report on the transformation of staff equity in higher education (2008) academic personnel remain predominantly white, despite legislation such as the Employment Equity Act.

Findings from this research indicate the same to be true within social work education. The conclusion is made that the appointment of Black personnel and adherence to the Higher Education Transformation plan is not a priority to social work Departments and the Institutions that house them, because new staff appointment appears to remain White.

6.6.3.2 Curriculum Content

Bereng (2008) found that in the discipline of education, the content is alienating and does not reflect student realities, it is irrelevant to own context, and their realties are invisible in the learning materials. Data from this research gives evidence to the fact that African Knowledge as indicated in the BSW (2007) degree is still absent from textbooks. The progressive concepts of social inequality, oppression, discrimination, social justice, human rights and diversity received little or no attention at all. Furthermore, with the continued focus on Western problem-solving approaches to social work, the conclusion is made that the racist paradigm engrained in the ideology of Apartheid that was intended to undermine the substance of the African culture and the intelligence of Black people (Biko, 2004) is still active in the production of social work knowledge and training.

6.6.3.3 Lived experiences of participants within social work training

Earle (2008) stated that the educational environments must be empowering to social workers so that they can fulfil their social justice and human rights mandate in their daily working with the poor and marginalised. It is evidently clear that the educational

environment characterised by individual personal racism are disempowering to students. The conclusion is made that the social work environment is paralysing social work students to such an extent that they find it difficult to assert themselves even in practice. It is furthermore clear that the racial practices in the academy has been normalised to the extent that social workers in practice accepted it as the norm.

In addition, participants' lived experiences in their practical placements as students, bear witness to the fact that Apartheid ideology continue to be transmitted through schools of social work to their counterparts in the Non-Governmental Organisations, of which they formed part of. The manifestation of racism in practice as seen in the rich descriptions in chapter five is a daily reality of social workers that further enforces black inferiority.

It is concluded that the classroom is highly politically charged and reflects an anti-black attitude towards Blacks in general (reference to the government of the day over which students have no control) to the extent that they [Blacks] hate/despise each other or self (Biko, 2004). The classroom environment negates rather than validates (Bereng, 2008) the social realities of Black students and undermines the quest and realisation of social work as a profession for social justice and human rights (Sewpaul, 2012). Findings further confirm Leibowitz, et al's (2010) assertion that the intersection of race and class difference impact on the power relations and ultimately what and how students learn.

6.6.3.4 Obstacles to transformation in social work

With Universities, and specifically social work department's resistance to transform, the anti-black attitude of lecturers, the lack of genuine concern for Black students and the use of Afrikaans as a cover up for racism, it can deduced that social work is a career for Whites and whiteness remains the norm that inform training and practice. It is thus not surprising that developmental initiatives and social work services to Black communities remains a challenge. This answers the question as to why social work is not involve in addressing the root causes of poverty, inequality and discrimination as set out by the Department of Social Development's Strategic Guidelines (See chapter 3 on the literature review).

6.7 Race in social work and obstacles to transformation

Race is inherently connected to identity, history, values and beliefs (Ahmed, 2012) Biko (2004) indicated that in challenging racial oppression in the quest for true humanity, a person might be accused of being racist, by the people who use the values that the black man oppose. The avoidance and silence about race perpetuate racial prejudice in repressed and disguised forms and thus makes it difficult for a therapist to identify and address it (Sue et al, 2007; Alexander, 2013).

Race is not addressed in social work at all. The perception that talking about race is racist, has perpetuated a silence around race while the manifestations of racism in disguised forms continues to impact negatively on the social worker as a student and practitioner. The colour-blind approaches to the social realities of the Black social workers in their daily interactions with White and Black clients, makes it impossible for them to liberate themselves and have negative consequences especially for the Black social worker's services to White clients. These conclusions draw attention to Case's (2012) question when she asks: "What does it mean for a South African University to note that student experiences remain highly associated with race?

6.8 Recommendations

The Department of Social Development Strategic Plan, 2001 called on social work to engage in the 'root causes of social problems and uprooting of dysfunctional and out-dated paradigms' (p. 7). Through its anti-racist stance, social work should get involved in the broader society where racism and the lack of pronouncement thereof continue to hamper the ideal for a democratic and fair South Africa. In order to achieve this and for social work to pursue its social justice and human rights principles, the following recommendations are made:

6.8.1 Anti-racist social work with specific reference to the inclusion of Black voices as indicated by hooks (1990) should form the basis of social work policies, practice and education.

