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Race, culture and social work education in the South African interregnum

**A contextual analysis of attitudes and practice
in the period 1990-1994**

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Abstract

The study begins with an overview of social work in South Africa and a review of local social work literature from which it is evident that, up to 1990, local social work theory and practice developed under a dual influence. While, in broad terms social work as a profession modelled itself on Western theory and practice, local social work practice was both racially and culturally structured in ways that served the needs of the apartheid state. Social work education, despite areas of resistance, largely provided for the personnel needs of welfare agencies operating within state welfare policy.

Welfare services generally were racially segregated and highly unequal, being heavily skewed towards the needs of the white population. Such welfare policy and service patterns were increasingly justified in ideological terms by reference to a specific form of cultural relativism rather than overt racist argument.

With the dramatic political changes heralded by the unbanning of anti-apartheid political organisations in 1990 South Africa entered an uncertain *interregnum* period in which the existing government lacked legitimacy but a new democratic government was not yet in place. This period, up to the general election in 1994, represented a 'Prague spring' in which open debate and argument regarding future social policy and government flourished. It was therefore a time of both great excitement and hope for most South Africans yet anxiety for those who were identified with the old order.

It was within this context that this study explored, by means of a national survey, the views and attitudes of social work educators in all tertiary institutions in South Africa towards issues of culture, race and transformation. Supplementary surveys of students and fieldwork supervisors and relevant agency practice and policy in the Western Cape region were also carried out, as was a national survey of relevant educational practice and policy within all social work departments in tertiary educational institutions.

While social work respondents from all backgrounds exhibited a range of attitudes from 'conservative' to 'progressive' in respect of the different issues addressed, there was majority support for the need for social work and its practitioners to engage with cultural and linguistic differences within integrated social work services in the new South Africa. Many respondents

also supported the need for a more appropriate local model of social work that placed greater emphasis on social and community development. In relation to the 'harder' issues such as welfare resource redistribution, racial and ethnic representivity and affirmative action in social work personnel and training for anti-racist social work, there were clear differences of attitude that largely, though not invariably, coincided with the 'race' and/or ethnic group of the respondents. As would be expected, these differences split mainly along black/white lines but there were also significant in-group differences particularly along linguistic/cultural lines amongst white social work respondents.

Specific findings of particular interest included the degree of ambivalence and discomfort felt by many respondents with regard to the issue of 'matching' social worker and client or community; and partly flowing from this, the identification of language diversity in South Africa as a significant barrier and/or challenge to satisfactory client-social worker communication. There was very little evidence from educational practice of adequate preparation within the social work curriculum to address either linguistic skills or transcultural or anti-racist social work practice for social workers in training.

Other findings specific to educators included a disturbing lack of academic sophistication with regard to recent theoretical developments in the social sciences and a low level of familiarity with the international literature concerned with social work theory and practice in multiracial and multicultural societies and the developing world generally.

Discussion of these and other findings, and recommendations as to addressing the issues raised, concludes the study. Having taken place at a time of massive political and legislative changes not only in welfare but in the whole governmental dispensation, this study provides a unique view of South African social work education as it revealed itself on the cusp of transformation from its position as a largely white and Afrikaner dominated, clinically-oriented profession towards a more developmentally-oriented and equitable social service occupation addressing the most urgent and severe problems of the majority of all South Africans. The findings provide an important baseline assessment of key attitudes and practices in social work education that are of continuing relevance to the transformation of social work in South Africa.

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Daniel and Raphael, having grown up with a father who seemed to be either at work, or working at home, have nevertheless patiently and lovingly waited for me to complete this project and spend more time with them.

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Chapter 1

Preface

I. Introduction and background to study

This dissertation explores a number of issues of culture and race in social work education in South Africa as it emerged from four decades under apartheid and prepared to address the challenges of a new democratic dispensation. While the main empirical focus is on a cross-sectional view, through a national survey, of the attitudes of social work educators during the political interregnum of 1990-4, this is supported by data from a regional survey of the views of student social workers and fieldwork supervisors as well as from a further national survey regarding social work educational policy and practice within the institutional context at the time.

My interest in issues of race and culture in education and social work extends back to my experience as a school teacher and then trainee social worker in the United Kingdom in the late 1970's where I worked in multiracial and multicultural settings that provided a welcome corrective to my earlier upbringing and education within a segregated South Africa. Having started work as a lecturer in social work at the University of Cape Town in 1987, during the last years of the white minority Nationalist Party government, I began exploring multicultural and anti-racist social work practice with social work students within classroom and practical settings. This was in a context of political oppression and state-sponsored violence towards black persons in which the ideology of apartheid justified racial differentiation and 'separate development', including the creation of ethnic 'homelands' for black Africans, using cultural relativist arguments that made racial and cultural differences sacrosanct.

On the one hand I was closely identified with the political, and academic¹ opposition to the apartheid system and its buttressing racist and essentialist ideologies around culture and ethnicity. On the other hand my everyday experience both of social work practice, and classroom and collegial interaction with an increasingly racially and culturally diverse group of colleagues and students, impressed upon me that at these 'micro' levels of interpersonal interaction it was often crucial, in addition to focusing on confirming and building commonalities, to deal with issues of *difference* as well. As much as part of me wanted to

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believe that such differences of race and culture were ideological constructions of apartheid, I could not avoid my experience and unease with the degree of silence around these issues that prevailed in progressive circles. This sense was stimulated by my acquaintance with a number of international social work texts which closely examined issues of ethnicity, race and gender not only on the macro level of socio-economic inequalities and political power but also on the micro level of actual social work practice carried out between professional and clients and between agencies and communities.²

II. Culture, indigenisation and social work in South Africa

I was clearly not alone in such personal experience. The tension between wider international progressive perspectives that, to varying degrees, supported culturalist perspectives around difference and the local progressive anti-apartheid view that emphasised non-racialism and a commitment to a national democratic system in which differences on any group basis would play no part, began to be articulated by a few local social scientists around this time (see Kottler, 1990, Swartz, 1989). It was only later, as a peaceful political transition to democracy seemed to be within reach, that this tension was, at least in 'liberal' academic circles, aired more generally. Following a South African conference on ethnicity, Bekker (1993) wrote:

since 1990, a widespread culture of 'political correctness' has reigned in many scholarly circles: to put the ethnic question is commonly viewed to insinuate opposition to the African National Congress ideology of non-racial South African nationalism. (Bekker, 1993: 83)

This tension is also caught up by the wider educational debate centering on the question of 'indigenisation' and what this means in terms of an authentic and appropriate social work theory and practice for South African conditions. Social work educationists and practitioners have long been sharply criticised for the uncritical and imperialist application of 'Anglo-American' or 'First World' social work theory and practice to developing country contexts (Khinduka, 1971, Midgeley, 1981) - and locally this has meant the imposition of context-specific theory and practice that is in many respects ill-suited to the needs of most South Africans. To introduce 'cultural diversities' content into the South African social work curriculum purely on the strength of its academic or professional currency in North America and/or the United Kingdom would justifiably open local social work educators to similar criticisms.

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An urgent call, repeated in recent years in several local articles (see Chapter 4) has been for South African social work academics and practitioners to develop an *indigenous*³ form of social work that effectively addresses the local welfare needs of those persons and communities whose quality of life has been so devastatingly affected by colonial and apartheid policies. But of course, as will be argued later in this dissertation, South African social work under the auspices of successive white minority governments and dominated by white practitioners and academics, had already developed in a specific local form that had incorporated central elements of international theory and practice at the same time as distorting or ignoring other elements that were in conflict with government ideology. It would perhaps be inappropriate, but not entirely inaccurate, to dignify this local model of circumscribed, race-based and highly discriminatory social work practice with the descriptor 'indigenous'. The point here is that a dominant form of local social work with its own 'culture' (but not without its oppositional subcultures – see discussion in Chapter 3), had been developed and dominated the welfare services that would be carried over into a new post-apartheid dispensation.

III. Research approach: aims, rationale and method

This study is then, on one level, an interrogation of aspects of the culture (or cultures) of South African social work education as existing at the time of the massive political transition in the period 1990 to 1994. Several authors have emphasised the importance of viewing the professions holistically through a cultural lens. As Sheppard (1990), drawing on the work of Atkinson (1983), states:

[Atkinson] emphasises that knowledge is not simple, objective and uncontroversial but, through curriculum and values, is classified and combined in certain ways – it is a cultural imposition. This is significant because it suggests that the knowledge base of a profession will exercise a major influence on the way its members experience and define the world. (Sheppard, 1990: 70)

And as Crescy Cannan (1981, quoted in CCETSW, 1983) has pointed out in relation to the teaching of social work in multicultural contexts, it is especially when the culture of client groups is raised as an issue that:

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... we need to examine both sides of the relationship - the culture of social work and of social workers and the features of minority groups and associated sociological processes of migration. (Central Council for Education and Training of Social Workers, 1983: 23).

My particular focus, and only one from a wide range of possible options, has been on the way that social work educators, as a highly influential group in the South African social work profession (see Chapters 3 and 5 for a fuller discussion of why this is so), view key social issues that have a central role in constructing the culture of local social work. To move directly to considering curriculum issues when teaching students to practise anti-discriminatory and/or culture-sensitive social work without addressing racial and cultural issues in educational practice itself is, in my view, inadequate. If, for example, it is true that, as many authors have suggested (e.g. Dominelli, 1988; McMahon & Allen-Meares, 1992; Solomon, 1976), racism pervades social work then as O'Neil & Yelaja (1991) argue:

... [i]ts influence must be documented systematically within the profession. Curriculum design calls for data regarding the nature and prevalence of attitudes of social workers regarding racial diversity (O'Neil & Yelaja, 1991: 183).

While the empirical data collected in the main body of the study access only a limited part of that wider social work culture, and lean more heavily towards views and attitudes rather than practices and actions, I would claim that they provide a useful, and accurate, take on South African social work education as it emerged from the apartheid era.

The sources of data are threefold. Firstly, I have reviewed recent local social work literature that explicitly, or in some cases implicitly, addresses issues of race and culture in South African social work. Secondly, I draw upon the results of three attitudinal surveys of the principal participants in social work education - a national survey of all social work educators in South Africa, and a Western Cape survey of a sample of social work students and fieldwork supervisors. These surveys were all conducted over 1992-3 - as pointed out above a time of enormous flux and change in the country as a whole and in social work specifically when the future of social work practice and education was being vigorously debated. And, thirdly, I draw upon two practice surveys also conducted at that time - one of all South African tertiary institutions providing social work education, and the other of selected social work agencies in the Western Cape providing practical placements for social work students. The results of the

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smaller regional surveys are clearly not generalisable beyond that specific region but provide an interesting comparative perspective at the local level.

IV. Organisation of the dissertation

The dissertation is constituted of ten chapters including this preface and the conclusion. Chapters 2 to 4 seek to situate South African social work education by means of an overview of dominant trends in welfare, professional social work, and social work education up to the end of the pre-democracy era in 1994 (Chapter 2), followed by reviews of the themes emerging from local social work literature around issues of race and culture (Chapter 3), and of international, and more recent local, writing that addresses issues of socio-cultural diversity in social work theory and practice (Chapter 4).

This contextual and exploratory overview prepares the ground for the attitudinal and policy and practice surveys that comprise the major empirical thrust of the study. Chapter 5 describes the aims, methodology, subjects and procedures of the different surveys followed by a discussion of the analysis and presentation of the quantitative (scale scores, closed responses, and institutional policy and practice details) and more qualitative (written commentary) data. Chapters 6 to 9 present these findings grouped according to broad themes. Chapter 6 presents the respondents views on cultural diversity, national/ethnic groups and their stages of development, and the preservation of cultural/national identity while Chapter 7 reports on attitudes towards equity issues in welfare and representivity in social work education. Chapter 8 deals with the issue of how cultural and linguistic diversity in social work services should be managed. In Chapter 9 contemporary educational practice and the views of respondents around the preparation of social workers for practice in post-apartheid South Africa is presented - this includes how, and with what degree of priority, socio-diversity issues should be addressed in the social work curriculum/learning methods and the appropriateness of 'Western' social work theory for local practice.

In the concluding chapter (Chapter 10) I draw together most important findings from the different aspects of the study. Some fairly major ideological and cultural differences within local social work education, largely along particular race/ethnic lines, are evident, and I further argue that there are sufficient grounds to believe that the picture of social work educational culture that emerges here was also largely reflective of the professional social work culture at

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the time. On the other hand, the need for a shift away from an exclusive focus on direct practice towards social and/or community development was a common concern, and almost an emergent orthodoxy, of many respondents. The chapter includes a brief reflection, with the benefit of some hindsight, as to whether such a necessary, but not sufficient, developmental shift could both address the pressing equity and diversity issues in welfare services as well as serve to help reconcile the ideological differences apparent within social work education at the time.

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Notes to Chapter 1

- ¹ The University of Cape Town as an institution had long had a record of opposition to apartheid.
- ² I do not wish to give the impression here that the international social work literature addresses these issues in uniform or uncontested ways - as is evident in Chapter 4, this literature is diverse in terms of both theoretical approaches and quality.
- ³ It should be noted at the outset that the term 'indigenous' is a contentious and problematic one for a number of reasons some of which are identified and discussed in later chapters (see Chapter 3, pages 70-79 and Chapter 4 pages 97-99 in particular). In colonial discourse it has often had associations of inferiority and 'backwardness' as against what are seen as modern, Western methods and approaches. On the other hand, as part of an anti-colonial, anti-modernist thrust, the term has been valorised when applied to more appropriate approaches that are rooted in local needs and address local political agendas. As will be evident most local and international references in the thesis tend to use the term in the second sense and assume that such approaches are, or would be, superior to 'imported' methodology. This tendency to use 'indigenous' in either denigratory or complimentary terms is of course itself not unproblematic and many authors, following Midgely (1981 & 1995), tend to prefer more neutral terms such as 'appropriate' in such comparative discussion.

Chapter 2

Welfare and the social work profession in South Africa up to 1994: dominant trends

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Chapter 2

Welfare and the social work profession in South Africa up to 1994: dominant trends

I. Introduction

Part I of this dissertation situates social work education within the broader historical context of South African social welfare policy and practice up to 1994. Only when viewed within this wider context can the data in this study be interpreted in any meaningful or useful way. This chapter provides an overview of some dominant trends that have influenced the development of social work practice and education in South Africa.

As discussed in Chapter 1, this study is concerned with specific aspects of the overall shift to education for post-apartheid social work. An overview, therefore, of related debates situates the data presented later within the local discursive context. The literature review in Chapter 3 carries this task forward and centres on how local social work literature has addressed race and culture historically and as part of post-apartheid transformation.

This overview attempts to identify some of the key relevant historical and current themes.¹ I flesh out this outline with more specific attention to my central themes – those concerning race and culture.² As McKendrick has pointed out, the theme of ‘race’ in social welfare is a pervasive one:

One of the strongest characteristics of organized welfare in South Africa, as in other areas of the country’s life, is an intense and overriding preoccupation with race. (McKendrick, 1987a: 3)

This notion’s ideological construction, and its implication in social structures and practices, must be central to any understanding of the development of social welfare itself.

Culture is a more complex theme partly because of its wide range of meanings and partly because of its salience within apartheid discourse and its use as a euphemistic code-word for ‘race’. My concern is to consider not only of issues of culture and ‘race’ in the narrow sense (‘race’ and culture-specific issues in service delivery, for example), but also the specific cultural forms taken by South African social work.

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II. Ideology and ethnic mobilisation

The emergence of the political and socio-economic forces that created and challenged the apartheid state is a field of study of its own too large and complex for the space available here (see Lowe, 1988, for an attempted overview). And yet some feel for the dominant ideological forces that shaped welfare policy and practice is necessary to make sense of the development of social work practice and education in South Africa.³

The central ideological battle of twentieth-century South Africa has been between white Afrikaner nationalism, its explicit agenda the capture of the state by the Afrikaner *volk*, and a black African nationalism which has sought the incorporation of black Africans into the body politic.⁴ Apartheid's policies deliberately manipulated group differences to prevent interracial class solidarity. A further objective, and consequence, of this use of 'national' and 'racial' identity has been to shape the ethnic consciousness of minority groups (Marks & Trapido, 1987: 1).

These nationalisms did not arise arbitrarily and can be understood as 'responses to late-nineteenth-century industrialisation, imperialism and British "race patriotism".' (ibid.: 2).⁶ Marks and Trapido argue that despite the construction of a single South African state in 1910, unification resulted in the emergence of new ethnic identities, the outcome of

a history of regional divisions, the racism and social Darwinism of the late nineteenth century and the specific political-cum-class struggles which were being legitimated by the discourse of nationalism. (ibid.: 2)

In the face of these two dominant forces, other South African social and ethnic groups have been ignored or underplayed in popular historical accounts of the rise and fall of apartheid. As Marks and Trapido remind us, despite their minority status among whites, let alone the larger population, 'it was English-speaking [white] South Africans who dominated the twentieth-century political economy of South Africa, as they had the nineteenth' (ibid.: 1). Tied by language and kinship to Britain, and reinforced by economic self-interest, they found nationalism alien and unnecessary, and despite a sporadic South Africanism their identity 'was based on far more diffuse notions of racial and political identity.' (ibid.: 2) Precisely because of this economic domination by white English-speakers, Afrikaner nationalism saw the capture of the state as essential to securing their future. Political power would be gained through ethnic mobilisation, and welfare policy played a significant role in this process, one that has left a considerable legacy for post-apartheid South Africa:

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New political institutions and the deliberate use of welfare to give reconstructed ethnic identities a material reality have created conflicting interests which now have to be taken into account in any struggle for the transformation of South Africa. (Marks & Trapido, 1987: 22)

For other minority groups, such as the Indians and Coloureds, Jews and Muslims, what was constructed during these years were new 'imagined communities'⁷. Without the option of meaningful political power, these groups, for the most part, were confined to 'mobilising along ethnic networks of loyalty, allegiance and control' (ibid.: 2-3).

It is within this context that formal welfare policy and practice has evolved. The next section outlines this development, itself the context for the subsequent discussion of social work practice.

III. Welfare policy and services

A. Origins of ethnic welfare – the 'poor white problem'

The beginnings of formal welfare in South Africa, other than in family and religious organisations, were in the early 1900s. The socio-economic preoccupations of colonial administrations and rapid industrialisation led to the conditions in which the first community welfare structures were initiated (Patel, 1992). In the aftermath of the South African War, child welfare organisations were established in 1908 and 1909 in the Cape and Johannesburg respectively (see Chisholm, 1990 for a detailed treatment of this period) and the formation of the Union in 1910 made possible national welfare planning (Potgieter, 1973). These initiatives responded almost exclusively to the needs of white persons. Chisholm has argued that from 1910 the role of social workers in child welfare has been contradictory. They have both encouraged legislation protecting children and at the same time have contributed to 'denying those same rights to children of a different colour' (Chisholm, 1990: 102).

In McKendrick's view, 'the major human welfare issue of the first decades of the twentieth century was poverty, both African and white' (1987a: 10). South Africa's social welfare system was structured by the way in which poverty was viewed, as a growing concern for the needs of indigent white persons – the 'poor white problem' – drove the development of social welfare initiatives. Mainly, white poverty involved the displacement of rural Afrikaners into urban centres caused by the effects of the Anglo-Boer (or South African) War, the growth of a capitalist economy, drought and poor farming practices: '[a] new population of workers and landless [white] poor emerged out of the

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disintegrating old order' (Marks & Trapido, 1987: 16). This meant that white Afrikaners, mostly uneducated and unskilled, had to compete with urban blacks for jobs.⁸

In 1932, the Carnegie Commission of Inquiry recommended the establishment of a state social welfare bureau and the university-based training of social workers. In 1934 the *Volkskongress*⁹ strongly supported these recommendations. Hendrik Verwoerd, later a key architect of apartheid, called for the creation of employment opportunities, extensive social services and concerted state intervention (Le Roux, 1978). This conference was instrumental in the creation, in 1937, of a state Department of Social Welfare whose purpose was

to solve the problem of poverty and consequent retardation amongst a large section of the European population, which at the time transcended in importance and gravity all other social questions. (Report of the Departmental Committee of Inquiry into the Training and Employment of Social Workers, 1950: 1)

Importantly, this department was a sub-department of the Department of Labour, and this initiative was part of a much wider policy of social engineering favouring poor whites. Labour policy and legislation had protected employment and introduced compulsory schooling for whites, thus the work of the welfare department would supplement and monitor the effects of these initiatives. As Verwoerd had proposed:

Above all else the [social] worker is an investigator and advisor for the local voluntary forces ... appointed by the state as part of a national service that serves as infrastructure ... to centralize and exchange vital information ... [and] ... whose task will not be one of control over local bodies nor one of taking over their work in any way ... but as a source of information to the state.¹⁰ (Verwoerd, 1937: 37)

In stark contrast, poverty among African, coloured and Indian peoples received minimal attention (McKendrick, 1987a, Patel, 1992). The findings of the Native Economic Commission, also made public in 1932, that mass starvation among black people was a real possibility, met with little response (O'Brien, 1990). By 1943, 85 per cent of the social assistance and insurance budget was spent on whites (then 20,9 per cent of the population) and only 6 per cent on Africans (68,8 per cent of the population). It was estimated that 75 per cent of all private welfare organisations worked with whites only (Reinhalt-Jones, 1946, quoted in McKendrick, 1987a: 13). Similar discrimination appeared in the operation of welfare legislation which, although making no explicit reference to race, was applied, if at all, in very limited ways to groups other than whites.¹¹

It has been suggested that this welfarist response was not a straightforwardly philanthropic concern, but was rooted in a fear of the emerging white Afrikaner proletariat. This working class was to be

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'courted and coralled' by welfare programmes and initiatives (Marks & Trapido, 1987: 16).¹⁷ Any possibility of a white working class consciousness finding common cause with black workers had to be headed off by active recruitment of the Afrikaner lower classes into the project of Afrikaner nationalism.

As Dubow (1987) has pointed out, social Darwinism was extremely powerful in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Chisholm has argued that aspects of social Darwinist thought, which assumes a hierarchy of races on an evolutionary scale, were clearly reflected in child welfare work in the first two decades of this century. In the struggle of the races, and the contaminating effect of the 'inferior' on the 'superior', white children had to be 'rescued' from contact with non-whites and from the poverty that exposed them to such contact (Chisholm, 1990: 110-1). The Children's Aid Society of the time (1912) saw adequate white working class housing, education and welfare and racial segregation as twin and complementary priorities.

Thus the early state welfare structures, in addition to being part of existing colonial and social imperialism, were strongly influenced by Afrikaner nationalism. As Lowe has noted (1988: 32) this means that the roots of South African social work were ethnically based and group specific. From the start social work took a peculiar and localised form, borrowing its purposes and methodologies from the 'scientific charity' tradition of Western countries in the service of a narrow white, and later specifically Afrikaner nationalist, agenda.¹⁸

B. The fragmentation of welfare services

A common theme in accounts of the welfare system is the extreme fragmentation of service provision, together with the cost inefficiencies, inequalities and planning problems that this causes (see, for example, Jinabhai, 1986; McKendrick & Dudas, 1987; Patel, 1992). On the one hand, specialisation in fields of service, combined with the separation of state and private welfare functions, has created a 'horizontal' fragmentation of parallel and overlapping welfare functions (Hare & McKendrick, 1976). This situation necessitated a range of co-ordinating bodies (e.g., welfare boards and national councils) constituted in an attempt to bring coherence to welfare provision. This was far from satisfactory in practice, and has resulted in the duplication of services and, more seriously, gaps in services for which no one body has been responsible (Hare & McKendrick, 1976).

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1. Racial segregation

On the other hand, segregationist policies since 1948 created a 'vertical' fragmentation of race-specific services tied to separate state departments. Ironically, despite its focus on whites, the Department of Welfare created in 1937 was the only single, unitary and 'non-racial' state welfare department to have ever existed in South Africa (Helm, 1982)¹⁴. By the 1980s not only were there separate Health and Welfare departments for each of three 'own affairs' administrations (Coloured, Indian and White 'population groups'¹⁵) and a separate department for Blacks resident in South Africa (known by several different names), but an additional ten such departments for each of the self-governing and independent homelands¹⁶.

The private or community-sponsored welfare sector did not escape pressure to segregate and promote racially homogeneous organisations either. During 1966 the then Department of Social Welfare and Pensions notified registered welfare organisations that its intention was to support the establishment of separate agencies for Black, Coloured, Indian and White persons (Hare & McKendrick, 1976)¹⁷. Most organisations, which were not already segregated in practice if not in principle, complied with the policy and spawned further separate branches or divisions.

In the regulating structures for welfare planning and services, such as the National Welfare Board and Regional Welfare Boards, blacks were initially entirely excluded. After the *National Welfare Act* of 1978, separate Regional Welfare Boards were set for Black, Coloured and Indian persons as well. Thus while the later elaborations of 'separate development' were scrupulous about setting up parallel racial structures in welfare organisations and regulatory and/or co-ordinating bodies, the highest decision-making bodies responsible for national policy remained almost exclusively white but always white-dominated (McKendrick, 1980: 80-81).