6.8.2 The work of Steve Bantu Biko specifically around the characteristics of Black communities and their community work approaches should be included in social

work textbooks together with the progressive history of social work that still seem to be subjugated and buried.

6.8.3 Social work should become the conscience of government. A respectful partnership where the roles of both parties are clearly defined and outlined should be established. This partnership should be clearly defined in social work policy documents so that it can assists frontline workers to resist the unfair demands placed on them by politicians.

6.8.4 Social work educators, supervisors and managers in government and the non-governmental sector should be trained in anti-oppressive, anti-racist social work practices and this training should be made a compulsory component for promotion to the level of supervisor and manager.

6.8.5 Based on the evidence conveyed in this research and the devastating effects of the racialised practices in schools of social work on the day-to-day social work practice, the Association of Schools of Social Work in South Africa, the South African Council for Social Service Professionals as well as the Minister of Social Development, radically need to address the manifestations of these racial practices conveyed through the schools of social work in order to stop the perpetuation thereof.

6.8.6 The identification of potential Black social work students for social work lecturing and mentoring programmes for them by schools of Social Work must be legislated by the Minister of Social Development and the South African Council for Social Service Professionals. However, mentoring should be reciprocal and not one sided only. Social Work academics and more specifically White lecturers that will be involved in mentoring should be distinctly made aware of the wealth of social and cultural knowledge the potential Black student can bring to this relationship and the academic spaces.

6.9 Conclusion

The Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions (2008) indicated that it will be naive to think that people's real life experiences will change just because policy has changed. This data provides clear evidence to this assertion

made by the committee. The post-apartheid South African context is still characterised by on-going socio-economic realities of inequality, racialised stratification and various forms of oppression (Sewpaul, 2005; Patel, 2005; Smith, 2008) and as can be seen from the data, social work and social workers is not immune to these social realities. It is thus evident that, the move towards a developmental approach, "….the value stance towards injustice and oppression'', was reduced to "…approach that try to explain the status quo without any attempt to change it" (Wehbi & Turcotte, 2007, p. 8).

The marginalisation of its social justice ideals undermines the developmental initiatives that became the barometer for social work services in South Africa. Findings confirm that social work, since the dawn of democracy has changed in form, but not in substance. This realisation draws attention to Freire's (1996) pronouncement that "while all development is transformation, not all transformation is development and it is important not to confuse modernisation with development."

Does this mean that social work is doomed to non-existence? Not at all, the inherent qualities of social justice and human rights and the rich history of its progressive fraternity, remains a powerful force through which social work and social workers can liberate themselves from the yoke of colonial and subsequent Apartheid oppressions. Schools of social work remains the vehicle through which this transformation MUST be achieved, however, the powerful question remains: How prepared are social workers and social work educators to put their bodies on the line to reach their social justice ideal or will it continue to play its historic role that perpetuated the oppression and discrimination of the poor black majority?

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Appendix A

Individual interviews guidelines

1. SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

1.1 Rationale for the questions

The purpose of these questions is to gain and understanding of participants' perception of social work. This will provide insight into why and how they practice social work and how they perceive the impact of their services.

1.2 Questions in this category

1.2.1 In your own words, how would you define social work?

1.2.2 What does it mean for you to be a social worker?

1.2.3 According to you, what are the fundamental values of social work?

1.2.4 How would you describe the impact of your services?

1.2.5 You are speaking to a group of high school students who want to study social work. In trying to prepare them, what would you say about social work training, curriculum content as well as field work?

1.2.5.1 What challenges would you alert them to?

2. SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

2.1 Rationale for questions

According to Earle (2008, p. 63 &65) the curricula of the BSW(2007) had to address the general lack of problem-solving type of education, the absence of African specific knowledge in curricula, the need to cater for social work students of diverse backgrounds through empowering educational processes, the lack of reflection on the larger population group and the impact of structural problems on social ills such as mass poverty and malnutrition. She further highlighted two problems in the higher educational context; that is the lack of representative staff profiles, particularly at the

historically advantaged institutions and institutional cultures that have not transcend the racial divided of the past

The purpose of the questions is to explore how the lacks and problems as identified by Earle, (2008), are translated into reality within the education and social work practice.