It should be noted that this account is necessarily limited mostly to texts written from a 'white' perspective and focusing on the dominant and formal aspects of welfare development. In such an account, the myriad of more informal welfare initiatives, many in black communities, are ignored or marginalised. Chisholm has pointed to the welfare work of the Coloured political organisations, the work of the 'multiracial' Joint Councils,¹⁸ and the work of black African social workers in the main urban centres as examples of areas where research needs to be done to correct the imbalance in our knowledge of South African welfare (Chisholm, 1990: 108). The silence around the active role of members of black communities in welfare work serves to perpetuate inaccurate and racist assumptions about levels of passivity, altruism and social welfare advocacy in different communities.

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2. The 'cultural diversity' rationale

As it became more difficult to defend segregationist policies locally and internationally from the 1960's onwards, proponents of Nationalist government policy seized on the more acceptable theme of cultural differences and 'sensitivity' to justify 'differentiated' services.

Welfare services can only be provided effectively if cognizance is taken of the culture, language and religious outlook of the community served. (quoted in McKendrick, 1987: 21)¹⁹

This rationale for apartheid policies was generally, as Dubow (1991) has shown, an essential element in Afrikaner nationalism, and meant that explicitly racist explanations for human difference were seldom necessary

The Kuyperian language of 'diversity' and the sovereignty of separate 'spheres' was highly conducive to the affirmation of a form of cultural relativism. Here, the idealist conception of nation, *volk* and culture functioned as a useful substitute for a biological view of race. It was therefore possible to speak about the 'national character' or 'soul' as if such qualities were capable of being transmitted from generation to generation but without the difficulties associated with biological theories of racial inheritance. (Dubow, 1991: 29)

The implicit racism in such a pseudo-relativist discourse is evident in a 1966 Department of Social Welfare and Pensions circular to welfare organisations notifying them of the segregationist policy already referred to above. In attempting to explain why 'mixed' council and management committees were contrary to government policy, the circular reads:

Meetings of White bodies are held in White areas, usually at well-known venues where non-Whites do not normally go, and there is every likelihood that this will give rise to talk, criticism, friction and so on. The social side, as regards meeting at tea-breaks and meals, also presents problems. (Department of Social Welfare and Pensions, Circular No 29, June 1966: 1)

The circular goes on to suggest that, presumably in the service of the White 'trusteeship' principle,²⁰ prior to their being ready for full independence, meetings of the executive committees of the 'non-White' welfare bodies should be attended by a white executive member from the 'main' body,

... since each of the various non-White social groups has its own method of, and approach to, discussion, and in an atmosphere peculiar to such a group the guidance of Whites carries more weight than when it is passed on at second hand by a non-White to the non-White committee. (Department of Social Welfare and Pensions, Circular No 29, June 1966: 1)

Unsurprisingly, the realities of apartheid welfare failed to live up to the promises of 'separate but equal' provision (Jinabhai, 1986; Müller, 1988; Patel, 1992). For example, the welfare needs of

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urban Africans were purposefully neglected in order to discourage permanent residence (and so encourage a dependence on 'homeland' resources) (McKendrick, 1987). Government ideologues drew on essentialist cultural assumptions regarding black South Africans to justify the low levels of provision.

Among the Black nations the traditional social system and family structures are such that a considerable amount of what is usually regarded as public welfare assistance and poor relief in Western societies is carried out on a customary basis by relatives and associates ... For this reason, inter alia, it has been found necessary and advisable to differentiate between these groups and others as regards the nature and scope of assistance provided. (quoted in Jhabhai, 1986: 10)

Although improved from earlier figures, welfare expenditure in the 1980s was never equalised and whites continued to receive a disproportionate allocation (see below). Thus welfare services continued to reflect the discrimination endemic to apartheid society.

C. Inequalities in welfare

The gross inequities in the allocation of welfare resources made by the apartheid government have been well documented (Lund, 1992; Patel, 1992). Table 2A below illustrates the respective welfare budget allocations²¹ according to population group in selected years from 1950 to 1993. This expenditure has been hugely disproportionate relative to the size of the different population groups.

**Table 2A: South African welfare budget:
by population group (%)**

	Population		Budget			
	(1993)	1950	1976	1987	1990	1993
Black	76	25	28	35	52	49
Coloured & Indian	11	14	16	20	24	31
White	13	61	56	45	23	21

(from Patel, 1992 and Lund, 1994)

Not only did the majority Black (African) group (76 percent of the population in 1993) consistently receive the lowest per capita spending on welfare throughout the period to a massive extent but this group also experienced the highest levels of poverty and lowest levels of other social and physical services (health, education, water, electricity etc.). While there has been a positive trend particularly

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since 1987 - with proportional expenditure on the Black group doubling between 1950 and 1993 - the disparities remained considerable up to 1993.²²

Table 2B below illustrates the proportions of social workers, social work educators and social work students relative to the respective South African population groups.

**Table 2B: South African social work personnel:
by population group (%)**

	Total Population 1993	All Social Workers* 1988	All Social Work Educators 1993	All Social Work Students 1993
Black	76	16	24	48
Coloured	2,5	11	7	10
Indian	8,5	5	5	5
White	13	68	65	37

*All social workers (including educators) registered with the Council for Social Work

While the figures for registered social workers are from 1988 (the last time the Council for Social Work gave a population group breakdown²³), and total numbers had increased by 1993, the proportions would not have changed markedly over this period. The extreme distortion in representivity is clearly evident with the Black population group being the most severely under-represented and the White group being many times over-represented.

D. Privatising welfare

The welfare policy of the Nationalist government was an example of the type described by Wilensky and Lebeaux (1958) as 'residualist': the view that welfare provision is the task of government only when 'normal' social systems break down. In 1985 the government proposed a further refinement of this policy by shedding more welfare responsibilities to the private sector (Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, 1985). The government argued that such privatisation would lead to greater efficiency, encourage 'healthier, stable, independent communities', and avoid

the possibility and the danger of a welfare state that becomes greater as the State's involvement financially and otherwise increases. (Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, 1985: 69)

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The main reason for the shift was probably the government's need to reduce expenditure in the face of a worldwide recession and the spiralling costs of unrest. Critics of the government argued that privatisation in an already discriminatory welfare sector would only entrench existing inequalities through perpetuating poverty and eroding the quality of services (Lund, 1988 & 1994, McKendrick, 1987, Patel, 1992). Some commentators claimed that the government, having realised that political change was inevitable, was using privatisation to prevent a radical redistribution of welfare resources by a post-apartheid government (New Nation, 22–28 February, 1991 quoted in Patel, 1992).

IV. Social work under apartheid

With the above sketch as an outline, this section considers some of the main local features and processes that structured and influenced everyday social work under apartheid. In 1995 there were 8 190 social workers registered with the professional council (South African Council for Social Work, personal communication).²⁴ In 1988, when the last official 'population group' breakdown was given, a majority 67,5 per cent (of a total 6 575 social workers) were classified as White (see Table 2B above). Of the 4 439 White social workers, 3 288 (74 per cent) chose Afrikaans as their official language (out of English and Afrikaans). As 88,2 per cent of social workers were female, 45 per cent of all social workers were White Afrikaans women (South African Council for Social Work, 1988). This demographic profile reflects both the origins and ongoing status and role of social work *vis-à-vis* government policy and welfare services. This white, Afrikaans-speaking dominance of social work will be discussed below.

While most social workers work within the bureaucratic structures of either state or private welfare bodies, they function within a distinct professional identity and legislative framework.²⁵ How have these dual aspects functioned, independently and interactively, to structure local social work practice? This is not only a matter of historical record as a transforming welfare system has to grapple with these structures. In addition, the continuing professional and ideological influence of the previous system is not easily eradicated. Negative and discriminatory mind-sets and practices of the past are likely to continue to influence practice, even within new structures, unless they are identified and addressed.

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A. State and bureaucratic control

1. Practice settings

I have sought above to establish how thorough the state's influence on welfare institutions has been. Despite moves towards privatisation and the government's long-standing emphasis on individual and community responsibility for welfare,²⁶ the state tightly controlled welfare policy and imposed it on a majority with no representation in elected government (Patel, 1992: 46). Even the government's attempt at formulating alternative welfare policy proposals in the mid-1980s involved limited consultation with the private sector and the rejection of its key submissions (McKendrick, 1988: 17).

With limited alternatives for funding, even private welfare agencies that may have wished to implement equitable service delivery policies were subject to significant controls by state welfare departments through their dependence on government subsidies for salaries and programmes (the 1966 Circular from the state Welfare Department discussed in section III.B above is a case in point). Moreover, many welfare organisations have statutory functions to carry out, and this responsibility constrained agencies seeking to expand in innovative ways.

The citizen boards of management (as laid down in the National Welfare Act, 1978) also controlled these community welfare agencies, as they carried ultimate responsibility for approving and supporting the goals and priorities of staff and all aspects of their employment (McKendrick, 1980).

2. Social work practitioners

Considering international social-work commitments to individual well-being and social justice, the exclusionary and discriminatory workings of local welfare policy under apartheid made social work highly problematic, if not a contradiction in terms (see Lowe, 1988 and Young, 1980). Regardless of the views of individual social workers, all social workers in state or state-sponsored agencies inevitably participated in perpetuating a discriminatory and exclusionary welfare system. Social work as an institution espousing social justice and equal respect and treatment for all, was radically compromised. This does not mean that individual social workers willingly supported the welfare system (some individuals took great risks in order to oppose it), but the collective position of the profession, while never uniform (see below), was hardly oppositional (Marks 1989; McKendrick, 1980 & 1987).

It is impossible to establish the extent of unease of individual social workers regarding these dilemmas. Certainly explicit criticism of apartheid welfare and policies generally increased in the local

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literature from the beginning of reform in the mid 1980s (see Chapter 3), but empirical evidence is very sparse. One study in the late 1970s reported that employers in social work agencies and social work educators in white Afrikaans-language institutions were most prepared to de-emphasise conflict between social work's mission and the state, while educators in the white English-language universities were more likely to recognise social work's dilemma and express a desire for change (McKendrick, 1980: 110).

The interpretation of this relative silence is not simple, and, given the diversity within the profession, it would be difficult to generalise. Can such silence be generously viewed as a function of apartheid repression itself, of proscriptions on 'free speech' and criticism of the state? To what extent were white social workers able or willing to perceive these contradictions? The account of professional associations below, the literature review in Chapter 3, and the survey of attitudes in this study all provide only partial answers. Certainly, following the origins of South African social work in the protection of the white working class, alternative, either non-racial or black-centred influences either took time to develop or were relatively weak.

There is always potential for conflict in social work practice, as in most societies the state plays a central role in the provision or monitoring of welfare services (see Dixon, 1987a & 1987b, and MacPherson & Midgeley, 1987). The South African case serves to highlight this dilemma. Conflict can occur between the social worker's role in 'society', as variously interpreted by the state, legal system and welfare agency, and the specific interests of the individual or group/community, as seen by the social worker (Toren, 1969; Davies, 1981). While this is a perennial dilemma even in open, democratic societies,²⁷ under apartheid policies it was heightened, especially for social workers and agencies unable to identify with the political programme (Bernstein, 1991; McKendrick, 1998; Slabbert, 1983; Vitus, 1987).

B. Social work as profession

An allusion to two aspects of social work as a profession clarifies the context of South African social work practice. The first, a sociological note, is the professionalisation of local social work and its consequences. The second is the socio-political role of professional social work and alternative organisations under apartheid and immediately afterwards.

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1. The process of professionalisation

Does social work qualify as a profession at all, or even as a 'semi-profession' like teaching? Etzioni (1969) and Toren (1969) refer to a number of 'traits' associated with full professional status. On this basis social work seems to be semi-professional – social workers have a relatively low social status, bureaucratic and supervised work settings (they lack autonomy), and no exclusive and systematic theory (see McKendrick, 1980: 82–102). More recent approaches, however, 'examine ways in which occupational groups make claims to be professions and . . . the extent to which they are successful' (Abbott & Wallace, 1990: 4).

From this perspective South African social work has at least achieved the statutory trappings of a profession.²⁸ However, half of registered social workers in 1988 were white Afrikaners and most were employed in state departments or state sponsored organisations. These realities, together with the fact that professionalisation occurred under an Afrikaner Nationalist government, point to an ongoing political sponsoring of the profession well beyond its early roots in addressing white poverty.