2.2 Questions in this category

2.2.1 From you observation in the field, how does the daily work reality talk to the curriculum that was taught at your university?

2.2.2 During your training as a social worker, comment on how your training institutions deal with diverse groups? It would be helpful for me and the readers of this study if you could provide any examples that will make this clearer.

2.2.2.1 What is your view on such practices?

2.2.3 In your view, how does the prescribed textbook represent or not represent the diverse indigenous population that you encounter in your practice?

2.2.3.1 Please comment on whether African authored textbooks would differ from that of white authors?

2.3.4 What is you view on the fact that educational staff need to be representative of the demography of the students populations?

3. INEQAULITY, OPPRESSION AND DISCRMINATION

3.1. Rationale for questions

Given the history of the country, the study seeks to establish how much, if at all, these concepts of social justice, human rights and discrimination, exist or have been addressed. More important is the view of the respondents, which hopefully will open to the researcher their conceptualisation of these concepts, as well as their experiences thereof, if any.

3.2 Questions in this category

3.2.1 In your experience within the social work field, what does each of these terms mean to you?

3.2.1.1 Please give me examples that will make it clear from your experiences of those that you have observed.

3.2.2 If at all, what was the impact of these experiences or observations on you as a trainee of social work and as a professional social worker?

4. DIVERSITY

4.1 Rational for questions

The purpose of these questions is to explore their understanding of issues pertaining to, manifestations or recognition of diversity in human behaviours/population groups/human beings as a reflected in the social work classroom and practice field.

4.2 Questions in this category

4.2.1 A lot of emphasis is placed on similarities between people, meaning all people are the same. From your experience in the field, what do you think of this statement?

4.2.2 Tell me from your experiences about any differences between client groups that you have worked with or observed?

5. SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

5.1 Rationale for questions

The purpose of the questions is to explore their perception of social justice and human rights and how their experiences or observations relate or do not relate to their perception of these concepts

5.2 Questions in this category

5.2.1 According to the Social Service Professions Act; social justice and human rights are fundamental to social work. What are your views from training through to practice on these social work principles?

5.2.2 Based on you experiences with disadvantaged communities, to what extent has your social work training equip you to advance social justice and human rights?

6. Demographic information

6.1 The purpose of these questions is to confirm legibility to the study

6.2.1 Please tell me your (a) age, (b) you home or first language(c) how you regard yourself in terms of the country's race classification?

6.2.2. At which university did you study?

6.2.3 Between what years?

6.2.4 How many years of social work experience?

Appendix B

Focus group discussion guidelines

1. Rationale for questions

The study aims to contribute to knowledge and understanding of social work education and practice in South Africa in areas of diversity, racism, discrimination and oppression.

Questions are designed to explore the participants' opinion on matters relating to diversity in the classroom and how that is translated into practice with groups and communities. It further aims to create discussion around the socio-political context of social work.

2. Questions

2.1 What are your opinions on the transformation of social work in South Africa?

2.2 "Social work is not a political activity" Your views on the statements?

2.3 "Race is under conceptualise in social work" What are your opinions on this statement?

2.3.1 If at all, how was race, class and genders issues addressed in your training as social workers?

2.4 It at all, how dis your training equip you to deal with oppressed groups?

2.5 What difference, if at all would direct training to challenge and address inequality and discrimination make to your practice environment?

2.6 If at all, how were your demographic or ethnic realities reflected in the textbooks and staff appointments

2.6.1 What difference would it make if your different ethnic realities were reflected in textbooks and staff appointments?

Appendix C

Participants' information sheet: individual interviews

Transformation of social work in South Africa: perceptions and experiences of social workers in the Free State

Good day,

My name is Mary-Ann Damons, and I am a post graduate student registered for the degree MA in Social Work at the university of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements for the degree, I am conducting research into the transformation of social work in South Africa. It is envisaged that the study will contribute to the knowledge and understanding of social work education and practice in South Africa, especially in the areas of diversity, racism and other forms of discrimination and oppressions.

I therefore wish to invite you to participate in my study. Your participation is entirely voluntary and refusal to participate will not be held against you in anyway. If you agree to take part, I shall arrange to interview you at a time and place that is suitable for you. The interview will take approximately one and a half hours to complete. You may withdraw from the study at any time and you may also refuse to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with answering.

With your permission, the interview will be tape-recorded. No one other than my supervisor will have access to the tapes. The tapes and interview schedule will be kept in a locked cabinet for two years following any publications or for six years if no publications emanate from the study. Please be assured that your name and personal details will be kept confidential and no identifying information will be included in the final research report.

As the interview will include sensitive issues, there is the possibility that you may experience some feelings of emotional distress. Should you therefore feel the need for supportive counselling following the interview, I have arranged for these services free of charge by the Employee Wellness section. To make an appointment, they may be contacted at 051 409 0660/1.

Please contact me on 079 912 54 28 or my supervisor, Dr Linda Smith on 072 764 2987, if you have any questions regarding the study. We shall answer them to the best of our ability. Should you wish to receive a summary of the results of the study; an abstract will be made available on request.

Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in the study.

Yours sincerely

……..
Mrs M. Damons

Appendix D

Consent form for participating in the study

I hereby give consent to participate in the research project. The purpose and procedures have been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntarily and that I may refuse to answer any question that I am not comfortable with or withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. I understand that my responses will be kept confidential.

Name of participants: …….....

Date: ……....

Signature: ……

WITNESS

Name of witness: ……

Date: ……

Signature: ……...

Appendix E

Consent form for audio-taping the interview

I hereby consent to tape-recording of the interview. I understand that my confidentiality will be maintained at all times and that the tapes will be destroyed two years after any publications arising for the study or six years after the completion of the study if there are no publications.

Name: ……

Date: ……

Signature: ……

WITNESS

Name of witness: ……

Date: ……

Signature: ……

Appendix F

Participants' information sheet: focus group

Transformation of social work in South Africa: perceptions and experiences of social workers in the Free State

Good day,

My name is Mary-Ann Damons, and I am a post graduate student registered for the degree MA in Social Work at the university of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements for the degree, I am conducting research into the transformation of social work in South Africa. It is envisaged that the study will contribute to the knowledge and understanding of social work education and practice in South Africa, especially in the areas of diversity, racism and other forms of discrimination and oppressions.

I therefore wish to invite you to participate in a focus group. If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to sign the attached consent form.

You will be involved in a focus group that will be held at your workplace or a location of your choosing, at a time that is most suitable for the participants. It is anticipated that the focus group will run for approximately one hour and thirty minutes (1 ½ hours).

You will be asked questions about: inequality, oppression and discrimination; Diversity, social justice and human rights in social work education and practice.

At the beginning of the group, norms will be set to ensure respect for confidentiality in the group, however, the maintenance of confidentiality by group members cannot be guaranteed.

Your participation is entirely voluntary and refusal to participate will not be held against you in any way. You may withdraw from the study at any time and you may also refuse to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with answering.

With your permission, the focus group discussion will be tape-recorded. No one other than my supervisor will have access to the tapes. The tapes and interview

schedule will be kept in a locked cabinet for two years following any publications or for six years if no publications emanate from the study. Please be assured that your name and personal details will be kept confidential and no identifying information of any participants will be included in the final research report.

As the focus group will include sensitive issues, there is the possibility that you may experience some feelings of emotional distress. Should you therefore feel the need for supportive counselling following the interview, I have arranged for these services free of charge by the Employee Wellness section. To make an appointment, they may be contacted at 051 409 0660/1.

Please contact me on 079 912 54 28 or my supervisor, Dr Linda Smith on 072 764 2987, if you have any questions regarding the study. We shall answer them to the best of our ability. Should you wish to receive a summary of the results of the study; an abstract will be made available on request.

Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in the study.

Yours sincerely

……..
Mrs M. Damons

Appendix G

Consent form for participating in the focus group

I hereby give consent to participate in the focus group. The purpose and procedures have been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntarily and that I may refuse to answer any question that I am not comfortable with or withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. I understand that my responses will be kept confidential. I agree to keep all information shared in the focus group confidential.

Name of participants: …….

Date: …….

Signature: ……

WITNESS

Name of witness: ……

Date: …….

Signature: ……..

Appendix H

Consent form for audio-taping of the responses in the focus group

I hereby consent to tape-recording of the responses in the focus group. I understand that my confidentiality will be maintained at all times and that the tapes will be destroyed two years after any publications arising for the study or six years after the completion of the study if there are no publications.