Literature on the professionalisation of the 'helping' professions points to the tendency for this process to have positive benefits for practitioners while disadvantaging their client groups (Abbott & Wallace, 1990; Bisno, 1969; Hugman, 1991; Louw, 1990; Rapoport, 1969). In South African social work, McKendrick (1980) concluded from his survey of social workers, that the pervasive striving for professional status resulted in

... a non-recognition of the difficulties involved in implementing social work values in this country. By this means, discord and conflict between social work and societal authorities is reduced, and in turn, the role of social work in social control is emphasised. (McKendrick, 1980: 94)

Marks (1989) has argued that social workers became 'cocooned' and 'less and less in touch with the wants of their clientele or of the broader social context which was generating these specific needs' (148). Bernstein (1993) has highlighted the way professionalism is regarded as incompatible with the stigma of 'servers of the poor'. Thus social reform becomes secondary to therapeutic work with people of higher social standing (Bernstein, 1993: 270–1). Professionalism also requires 'theoretical respectability': any knowledge or theory seen as 'scientific' and 'objective' takes precedence over, and reduces the commitment to, the whole person, the community and the reform of society (Goldstein, 1990).

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In retrospect, professional recognition came at the price of professional self-interest to maintain a distance between the goals of social work and the apartheid state. Even when social work practice attempted to ameliorate the effects of apartheid, it still had to participate in a highly discriminatory system. Such generalisations are inevitably unfair to individuals and organisations who regarded themselves as hostile to state policy. However, the point is that professionalisation made social work more dependent on the state, which severely limited practice and professional leadership options for those social workers who identified most strongly with universal social justice perspectives.

In a general sense, the caring professions can be viewed as institutionalised forms of client control within their specific political or social context. As Abbott and Wallace argue, these professions

... are powerful because they not only claim to change and control behaviour, but also help to structure the context of social and cultural life in a more general sense – through their power to command definitions of reality by which the lives of their clients are shaped ... to define someone as a client is to determine that they have a need and that the need can only be met by the expertise of the social worker. (1990: 6)

These aspects of professionalised practice have received criticism from progressive welfare quarters. They are part of the issue of professional culture that will remain a theme throughout this dissertation.

There are, of course, other dynamic factors involved here too. Local social workers tend to be predominantly female and middle class, and most clients are female and working class. Social workers therefore end up exercising social control over other women – often within patriarchal structures (Orr, 1986 in Abbott & Wallace, 1990) so that 'the control they exercise is often designed to persuade clients to live their lives in ways they would not choose, rather than working with their clients to overcome their problems' (ibid.) In South Africa this was compounded by race, as most social workers have until recently been white, and as most black social workers have been supervised by white social workers (Lund, 1994). Class issues also arise, for example, between working class clients and upwardly mobile social workers drawn from that class. Professionalism means social and economic advancement, and many social workers can find it dissonant to identify with the problems of the community from which they are emerging²⁹

2. Professional and alternative social service organisations

A selective look at the formation of professional social work and social service associations provides some indication of social and political differences within social work. These associations have held

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common interests around professional status, salaries and working conditions, and education, but the highly ideological nature of South African society has been reflected in their specific histories. Initial attempts in the 1930s to form a national professional association were marked by what were to become familiar issues for professionals in South Africa in related fields (see Louw, 1987). Small local associations existed during this period, but issues of a Whites-only membership clause and an acceptable code of ethics caused this initiative to fail because of these 'deep ideological rifts' (Cerff, 1979: 59).

Ironically, perhaps, the first professional national body was the South African Native Social Workers' Association, formed in 1947. SABSWA, as it later became known, saw its mission as both political, in promoting rights of black social workers, and socially relevant, in providing a service, albeit limited, to the black community (Marks, 1989). In 1954 a group of mainly Afrikaans-speaking social workers, ignoring dissent from other social workers (Marks, 1989), formed the South African White Social Workers' Association (SAWSWA). This association pushed for further segregation of local service organisations, and began lobbying for professional recognition. Only in the 1970s did a group of social workers opposed to SAWSWA's endorsement of discrimination form the Society for Social Workers (SSW). The SSW was largely White and English-speaking, although it did attract some Coloured and Indian members. African social workers preferred on the whole to remain with SABSWA.

In the late 1980s, amid the growth of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front and official government 'reform', more activist social work associations were formed. Concerned Social Workers (Johannesburg) and the Social Workers Forum (Cape Town) explicitly opposed state welfare policies and called for alternative non-racial and democratically representative structures (see Patel, 1990). On a wider front, the Organisation for Appropriate Social Services for South Africa (OASSSA) was formed. Its members were initially psychologists, but later included social workers and other professionals (Swartz, 1990 and Louw, 1990).

Such alternative associations comprised a minority of black and progressive White social workers. During this period the SSW lost membership to alternative organisations, and its regional branches dissolved or operated in diminished fashion. Such alternative organisations emphasised explicit political positions and the provision of alternative services (such as services to families and children of detainees and torture victims) rather than narrower professional pursuits. By the time of the Regional Consultative Conference on Social Welfare in 1991, 'an alternative model of social service delivery had already begun to emerge' (Patel, 1991: 1). Following the establishment of democracy in

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South Africa in 1994 this 'alternative model' became the seed from which much current welfare policy and thinking has grown (see White Paper for Social Welfare, 1997).

V. Social work training and education

The history of social work education in South Africa mirrors and is intertwined with that of professional social work practice. Together with the state departments, university-based social science and social work educators have long been at the forefront of developments in practice and education.⁵⁰

A. The early period

Social work education, just as social welfare, developed out of the concern provoked by white poverty. The first demand for trained social workers came in 1932 from the Carnegie Commission, which advocated the use of university-trained social workers 'who would be capable of making individual social diagnoses and responding differentially to the needs of people in poverty' (McKendrick, 1998: 100). Formal baccalaureate degree courses for social workers were established in the early 1930s at one English-medium, mainly White university and two Afrikaans-medium, all White universities,⁵¹ and were supported by the Dutch Reformed Church's People's Conferences and the 1936 National Conference on Social Work, which confirmed that social workers should receive social science-based training in university settings.

Following further state support in the form of a Department of Social Welfare (created in 1937) and subsidised salaries of private-sector social workers, many more university-based courses were introduced. In the 1940s, several colleges, under the auspices of churches and industry, initiated diploma-level training for black social workers. The Jan H. Hofmeyr School of Social Work – the most notable of these – attracted black African students from all over Africa (Lowe, 1988). The educational format for mainstream (White) social workers, however, became a three-year university degree combining social science theory with field practice.

B. The apartheid years

Although some black students had been admitted to the four 'open' English-medium universities⁵² before 1948, Afrikaans-medium universities refused to accept black students, and social work remained a predominantly White profession. This situation changed radically in 1959, when the

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Extension of University Education Act became law. Separate university colleges were created for Coloured, Indian and various Black 'ethnic' population groups. At the same time, these groups were restricted from entering established universities, now reserved exclusively for Whites. A significant part of the rationale used to justify this was that it would enable a positive focus on cultural and ethnic differences. Government policy-makers argued that education in each racial sector would take into account the customs, values and traditions of the various groups, and be of an equivalent standard to that in the established universities (McKendrick, 1987).³³

Although this policy rapidly increased numbers of black social work graduates, its consequences were overwhelmingly negative. For one, it institutionalised racially segregated professional education for social workers. Training at the new institutions tended to consist of a diluted, bland version of mainstream and traditional methodologies, with little attention given to the local context, and was most often provided by White educators. Another consequence was the resultant closure, for ideological reasons, of private and church-initiated colleges for black social work training³⁴. Precisely because of their focus on the needs of black persons and social workers, their curricula were often far more appropriate and context-sensitive than those in the new state-sponsored 'ethnic' universities (McKendrick, 1987).

Muller's study of social work curricula in the mid-1960s confirmed the general state of professional social work education 'to be generic in terms of field of practice, to have an emphasis on social casework which prepared graduates for restorative and rehabilitative work with individuals and families, and to be of a standard that compared favourably with social work training in Britain and the Netherlands' (Muller, 1968 quoted in McKendrick, 1998: 101). As Marks observes, referring to Michau's 1969 study of the role of Black social workers, there were perceived benefits to this methodological orientation

The generic approach to casework would at best teach students a few models of this method; at worst, it offered students in a land characterized by diversity and discrimination, one specific way to handle any given situation. (Marks, 1989: 181)

The cost of such an ethnocentric or 'imperialist' (Midgeley 1981) approach endured even in educational settings that later broadened their methodology teaching to include community and macro interventions. In 1987, Gama found that most social work graduates felt that while they had learned a great deal of theory it was not adapted to South Africa's multicultural reality. In a related finding, O'Brien's 1990 survey of graduates from one English-medium 'open' university social work

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department revealed that while the majority identified with the democratic, non-racial and developmental welfare ideals and principles they had been exposed to in their training, they felt they lacked the specific skills and knowledge needed to implement them.³⁵

The move towards increasing recognition and regulation by the state was consolidated by the National Welfare Act of 1965, providing for the statutory registration of social workers with a recognised Bachelor's degree in social work. Then in 1980, the South African Council for Social and Associated Workers, established under the Social and Associated Workers Act of 1978, began regulating all aspects of the profession and determining minimum standards for tuition and training. As in the profession, the majority of the Council's members were White (mostly Afrikaans-speaking) social workers, particularly university educators, who tended to identify with government policy. No doubt for this reason (see O'Neil, 1991), the Council focused almost exclusively on the technical and professional aspects of social work practice and education. Through its deafening silence on issues of inequality and discrimination, the Council perpetuated social work's role in supporting what Lowe has called 'the South African norm of injustice' (1988). From its inception until the early 1990s, the Council addressed a number of education issues, including an attempt to set minimum standards for tuition and training in social work.³⁶

As McKendrick (1998) has pointed out, the Council's legitimate concern was rendered ineffective by the way the matter was approached. The model chosen for course accreditation was that of the Council on Social Work Education in the USA, which utilises eligibility variables and assessment processes hardly suitable or affordable for South Africa. Not surprisingly, the attempt, involving exhaustive and time-intensive 'self-study' exercises by social work departments, met with considerable resistance, particularly from some of the historically black and English-medium historically white universities.³⁷ With hindsight, it is possible to ascribe this decision to the Social Work Council's flawed vision in which:

an appropriate social work education was equated with a preparation to work curatively and amelioratively with more privileged white people: the choice was certainly not predicated upon an awareness of the basic developmental needs facing the majority of South Africans and how social work and social work education should respond to these. (McKendrick, 1998: 103)

By the 1990s social work was widely viewed as 'colluding with the forces of apartheid' (McKendrick, 1998: 104). Most South Africans are reported to have seen it as 'an instrument of domination and control' (Mazibuko et al, 1992: 122), and social work education stood accused of 'training social workers to be the welfare arm of the state' (Bernstein 1991: 224).

VI. Social work during the interregnum: 1990–1994

A. The beginnings of change

Criticism by many in the welfare field of the welfare system and growing impatience with the slow pace of change increased from the mid-1980s.³⁸ Immediately before and after the unbanning of the African National Congress in February 1990, open debate arose regarding a post-apartheid welfare system (see, for example, Patel, 1989, and Drower, 1992). Patel summarised the criticisms of apartheid welfare voiced within progressive welfare circles in this period:

... the social welfare system is based on a First World model; it is curative, largely in urban areas, specialised and requires a highly trained staff. The services are incapable of meeting the needs of the vast majority and are oriented towards social control and influencing people to adapt to an unjust social system [and] methods of service delivery, fashioned on British and American models, are inappropriate to the political, economic and socio-cultural context of South Africa. (Patel, 1992, 46)

These criticisms reflect a very similar range of issues raised in developing or 'Third World' countries over the last decade or so (see, for example, Khinduka, 1971; MacPherson & Midgeley, 1987; Midgeley, 1981, 1984a and b, 1990b; Walton & Nasr, 1988), and collectively form a progressive discourse within welfare and development circles internationally. Implied in these criticisms (and made explicit in the above texts) is the positive project of creating a development-oriented welfare policy and system that is relevant and appropriate to the needs of developing countries.³⁹ The literature reviews in Chapters 3 and 4 identify the trend that emerged in local literature from the late 1980s to reflect some of these criticisms and perspectives.

This study is situated within this critical perspective, specific aspects of which are addressed in later chapters. While identifying with its broad thrust, I also seek to retain a reflexively critical attitude, and not be overly constrained by its assumptions and counter-constructions of welfare realities and priorities.

During this period of political and social flux there were at least three co-existing influences on social work. Firstly, while apartheid policy had been discredited, everyday social work remained unchanged. Secondly, a remarkable sense of openness and potential (comparable to the 'Prague Spring' of 1968) made it seem at moments that almost anything was possible. Of course, there was also anxiety amongst those who identified with the old order. Lastly, the progressive critique and alternative developmental vision was being heard, even if not accepted, by a mainstream audience of social workers and educators, often for the first time.

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Since then, what has become government welfare policy and practice must be evaluated in the light of those ethical and social policy goals and values espoused by the progressive perspective.⁴⁰ Social work was at the time, and continues to be (although in diminished form – see Gray & Wint, 1998), the major occupational category within welfare structures – the implementation of new policy and the reconstruction of the welfare system has therefore had a decisive influence on social work's role and professional identity.

B. Towards a development orientation

Confronting South African social work as a profession in this period was its own location within the emerging political and welfare culture. Precisely because professional social work was a project of the apartheid government, it carried a degree of stigma with it into the new dispensation. There has thus emerged a fairly strong challenge by other occupational groups within the social service and development sector to this historical and tainted dominance of social workers in welfare structures. This uncertain and precarious position is exacerbated by social work's relatively low status in society.⁴¹

South African social work has been placed in a paradoxical position: it is changing its cultural orientation towards the kind of empowering and developmental models of government welfare policy, at the same time, it risks losing the little professional power it achieved under apartheid. This is not a unique dilemma as Hartman points out in a postmodernist view of professional social work knowledge:

There is a painful paradox in being a professional and being committed to empowerment. A key part of the definition of a profession is the possession of knowledge and, in fact, the ownership of a specific area of knowledge. As professionals we are supposed to be experts, but the power in our expertise can disempower our clients and thus subvert the goals of our profession. (Hartman, 1992: 484)

Pinderhughes also alludes to the vulnerability of social work professionals in this regard.

And the more powerless we may *feel* in other areas of our lives ... the more vulnerable we may be to using our professional role to gain a sense of power. Thus instead of empowering the client to cope with his realities and change his victim status, our helping efforts may very well be geared to reinforcing this status. (quoted in Pinderhughes, 1988: 164)

In support of professional social work, Dominelli (1996) gave an account of current British social work undergoing a process of de-professionalisation, for reasons specific to the United Kingdom, that threatens to subvert its ideals and potential. Moreover, in line with the demise of socialist and/or

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social democratic ideals internationally, institutional social welfare and social work continue to be under attack worldwide (Midgley, 1996). During this transition period it has not been straightforward for local social workers to be committed to the sharing of power with other occupational groups, and to the empowering of clients and communities, particularly as many practitioners have themselves felt demoralised, powerless and potentially marginalised.

VII. Concluding comment

As McKendrick has put it, the early developments described above

cast the mould for South African social work and education: the focus of social work was to be upon white people and white needs, the main methodology was to be 'scientific' social casework, and social workers were to receive a university-level preparation for practice. (McKendrick, 1998, 100)

Despite moves to widen the reach of social work to other population groups, and towards other methodologies, this remained the dominant pattern to the end of the apartheid years. The next chapter continues the work of contextualising local social work theory and practice through a review of the key themes around race and culture that can be identified in the writing of South African social workers during this pre-democracy era.

Notes to Chapter 2

A number of accounts, from which I have drawn here, cover this ground more fully. They are Hare & McKendrick, 1976; Jhabhal, 1986; Lowe, 1988; Lund, 1991; McKendrick, 1980, 1987a & 1990; McKendrick & Dudas, 1987; Muller, 1965; Patel, 1987, 1991a, 1991b, & 1992; and Polgieter, 1973.

As referred to previously, the foregrounding of these aspects, as opposed to other social dimensions, such as economic, political and gendered power relations, runs the risk of providing either an incomplete or, at worst, a reductionist account of very complex realities. I have therefore tried to include some consideration of these other structural and discursive dimensions where possible.

The following brief outline of some of the major issues draws mainly from the work of Marks and Trapido (1987).

The distinct roots and traditions which significantly influenced these two nationalisms, and may partly help to explain their subsequent ideological emphases, are summarised by Marks and Trapido:

The exclusivism of Afrikaner Christian nationalism with its roots in late-nineteenth-century European nationalism has been confronted by a black nationalism which, despite strong Africanist underpinnings, has in general espoused the nineteenth-century liberal values of multiracialism. (Marks & Trapido, 1987: 1)

The use of the catch-all term of apartheid is a problematic one – as is implicit in this discussion the antecedents of this system predate the years of ‘official’ apartheid or separate development and overlap with colonial and imperialist history. Nevertheless, the term now commonly denotes the period of Nationalist Party rule in South Africa from 1948 to at least 1990.

The authors point out that the emergence of nationalism generally takes place in the context of ‘some complex combination of economic development, a distinctive social structure, a strong sense of cultural identity, the development of communications, improved literacy and the spread of new levels of socio-political organisation into previously isolated rural communities’ (Geoffrey Elsey, quoted in Marks and Trapido, 1987).

A phrase coined by Benedict Anderson in his book of that title (1983).

The conditions that produced white poverty (and so failed to guarantee white privilege for all), as well as the ideological context within which this phenomenon was viewed as a crisis and a threat to the whole white community, have been detailed elsewhere (see Le Roux, 1978a and b; Marks and Trapido, 1987).

The National Conference on the Poor White Problem, held in Kimberley in that year.

It is interesting to note here that Verwoerd’s conception of the social work role is much more that of the gatherer of specific ‘sociological’ data, which then is used by the state to adapt broader welfare policy, than that of the direct service provider (on either a case or group level). As we now know, the actual development of social work practice very quickly took on a direct service delivery nature, probably partly through ‘colonising’ the voluntary work already being done (at the same time as offering those women involved in such work material and status advancement through educational opportunities, employment and a professional career) and partly through the influence of American and British casework literature as taught in the Universities. Thus he is more in line with the social activist and advocacy tradition within social work rather than what is seen by many progressives as the narrower and more conservative casework tradition. His focus, on Whites and specifically Afrikaners, to the exclusion of all other South Africans, helps to make the point that macro-oriented approaches are not inherently more just or progressive than individualist ones – they operate at a different level and with different goals.

A 1941 report gives the example that the Children’s Act (1937), ‘which provided for children living in unsatisfactory or undesirable circumstances to be declared “children in need of care”’, was generally not implemented in the case of African children.’ (McKendrick, 1987: 13).

Marks and Trapido (1987), foregrounding the role of class formation and conflict in historical developments from a Marxist perspective, further quote van Onselen as having shown how militant demonstrations of angry, unemployed Afrikaners and the threat they posed led to concessions in the form of charity, relief work or White labour experiments from mine-owners, the municipality and the state.

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Just how enduring and disproportionate this influence throughout the apartheid era has been is documented in McKendrick's study in the late 1970s, in which he found social work services to be dominated by social casework, undertaken with White individuals and families.

Of the 1478 state welfare or service organisation agencies surveyed, 47 per cent served clients of only one race group and of these 93 per cent were for whites. The most markedly unracial agencies were Afrikaans women's organisations and other welfare agencies linked to the Dutch Reformed churches who provided services almost exclusively for whites (McKendrick, 1980: 80).

The new department sought to combine the existing disparate welfare activities of different departments as, in Prime Minister General Smuts's words, 'it was particularly desirable to have a single authority to deal with the 'maladjusted' (quoted in Helm, 1982: 19). It must be stressed, however, that services to persons other than Whites at that time were minimal, if they existed at all.

Here, and elsewhere, when these 'race' labels are capitalised I am referring to official South African population group categories as were set out in apartheid legislation. Otherwise lower case 'black' and 'white' labels are used to refer more conventionally to these broad groups based on colour – in South African terms then 'black' would include 'Black', 'Coloured' and 'Indian' (or 'Asian') population groups. Interestingly these unsatisfactory 'population group' labels, even in 1999, continue to be used both for official record-keeping purposes (in order to monitor progress made in, for example, equity action programmes) and in everyday, and some academic, discourse, due at least in part to the lack of suitable alternatives to describe broad 'racial' and social cleavages still apparent in South African society.

See Chapter 5 for details of these homelands.

The principal means by which this was effected was the 75 per cent subsidy of approved social work posts which had been established at the department's inception.

Joint Councils were inter-racial discussion societies designed to promote co-operation and racial harmony and were a product of American intervention in 1921 in direct response to the African militancy of 1917 and 1920 (Chisholm, 1990: 108).

From the 1986 Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa published by the government Department of Information.

The historical emergence in the late twenties and early thirties of the imperial policies of indirect rule and trusteeship and how they are linked to evolutionist concepts of black Africans as 'childlike' peoples is discussed by Dubow (1987). In 1929 Smuts, then Prime Minister and an international figure, sought to demonstrate how the South African policy of differentiation accorded with the trusteeship clauses of the League of Nation's Covenant (Smuts, 1930 quoted in Dubow, 1987).

The major proportion of the welfare budget allocation is that spent on pensions and grants of various types – it has been well documented (eg Lund, 1992) that not only have the amounts of these grants been significantly lower for the Black (and until recently the Coloured and Indian) groups but also eligibility criteria for, and actual provision of, certain pensions and grants been highly unequal in favour of White, and to lesser extent Coloured and Indian groups.

It should be noted here that, despite the undemocratic and authoritarian nature of the Nationalist Party government, this information on expenditures was in no way restricted and was freely available, in official government statistics, or reports thereon, to all social work educationists and practitioners.

In a personal communication to me in 1995 the Registrar for the then South African Council for Social Work informed me that population group statistics were no longer kept as this practice was regarded as a part of the apartheid era and no longer appropriate. This has been a fairly common reaction by government-linked institutions during the immediate post-apartheid period and while not necessarily done for these reasons, it has two unfortunate effects. First it promptly conceals the actual imbalances that exist between these historically and legally constituted groups and secondly it makes it very difficult to monitor progress made to redress these imbalances.

Of note is that this was down from the total of 8 441 in 1993 (South African Council for Social Work). This is the first time since the Council was created that registrations have fallen.

As Abbott and Wallace (1990) point out, this dual characteristic of social work (as of nursing and other 'caring' professions) is common in European and North American countries where, having their origin in nineteenth-

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century philanthropy, they expanded with the advent of state welfare systems into 'professional' or 'semi-professional' occupations.

As McKendrick writes:

Despite the profoundly political nature of the welfare system, the South African government has gone to extreme lengths to conceptually separate 'welfare' from 'politics', and to depict the former in apolitical, charitable terms. (McKendrick, 1990: 11)

As Davies, a British social work academic, has argued:

Social work – undoubtedly depends for its existence on its acceptability to the political regime within which it is practised. It demands of the majority of its practitioners that they are prepared to tolerate, with a greater or lesser degree of enthusiasm, the political complexion of the state which employs them. (Davies, 1981: 10)

Social workers were first accorded professional status in 1955 (Auret, 1970) and in 1978 the Social and Associated Workers Act, No. 110, established a full professional Council. This process, and the strategies that South African social workers used in successfully achieving such professional recognition, is a study in itself and one which is still incomplete (see Auret, 1970 for an account of some developments up to that time).

This discussion is based on discussions with colleagues both in social work education and in the field and as such only constitutes anecdotal evidence. Rather than make too much of the precise truth or reality of the analysis sketched here, it is meant to act as a reminder of those dynamic forces, other than race or culture, that are likely at play.

A number of variously detailed and overlapping overviews of the development of social work education at different stages are available (see Helm, 1964; Lowe, 1988; Marks, 1989; McKendrick, 1987c, 1990b and 1998; Muller, 1965, 1968 and 1972). I have here drawn mainly on Muller and McKendrick's accounts to provide a brief overview of the main themes and trends up to the early 1990s.

These were the Universities of Cape Town, Stellenbosch and the Transvaalse Universiteits Kollege (later the University of Pretoria) respectively.

These universities (Cape Town, Witwatersrand, Natal and Rhodes) maintained a formally open policy on staff and student recruitment, but few blacks had the requisite educational qualifications to gain entrance or sufficient funds to pay the fees. It could also be said that black admissions were not exactly encouraged and for these reasons a large black contingent did not develop in these universities (World University Service, 1986).

As McKendrick (1987) notes, later studies showed that neither of these 'promises' were kept. Educational standards and resources were clearly never equal and little attention was actually given to black cultures and values (the latter being hardly surprising as, for many years, the academic staff were mainly white and Afrikaans-speaking).

Apart from the segregationist intentions of the misnamed Extension of University Education Act, the other reasons given by the government for the closure of the Hofmeyr School were clearly in line with apartheid thinking: (1) the undesirability of admitting 'alien' black students from other African countries; (2) the claim that the educational level in these colleges was unnecessarily high; and (3) that the school was attracting students who should be entering the teaching profession (Lowe, 1988:27).

Of course such findings do not imply that social work education itself should take sole responsibility for this situation. Training courses are heavily dependent on welfare agencies for the practice element of training and, as previously noted, government policy largely determined and controlled the nature of social work practice in these settings. In addition, while it is relatively easy to teach the theory of community development, for example, very few social work educators would have had any direct experience of these methods given that they are themselves largely products of the same casework-dominated system.