Name: ……..

Date: …….

Signature: …….

WITNESS

Name of witness: …….

Date: ……

Signature: ……

Appendix I
Letter sent to participants whose data have not been used in the study

Tel: 083 265 9847
Enquiries: Mrs M. Damons

11 Laramie
Nienaber Street
Langenhovenpark
9330
21 October 2014

Dear Participants

PARTICPATION IN FOCUS GROUPDISCUSSION: 21 JULY 2014

Thank you very much for your willingness and time you took to participate in the focus group discussion regarding transformation in social work.

Unfortunately, due to an error in the composition of the focus group, I will not be able to use the data collected. All data collected from this specific focus group will be destroyed immediately.

I sincerely apologise for any inconvenience caused.

Kind regards



Mary-Ann Damons

23/10/2014.
Date



Dr L. Smith
Research Supervisor
Linda.Smith@wits.ac.za
0117174472

23.10.2014
Date

Appendix J
Ethics Clearance Certificate

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Damons

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER H13/06/09**
PROJECT TITLE	Transformation of social work in SA: perspectives and experiences of social workers in the Free State
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Ms M-A Damons
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Human & Community Development/Social Work
DATE CONSIDERED	21/06/2013
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Unconditionally
EXPIRY DATE	11/08/2015

DATE 12/08/2013 **CHAIRPERSON** (Professor T Milani)

cc: Supervisor : Ms L Smith

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10003, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ _____/_____/_____
Signature **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix K
Permission to gain access to research Participants

social development
Department of
Social Development
FREE STATE PROVINCE

The Human Research Ethics Committee
University of the Witwatersrand
Johannesburg

13 May 2013

To whom it may concern

PERMISSION TO GAIN ACCESS TO RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Permission is hereby granted to Mrs M Damons to gain access to registered social workers within the Department of Social Development, Free State, who wish to partake in this study.

We wish Mrs M. Damons all of the best in her studies.

Yours sincerely.

Mr LJ. Mosuhli
Executive Manager: Research, Demography and Population Development

Private Bag X20616, Bloemfontein, 9300
Old Mutual Building, 2nd Floor, Charlotte Maxeke Street, Bloemfotein
Tel: (051) 400 0312 **Fax:** (051) 400 0234
www.fs.gov.za

Appendix L
Letter requesting permission to acquire access to research participants

social development

The Acting HOD
Department of Social Development
Free State

09 May 2013

LETTER REQUESTING PERMISSION TO AQCUIRE ACCESS TO RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

The purpose of the letter is to formally request access to social workers and support for the research study to be conducted within the Department of Social Development.

I am a post graduate student registered for the degree MA in Social Work at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements for the degree, I am conducting research into the transformation of social work in South Africa: perspectives and experiences of social workers in the Free State. It is envisaged that the study will contribute to the knowledge and understanding of social work education and practice in South Africa, especially in the areas of diversity, racism and other forms of discrimination and oppressions. I therefore wish to invite registered social workers to participate in my study.

The proposal has been approved by the Higher Degrees committee of the faculty of humanities at the University of the Witwatersrand and now has to be submitted to the Human Research Ethics Committee (Non- Medical) of the University for Ethical Clearance.

The study will improve my research skills and capabilities that will enhance my competencies as a welfare researcher that is relevant for the current post that I am occupying.

The following people are aware of my studies and have been very supportive of this endeavor: Manager: welfare research, the Senior Manager as well as the Executive Manger: Research and Demography and Population Development.

It will be appreciated if the Acting HOD for the Dept of Social Development can write a letter of permission, granting Mrs M. Damons access to registered social workers who are willing to participate in the study, so that it can be forwarded to the University of the Witwatersrand.

Hope that you find the above request in order.

Yours sincerely

.....

Mrs. M. Damons
Assistant Manager: Welfare Research

10 May 2013
.....
Date

Cc: The Executive Manager
Research, Demography and Population Development

Senior Manager
Research, Demography and Population Development

Manager: Welfare Research
Research, Demography and Population Development

per Marietjie
for regs LINSTRÖM
please ACTING HOD
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
2013 -05- 13

Mary-Ann -
Please draft letter and
bring to me 13/5/13