Three other major issues affecting social work education were identified by McKendrick (1998): (1) the extension of the period of basic professional education from 3 to 4 years – order to fall into line with official policy on other professional training and so enhance social work's status; (2) the consequential insistence on a single four-year undergraduate training, so making postgraduate specialist training more remote; and (3) the professional registration and regulation of social work students from their second year of training.

Here I have followed Bunting (1993) and others in using the terms 'Historically Black' and 'Historically White' to refer to those institutions which were designated by the Extension of University Education Act for the primary

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in sole use of Black, Coloured, Indian and White population groups respectively. More recently the term 'Historically Disadvantaged' has been introduced to replace the former term.

³⁸ This period saw the formation of a broad anti-apartheid movement, the United Democratic Front in 1983, a state of emergency in 1985, and the advent of a period of official government 'reform'.

³⁹ See Patel, 1992, Chapter 7 for proposals specific to South Africa.

⁴⁰ See Nell, 1994, for a discussion along similar lines.

⁴¹ I do not mean to ignore the considerable power that social workers exercise, particularly in statutory work, over the lives of others, most particularly the poor and dependent, who become subject to certain legal and remedial services (see Hasenfeld, 1987; Pinderhughes, 1988 and Dominelli, 1988). This is principally, though not exclusively, dependant on welfare law and policy usually set by government rather than the profession itself. The point being made here is about the power and influence of social work as a profession in relation to other professions.

Chapter 3

Issues of race and culture in South African social work literature in the pre-democracy era

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Chapter 3

Issues of race and culture in South African social work literature in the pre-democracy era

I. Introduction

A. Purpose of review

The purpose of this review of relevant local social work literature produced in the pre-democracy era is twofold. Firstly it provides a discursive context within which to situate the attitudinal and practice surveys which form the main part of the present study. As these surveys took place from 1992 to 1994, that is during the period of political transition described in Chapter I, the focus here is on literature published up to and including 1994. The review is thus intended to help ground this empirical data within local social work discourse. I do not claim that this writing reflects the views of the majority of social work educators who were the main respondents in the surveys. However, as much of this writing has been produced by precisely this category of local social work professionals, it is not unreasonable to assume a fair degree of acquaintance with it. Secondly, the review is also a part of the empirical data of the study itself. A primary objective here is to identify and draw out key themes that illustrate how local social work writing constructs and reproduces cultural and racial issues and to indicate the likely implications for South African social work theory and practice.

I have tried to strike a balance between being reasonably comprehensive in my coverage as well as ensuring that representative texts are covered in sufficient detail to serve an illustrative purpose. Nevertheless this review is not intended to be exhaustive but rather to help provide the broad parameters within which the ongoing development of social work thinking and practice around issues of race and culture has taken place in South Africa.

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B. Scope of review

The area of focus for this review includes all local South African social work literature¹ that attempts to relate aspects of culture, 'race', ethnicity or 'population group' to social work theory, practice and education in the South African context. This includes material that pays attention to how apartheid policy and practice impacted upon social work practice and theory. Although it could be argued that all social work writing during this period inevitably was located within an apartheid context and is therefore in some way bound up with issues of race and discrimination, I have focused primarily on that writing that explicitly address racial and cultural issues. It is worth noting here though that much social work writing of the period is as revealing for what it does not say as much as for what it does. Such an analysis, however, needs to be the subject of a wider and more thoroughgoing study than is attempted here

So that I had both a manageable amount of material to review and at the same time there was an adequate sense of recent historical perspective, the time period for most of this writing has been from 1980 up to 1994. I have however included a very brief section on writing prior to 1980 in order to provide as long-term an historical view as possible.

It was apparent that the writing reviewed here fell mainly into one of four broad areas. Firstly, social work writing prior to 1980 that tends to be dominated by the shadow of apartheid welfare policy and thinking. Secondly, later writing that focuses specifically on social work practice with black African² clients and/or communities. Thirdly, literature that, at least to some extent, critically addresses apartheid welfare policy and/or social work practice. And, fourthly, writing that focuses on the transformation of welfare policy, social work practice and/or education in the post-apartheid era.

II. Living with apartheid welfare

Although the emphasis here is on social work writing after 1980, it is informative to briefly sketch an overview of the themes that predominated in the 15 years or so prior to that date. Nineteen sixty-five was a landmark date for professional social work in South Africa as it was in that year that it gained its first professional and academically accredited journal³. Given the strong control and influence that White Afrikaner social workers and government officials have had over the social work profession and its services, this journal played a central role in

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both constructing and reflecting the dominant ethos within social work at the time and well into the 1980s.

As discussed in Chapter 2, this period was also one during which the policy of apartheid/separate development was consolidated within the field of welfare. The social work literature that deals explicitly with race and culture during these years was predominantly concerned with surveying, describing and, to a lesser extent, evaluating welfare services that were specific to one of the black official population groups of the time (i.e. Coloured, Indian or Black). A few group-specific pieces focused on cultural and/or religious issues that, while perhaps intended to inform, also reinforced a perception of these black cultural groups as exotic and 'different'. In almost all local social work writing it was assumed that, unless otherwise specified, the subject had to do with 'mainstream' social work theory or practice. And in the South African context of the time, 'mainstream' implicitly meant social work by and with White persons.

A. 'Black' welfare

It is striking that local social work writing and research showed very little interest in the needs of Black South Africans during this period. The few articles or studies written that specifically addressed this population group were mostly by educators teaching in the 'homeland' universities created for Blacks only (for example, Bopape, 1967, 1968 & 1975; Kirby, 1967, Maqashalala, 1974; Michau, 1969; Warnich, 1968). Bopape (1967 & 1968), Kirby (1967) and Warnich (1968) wrote mainly of their views and experiences as educators regarding the particular needs of Black social work students in training. Michau (1969) conducted a national investigation into the role and status of the 'Bantu' social worker and identified a number of shortcomings in training, agency practice and resources. Bopape (1975) studied the application of community work within the Northern Sotho while Maqashalala (1974) developed principles for use when applying a community development approach in local Black communities, explicitly raising the necessity of taking cultural and other social characteristics of Black South Africans into account in this process.

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B. 'Coloured' welfare

The population group that received the most attention in social work writing during this period was the Coloured group, particularly those communities resident in the Western Cape⁴ (Cloete, 1978; Fitzgerald, 1977; Francisco-la Grange, 1977a & 1977b; Heydorn, 1966 & 1967; Lategan, 1977; Volsteedt, 1967). Heydorn's (1967) survey of welfare services for the Coloured population group in the Western Cape work illustrates some of the social and political preoccupations of the welfare mainstream at the time in both its subject matter and ideological slant. A central goal of the study was to clarify 'why the work done by Coloureds was less effective and what form of advice must be given them' (Heydorn, 1967: 201). Most of the findings of the survey relate to the inadequate distribution and level of resources, management capacity and services co-ordination of those organisations serving Coloured persons.

Heydorn found that of the small minority of these welfare organisations that were run completely by Coloureds most were ineffective for reasons primarily related to lack of resources and poor administration. She both felt that these committee members were 'unsure of themselves' and lacked a means of receiving 'proper guidance'. Here the assumption that group-specific welfare services should be the preferred norm co-exists with a paternalistic approach to the 'upliftment' of the Coloured population group and that overall stewardship and 'guidance' by (White-dominated) co-ordinating bodies is necessary.

Taking what may be regarded as an early form of a local multicultural perspective, Midgely (1969) discussed the Islamic welfare concept of *Zakaat* (poor tax) and its place in Islamic religious teachings. The problems for a relatively low income community⁵, with few wealthier members, relying on a system of charity or welfare that depends on the transfer of surplus wealth from rich to poor are noted and given as one reason why 'there has arisen a desire amongst Muslims to do welfare work that is still Islamic in orientation but modelled on Western concepts' (Midgely, 1969: 29). Midgely surveyed a sample of non-registered Muslim welfare organisations operating in the Western Cape finding that while these organisations were Islamic in character more 'modern approaches' to welfare were being used. Both the community and culture-specific advantages of this synthesis and the concordance with contemporary South African 'own affairs' welfare policy was pointed out (Midgely, 1969). This article illustrates how apparently 'progressive'⁶ conceptions of respect for cultural

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diversity appear, on one level, to positively accord with apartheid welfare policy. It is not difficult to see how such writing, whether intentionally or not, tend to reinforce notions that underpin such segregationist group-based welfare policy through the contrast between 'modern' and 'traditional' conceptions of welfare that are specific to 'Western' and Islamic cultural communities respectively.

The government appointed Commission of Inquiry into Matters relating to the Coloured Population⁷ published its report and findings in 1976 and this was the subject of much interest from the social work profession particularly in the Western Cape. Francisco-la Grange (1977a & 1977b) reported on some of the major findings from this report which provided a descriptive analysis of demographic and social statistics and the social problems of what was called the 'bottom group' of Coloureds. Francisco-la Grange implies that the intention of the Theron Commission was to draw attention to the social and systemic causes that lay behind these problems⁸. In addition to arguing for the much-needed social service resources needed to address such problems, the Commission also concluded that:

the economic and political system will have to be made more responsive to the individual and collective needs of the Coloureds [and]... [t]he relative bargaining power of the Coloureds will have to be improved and institutionalised. (Francisco-la Grange, 1977b: 122)

Although relatively progressive for a government sponsored Commission at the time, such conclusions continued to treat Coloured persons as belonging to a separate and distinct community and also carefully avoided reference to the question of full political and economic equality and rights.

A number of studies evaluated various aspects of local Coloured communities. Cloete (1978) surveyed the social problems and welfare services of the Coloured population living in the South Western districts of the Cape Province. In a study of attitudes towards family planning amongst the Coloured population, de Wet (1969) found that, for example, in contrast to the 'popular' viewpoint that this community desired large families, most respondents preferred families of four or less children. Potgieter (1966) studied thirty Coloured families in the Paarl and Wellington areas to determine the nature and extent of the 'Coloured problem family'⁹ and identified ways that social work services could successfully work with such families. And, in

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order to illustrate the community development process, Fitzgerald (1977) applied the approach to two Coloured communities in the Johannesburg area with a significant degree of success.

In some contrast to mostly 'concerned White' and paternalistic gaze evident in the above writing, Lategan⁹ (1977), in a brief synopsis of a conference of 'Coloured welfare leaders' in Cape Town, made a plea in the local social work journal that there was an urgent need for 'the voice of the Coloured' to be heard as to their welfare needs. She included a proposal for a single state department of welfare for all South Africans and a greater emphasis on community rather than individual-focused social work practice.

C. 'Indian' welfare

A small number of articles dealt specifically with social work service delivery to Indian clients or communities. Set within a typically 'population growth and control' view of South African demographics that displays a degree of anxiety that the Indian population was projected to rival the size of the White population group by the year 2000, Jooste (1968) used detailed statistics to profile the cultural make-up, geographic spread and socio-economic aspects of local Indian communities. He also described the religious and linguistic subdivisions within the Indian population claiming that there is a strong tendency for such communities to remain culturally homogeneous.

In almost publicity brochure format, Millar (1969) described the formation, purpose and range of welfare services for Indian persons in South Africa. Included is a justification for the policy of employing only Indian social workers in the department of Indian Affairs - 'effective welfare services are largely dependent on matching them with the culture, language and religious practices of the community they must serve' (Millar, 1969: 14). The premium put on 'insider' cultural knowledge is evident in the description of the work of probation officers:

The first-hand knowledge of an expert, born to Indian ways, is of the greatest help to the judicial authorities in making a wise decision, whether it be in the interest of an adult or a child. (Millar, 1969: 15).

Drawing from three articles in the *Indian Journal of Social Work* concerned with the mutual influence and impact of Hindu philosophy and social work in India, Roehrer (1967) focused around the duality between a Western focus on 'the individual', and the contrasting

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Eastern/Indian focus on 'the group'. However he also argued that some form of social work is practised in all societies and that it is a misconception to assume that social work is a Western invention. Rocher concluded that while the general principles of social work are 'universally applicable', specific social work techniques must be adjusted 'to suit the needs of the different cultural groups and their lifestyles' (Rocher, 1967: 200). While he makes no explicit link to South African social work Rocher¹⁰ frequently refers to 'die Indier' - an apparent acontextual reference to Indian persons whether resident in the subcontinent or in South Africa.

In a case study of cross-cultural social work practice with Indian families Gower (1978) examined the application of a family therapy approach and techniques to work with two such families. He found that this approach, together with relevant cultural knowledge, enabled the therapist to successfully enter the 'cultural frame' and so intervene while respecting the norms of these fairly traditional Indian families. Ramphal (1979) sought to determine whether the findings relating to the families of problem children in Western cultures apply equally to the South African Indian situation. She took the view that South African Indian communities were in a transitional stage as they are neither wholly Western nor Eastern but that, in line with the latter, Indian families are relatively authoritarian in structure with an influential extended family. The main findings identified factors typical to 'problem families' elsewhere - poverty, cramped housing, conflict, poor relationships, insecure relationships etc. - with the only 'cultural' finding being that there were a higher proportion of 'mixed' marriages (mainly Hindu/Christian) amongst parents of problem children.

D. 'White' welfare

As indicated above, virtually all local social work writing during this period implicitly referred to mainstream, and therefore 'White', social work. Of course much writing dealt with general social work issues and/or methods and may well have assumed a 'colourblind' or 'universal' applicability or relevance rather than a conscious 'White' or 'Western' perspective. Explicit references to the White population group were therefore very exceptional and the only two such articles I was able to identify from this period both referred to the 'poor White' problem of the 1930's (Le Roux, 1978a & 1978b; Malherbe, 1973) that was such a key issue in the history of South African welfare.

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In a part autobiographical and part historical account of the genesis of the Carnegie Commission of 1932 and its aftermath, Malherbe (1973) describes how 'poor Whites' in South Africa came to be the subject of North American altruistic concern. He also notes how the concern for White poverty, as distinct from poverty in black communities, was 'tinged with the fear that in open competition the lower 10% of whites [would] become subordinate to, say, the upper 10% of blacks' (Malherbe, 1973: 82). After recounting how the recommendations of the Commission led to the establishment of a Department of Social Welfare 1937, Malherbe identified the contemporary (in 1973) poverty amongst blacks as a problem of far greater magnitude and complexity than that affecting Whites. He records sombrely that in the solution to the latter there were no bars to development, as industry and commerce collaborated with the state to provide poor Whites with 'the unfettered development of talent'. In two later articles le Roux (1978a & b) provided a detailed re-evaluation of the 'the poor White problem' from an economist's perspective.

III. The black African client/community: 'othering' versus advocacy

The focus in this section is on writing that specifically concerns social work intervention with black African persons or communities. As referred to earlier, the black African population group, apart from one or two exceptions, had almost been totally ignored in local social work writing and research. While it is possible that some mainstream local literature addressed topics that were generically applicable to all persons and/or communities, most such writing assumed a 'Western' and therefore White, or at least middle class, social work clientele¹¹. During the 1980's, it became evident that the apartheid system could no longer continue in its 'pure' form and the government, under pressure from anti-apartheid groups both internally and externally, began to introduce political reforms. Social work writing began to show an increased interest in the previously almost 'invisible' black African client/community which became the subject of some theorising and a number of studies.

This interest took two main forms. On the one hand were those attempts, mostly by White social work authors, to bridge what many clearly felt was a wide cultural, if not racial, divide. Much of this writing tended to therefore attempted to understand the black African as an 'other' with very different and exotic cultural/ethnic characteristics. On the other hand there was that writing, by mainly black African authors, which sought to assert the voice and needs

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of Black social work clients/communities and therefore play an advocacy role in setting the wider anti-apartheid or 'alternative' welfare agenda. There are different possible ways to categorise the writing here but the following headings attempt to identify common areas of focus that are apparent in the local social work literature

A. 'Traditional' support systems and modernisation

The focus here is on writing concerned specifically with the utility and value of community support and mutual aid systems in Black communities. As highlighted by Nzimande (1985) it was part the official government view underpinning apartheid social welfare policy that:

Among the Black nations ... the traditional social system and family structure are such that a considerable amount of what is usually regarded as public welfare assistance is carried out on a customary basis by relatives and associates in the wider sense to the same extended family, clan or tribe. For this reason it has been found necessary ... to differentiate between these groups and others as regards the nature and scope of assistance provided (Official Yearbook, Republic of South Africa, 1974: 704)

The extremely limited 'nature and scope' of welfare services to Black communities was outlined in the previous chapter. Nzimande further points out that this perspective was based on ethnographic studies which presented black African family life and social systems, particularly in rural areas, as 'traditional', static, and encapsulated entities in which life went on much as it had in times long past

Winterbach (1983) reviewed a number of these ethnographic studies, claiming that certain aspects of the traditional social care of Blacks differ 'drastically' from that of whites due mainly to 'the corporate orientation and the emphasis on group interest of [B]lacks' and asserted that most White social workers are ignorant of traditional African views and behaviour and approach the provision of developmental aid to these communities from a Western cultural point of view 'which is alien to [B]lacks' - the result being less effective aid. While ostensibly an argument for a 'culture-sensitive' approach to social work intervention, the wider political and social context within which government 'development aid' was taking place at the time is ignored. The lack of knowledge of African culture, starkly contrasted with white Western norms, is here made to carry the full weight of explanation for 'ineffective' aid

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while pervasive state-sponsored political and economic oppression, and the lack of social work services in black African communities, is not acknowledged.

This tendency to employ reductionist, 'culturalist' explanations for the inadequacies of social work services is also, to a lesser extent, evident in another study (Mbatha, 1984) which explored 'alienation' as a significant problem facing African elderly widows living in urban areas. The widows complained of such role and status changes as decreasing respect and recognition within their families and the rejection by the youth of traditional culture (which they blamed on factors the author described as 'modernity') and in reaction they withdrew from social activities and interaction within the community. Mbatha attributes this alienation mainly to "changing African culture caused by urbanisation and the adoption of Western customs" (Mbatha, 1984: 131). Except for brief references to 'uprooting' and urbanisation, there is no discussion of the political and economic policies that radically re-structured the lives of black African communities in apartheid South Africa.

A number of writers focused on the existence of, and changes to, the social support and family kinship systems in black African communities (Maqashalala, 1987; Molefe, 1991; Nzimande, 1985; Tshabalala, 1986) and the consequent implications for social work intervention. Tshabalala (1986) described the mutual aid systems among the Nguni and argued that, while urbanisation and industrialisation have impacted on these systems, they have not disintegrated but rather "African people have developed new support systems like burial societies¹², child care arrangements, food co-operatives, church clubs and several other informal networks to survive the inequalities of the economic political system of the country" (Tshabalala, 1986: 75). Similarly Molefe (1991) asserted that even though bonds of tribalism among Blacks have weakened due to contact between Whites and Blacks, economic developments and increasing urbanisation, various modified forms of co-operation (such as stokvels¹³ and burial societies) have been carried over into urban environments.

Nzimande (1985) provided empirical evidence of some of these changes in a study that focused on rural Zulu family's functioning as a social support system for its needy members. The findings indicated that people no longer relied solely on the traditional social structures for the 'necessities of life' but also participated in formal structures such as welfare services. The study also found that 'individualistic behaviour had gradually crept in', heavily influencing

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the group-orientated behaviour of the traditional Zulu social structure. The three main factors of the 'modernisation process' contributing to this change were seen as the Christian religion, formal schooling and the monetary economy. Nzimande sought to challenge the state's justification for its welfare policy at the time - that modern services to rural Africans were unnecessary because of their traditional support systems. To this end Nzimande quotes the 1982 Buthuzezi Commission Report which found that family ties were often disrupted by migrant labour and other economic forces with the result that 'the [Zulu] family cannot meet most welfare needs' (Nzimande, 1985: 9).

The easy assumption that in African societies the extended family is able to provide adequately for the needy was also challenged by Maqashalala (1987) in his study of the support systems available to widows in rural Transkei. His main finding was that of extreme poverty of the widows and their dependence on informal and, to a lesser extent, formal support systems for both material and emotional needs. He commented that

It is sometimes overlooked that dynamic fluid forces brought about by the industrial revolution, urbanisation and modernisation have not left the mind and the spirit of the African untouched... [and that]... the systematic and evolutionary breakdown of the extended system has affected consanguinal ties. (Maqashalala, 1987: 109)

Overall Maqashalala argued that both formal and informal systems are inadequate and that the state must provide urgent assistance.

A number of these authors point to the need for culturally appropriate professional social work intervention. Tshabalala (1986) urged human service professionals and social policy legislators to consider the reality of strong and valued kinship ties when planning and delivering mental health services so that 'with a fuller understanding of how African families cope, mental health practitioners will be better able to help different client systems in the idiom of their culture' (Tshabalala, 1986: 79). Maqashalala (1987) insisted that professionals should work through existing informal support systems as Western models of service delivery needed to be modified alongside established informal systems. Molefe (1991) took the view that resources such as stokvels and burial societies need to be fully explored by social workers in order that they are effective in improving the quality of life in black African communities. He made the important observation that there was limited contact between professionals and burial societies as most members of the latter feared being dominated by the former should they liaise closely

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and that it was therefore important that professionals did not impose themselves upon these community support networks.

Maqashalala¹⁴ (1987) went further and noted that African social work students in universities have to compromise their cultural and values in order to survive. This, he explains, is because most whites have middle-class Western values far distant from the reality of the Black social worker and client. He argued that both a 'Black experience' course and the teaching of an African language should be offered to all social work students in universities so that:

such a product shall be in a position to appreciate the perspective, philosophy of life of each client ... [and] ... be in a position to work through non-professionals ... [so ensuring] ... that informal systems would be preserved and strengthened. (Maqashalala, 1987: 14).

Empirical evidence of the extent of the global trend for urbanisation to weaken the kinship system which traditionally provided security in old age in rural societies was provided in Møller's (1988) study. Although in South Africa 'filial responsibility' for the care of the aged has been the norm for the majority of the population, Møller's survey of residents of KwaMashu township found general support in the community for expert care of the black elderly in an institutional setting. This is line with other studies (Chinkanda, 1987; Møller & Schlemmer, 1983; Viljoen, 1987) that have found increasing acceptance support for institutional care in Black communities. It was also clear that increasing age, frailty and disability, together with the non-availability of care-givers, were major push factors forcing elderly to leave home.

Møller predicted that it was likely that black South Africans would be reluctant to forego newly acquired access to institutional care for their aged once the concept has gained currency in urban black society and that special efforts might have to be made to promote alternative community-based options for elderly care¹⁵. The stark reality of the lack of social support available to black African elderly persons in both residential care and in the community in rural Transkei was brought home in a detailed study by Brown et al (1997). They found that the quality of life of these groups was negatively affected by the migration of children to urban areas as well as by the high mortality rate of the region. Social isolation was severe for the residential group but also a serious problem for a quarter of the community group.

B. The changing family: tradition, urbanisation and Westernisation

The writing in this section explicitly addresses itself to understanding and/or working with the black African family. The overriding theme common to most authors is that of degrees of influence of socio-economic and Western cultural values and practices upon the traditional structures and functions of the African family. The emphases given to the various aspects of this change, and how such change is conceived, are however clearly related to different concerns some of which may have more to do with the authors' own socio-cultural and/or ideological positioning than the African family itself.

Drawing upon sociological and anthropological sources Malorah (1987) identified the traditional characteristics of the African family and traces some of the major social, economic and political influences that have impacted on this traditional pattern. These include political and economic exploitation brought about by migratory and forced labour, racial segregation and alienation of land, and religious 'indoctrination' following on from colonial rule and European contact. She views the weakening of the role of the male/husband in the family and the decline of the extended family and the consequent lack of availability and support as the major sequelae. Referring to the increased interest in the utilisation of such networks in Western countries, Malorah then argues that informal networks in the African community should take over some of the major functions previously performed by the extended family as these needs cannot be met by individual level treatment techniques and services provided by helping professionals.

Thekiso (1990a) takes a more ambivalent but somewhat pessimistic view of the changing African family as in a state of decline - 'parental authority is breaking down and people are no longer observing those customs that made the family vigorous and strong' (Thekiso, 1999a: 6). She identifies this loss and disorganisation as primarily due to a process of 'modernisation' that includes the emancipation of women, indiscriminate acquisition of Western culture, the migrant labour system, and the corruption of the practice of *lobola*¹⁶. Overall a fairly static and conservative view of culture and identity is taken as illustrated by Thekiso's concern that people should know 'who they are':

People who lose their identity will float between a number of cultures and be normless. (Thekiso, 1990a: 6)

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At the same time the author identifies problem areas within the Black family that are more usually associated with the functioning of Western and/or middle class families. These concern relationship aspects such as the lack of discussion and sharing between partners (the 'non-communicative couple') and the 'empty shell' family in which only instrumental rather than emotional obligations are fulfilled.

Bester (1994) also focuses on change in the African family but evidences very different concerns. Firstly, he sees the primary forces of change as urbanisation and Westernisation with only passing reference to other central socio-political factors. The 'political conquest of South Africa by the Europeans' and 'administration and legislation by the white government such as influx control' are mentioned as factors but without any detail and there is no reference to apartheid policies. Secondly, the article uses polarised constructs such as the 'dualistic economy' - one 'modern and advanced' and largely White, and one 'self-supporting and primitive' and Black. He also contrasts the 'pure African lifestyle and traditions of the past' with the modern Western family implying that the process of modernisation presents major problems for African families. Thirdly, considerable concern is expressed around the consequences of these changes as leading to a lack of parental authority over children in African families and a general lack of social control. This is linked to the notion of the 'lost generation' and Bester's view that such youth are vulnerable to becoming 'the victim of revolutionaries and radical political elements'. The ideological direction of this argument reaches a climax with his claim that such politicised youth:

behave quite irrationally and aggressively and, being easily intimidated by radical political groups, this group could seriously threaten the rational attempts by black and white leaders to effect changes through negotiations. (Bester, 1994: 105).

The counterposing of 'irrational' (Black) youth as against 'rational' and responsible (older Black and White) leaders is another polarity used in an oversimplified and reified analysis¹⁷. Bester advocates the use of community development programmes to provide leisure and sport facilities to keep the youth constructively busy and 'to motivate them to be a part of a new orderly democracy in South Africa' (Bester, 1994: 105).

Changing patterns of marriage and marital relations within the African family also received more detailed attention in this literature. In a brief reflection on African marriage and the

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issues of polygamy, childlessness and gender equality in particular, Bottomon (1984) identified both positive functions and tensions around the practise of polygamy. She argues that a proper understanding of polygamy, and especially how it provides protection against childlessness, is needed by those counselling partners in Black marriages. Taking a conservative and culturalist view of marital power relations, Bottomon also argues that although there is more equality in black marriages than is apparent, as women typically have control over the men in the domestic arena, equality is 'a foreign concept with Blacks' and she warns social workers that:

the woman and man have their respective positions well defined by tradition, moral codes and customs... it is as it should be, and if you do not disturb it, it runs smoothly without a hitch. (Bottomon, 1984: 3).

Sithole (1991) takes a more liberal line and shows a clearer preference for the 'modernising' of marital relationships in terms of enhanced personal intimacy, communication, individual satisfaction and choice. In a small-scale study of the prevailing marital structure amongst urban black Africans, she found that the normative structure amongst the sample had changed significantly from a 'traditional' to a 'modern' orientation and that this trend appeared to be promotive of increased marital satisfaction. However due to socio-economic status differences between the 'satisfactory' and 'unsatisfactory' marriage groups, it was not clear whether socio-economic status itself was sufficient to explain increased marital satisfaction. Sithole also referred to those socio-political factors identified by de Haas (1989, see below) and others and made recommendations for appropriate counselling, social action and community development.

de Haas's (1984) study investigated a wide range of factors in order to discover patterns of continuity and change in Black marriage and divorce in Natal. A key finding was the widespread disillusionment about marriage that African women expressed and in a later article de Haas (1989) sought to expand on the possible reasons for this. Outlining the main differences between 'traditional' and 'modern' marriages, de Haas drew on international research to show that the popular image of the modern marriage is in many respects a middle class rather than universal reality in Western countries. In terms of local black African marriages, she found the impact of the migrant labour system as the single most important structural variable. At the family level, de Haas found the most pervasive cause of black marital instability to be the 'irresponsible husband syndrome' (non-payment of maintenance,

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excessive drinking, assaults on wives and infidelity) which is understood within the broader social context, the most important aspects of which were: the 'negative identity' of Blacks in South African society which involves a striving for white so-called 'civilised' standards¹⁸; the lack of personal autonomy; the entrenchment of an unequal 'differentness' for blacks in the social structure; and actual living conditions in black rural areas and peri-urban housing.

De Haas sees the violence towards the women in these men's lives, as related to cultural and structural factors such as the powerlessness of Black men in society and changing gender power relations and she highlights the competition that men face from women in terms of status aspirations as well as the inability of many men, socialised in a patriarchal mould, to legitimate their authority within the family through their earnings and work status. She argues that while discrimination has affected all Black people,

the effects on men are probably experienced more keenly because of the dominant social and political status they customarily enjoyed, and the 'status inconsistency' which is a consequence of blocked achievement goals. (de Haas, 1989: 9)

She concluded that the continuance of the apartheid policies then in force was a major stumbling block in the normalisation of black interpersonal relationships.

In a study that explored attitudes towards marriage and relationship issues with groups of black African students, the authors claimed to have found that '[B]lack young people have not yet integrated the traditional, the modern and the Christian value system with each other' and that this situation 'brings confusion' (du Preez & van Niekerk, 1988: 154). The assumptions made explicit by the authors in this report are revealing of the rigid and polarised way they interpret, or distort their data¹⁹. Using reified and reductionist abstractions they assert, for example, that:

Social work is based on a tradition of scientific thinking with a distinctive pattern. The [B]lack community does not have this historical tradition of scientific thought and traditionally has other structures of thinking and value systems. (du Preez & van Niekerk, 1988: 154).

The authors argue that although the Black community is in a process of 'Westernization' and acculturation some of the 'traditional thought patterns' ('denkpatrone') are still functioning. An unstated assumption in this report is that these issues are specific to Black youth and that

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non-Black African South African youth are somehow exempt from similar value conflicts and 'acculturation' issues²⁰

The theme of social and cultural change in the Black family is continued in a study that explored experiences of legal adoption of non-related children in the Zulu community (Pakati, 1984). The study was motivated by the researcher's perception that adoption is 'a foreign concept to African custom and tradition' and found that the majority of adoptive parents kept the adoption a secret because of the fear of negative attitudes in the community towards childlessness and that a child with no blood ties to the family would not be socially acceptable. Pakati concludes that this situation is the primary reason that legal adoption is not widely practised in black African communities and that there is a need for community education to change attitudes towards acceptance of adoption given its potential to help meet the needs of increasing numbers of abandoned children.

In her study of the perceptions of cerebral palsy in their children by black African parents in Natal, Mazibuko (1989) also advocated the 'modernising' of attitudes through education - in this case around the scientific understanding of the condition. She found that many parents regarded cerebral palsy as a form of mental retardation which was incurable and associated variously with witchcraft, family tensions during pregnancy, negative attitudes of in-laws and diseases during pregnancy. Although parents tended to seek treatment from both medical doctors and traditional healers Mazibuko found evidence that appropriate medical treatment was often delayed because of a lack of (biophysical) knowledge about the condition. Group counselling of parents around cerebral palsy was found to assist parents to 'perceive the condition differently i.e. in a medical sense'

Two further studies, of attitudes towards family planning in Black families and communities, continued the community education theme. Madikizela (1989) investigated the attitudes adult Black males in Umtata towards the use of contraceptives as a means of preventing pregnancy as well as the effect of education, urbanisation and age on such fertility control. She reported that only a minority of respondents were using modern contraceptives and that they were either suspicious of these methods or opposed to them with many men preferring natural (withdrawal and rhythm) methods. These negative attitudes towards family planning were often expressed in terms of being 'unnatural' and as against God's will and Madikizela concluded

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that education was needed to counter apparent ignorance and misinformation about the effects of chemical contraceptives.

Drawing on her earlier study of attitudes towards family planning in the Tuang area of Botswana Thekiso (1989 & 1990b), reviewed social and cultural factors associated with programmes in traditional rural (African) communities aimed at reducing the birth rate through fertility control. She also identified a generally unfavourable attitude to family planning due mainly to the challenges to various cultural values and behavioural norms represented by modern contraceptive methods but that respondents showed a mix of both 'traditional' and 'modern' attitudes correlated with educational levels. The study found that a high rate of employment and financial dependence on male partners was associated with a desire to have large numbers of children who were regarded as an asset. Thekiso takes a comprehensive view of the complexity of the interaction between usage of family planning methods, the process of modernisation and changing socio-economic levels. Along with most social work research into intervention with Black communities (see section below), she recommends a community development approach to effect positive socio-economic and behavioural change.

C. Mental illness and treatment in the community

A number of social work authors writing in the area of mental health have found it necessary to deal with the parallel existence of both traditional African healing systems operative in Black communities and the 'Western' biomedical psychiatric services. The seven pieces identified here fall into two main categories - the (usually White) outsider's view and appreciation of what appear to be exotic cultural experiences and practices relating to the mental health of African persons, and, the more ambivalent and/or 'bicultural' view of (Black) professionals regarding the interface between traditional African beliefs and cultural practices around mental health and 'Western' psychiatric models and services

Olivier (1984) gave a brief account of a 'transcultural social work' approach to psychiatric work using three case examples of Black patients to illustrate, clearly for the benefit of a non-African social work audience, the need for an understanding of African cultural practices as part of the social history taking in psychiatric assessments. She states the requirements of the local transcultural situation as a positive inclination and empathy towards, and knowledge of, African culture, and the ability to speak an African language or use a trained interpreter.

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Emphasis is placed on the social worker understanding the world of the patient and explaining the diagnosis in terms of his/her own concept of illness which, in the case of Africans, is traditionally caused by 'unpleased ancestors or sorcery'. Olivier also recommends that social workers wishing to practise transculturally should receive training in anthropology and a native language.

Within a very different context, Herbst & Britz (1988) described a case study in which management of a saw mill engaged a 'witchdoctor' ('kragdokter') in a large group consultation with the black African workforce in order to address problems around labour relations, damage to equipment and conflict within the hostel. The article recounts how, through a ritual process spanning three days, the witchdoctor identified four 'witches' amongst the workforce who, after they admitted wrongdoing, were dismissed from their jobs at the mill. It is claimed that the range of previous problems experienced at the mill were substantially reduced and that the general work environment improved dramatically. The authors also provide an overview of the function of a witchdoctor in traditional Black society and conclude that the cultural environment of the Black worker cannot be ignored and must be understood for effective management. There is no space here to discuss this account in any detail but to note that quite clearly such an intervention could be understood in quite different, and far less positive, terms²¹

Other writing, by Black professionals, has focused on explaining, from an 'insider' perspective (and to an implied non-African audience), the traditional African belief systems and some of the specific cultural practices around the diagnosis and treatment of mental illness in Black communities (Bodibe, 1988; Mojalefa, 1994; Mokhuane, 1986; Thabede, 1991; Tiba, 1991). The main purpose here has been to promote understanding, and therefore a more positive view, of traditional African beliefs and practices. Some ambivalence towards the latter is evident however. For example, Mokhuane (1986) attempts to show parallels between African and Western conceptions of illness some of which confuse rather than clarify²² and is also concerned to contrast the practices of 'reputable' traditional healers in the past with contemporary healers 'who have lost stature and effectiveness'.

A pervasive theme here is the issue of how, and to what extent, practitioners from the traditional African and biomedical psychiatric services can and should co-operate in order that

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African patients receive the most appropriate care available. There is general support for collaboration between the two sets of healers but this is mediated by the particular perspective and/or empirical evidence available to each author. Bodibe (1988) investigated the potential for co-operation between traditional healers and mental health teams and found general support from both. The traditional healers tended however to be reluctant to share their knowledge and preferred this co-operation to be on a referral basis so that they kept their independence while the mental health practitioners were willing to include healers in the team and to share their knowledge with them. Although not discussed by Bodibe in these terms, this is an excellent example of the very real dynamics between two practitioner groups with quite different social positions and power bases - it is clear that the traditional healers have more to lose by being incorporated into a mental health team controlled by biomedicine and its political and financial resources (see Korber, 1990 for a discussion on this topic).

Thabede (1991) picks up on this theme and, drawing heavily on Torrey (1986), cites a number of examples of collaborative efforts between these traditional healers and Western-oriented medical practitioners that have been documented in Africa and elsewhere. While cautioning against 'psychiatric imperialism'²³, Thabede argues that the two systems can learn from each other and that some sort of synthesis between the two healing systems is possible. He quotes Torrey's claim that in East Africa traditional healers and Western medical practitioners are not in competition and complement each other to the benefit of patients.

Concerned about a commonly reported problem in her work context - that psychiatric staff tended to reprimand patients and their families when they had consulted traditional healers before seeking medical help - Tiba (1991) took the view that knowledge of the Black patient's illness experience and ethnomedical beliefs may help to minimise this tendency and enable these staff to 'integrate' the Western and traditional African perspectives. She investigated how ethnomedical beliefs influence the decision by mentally ill patients and their families to seek a particular type of treatment and found a mixed Western/traditional belief orientation amongst her respondents. Those people using 'natural' illness attribution were more likely to seek 'Western' treatment and those using 'supernatural' attribution were more likely to go to traditional healers.

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In a study of how mental illness is perceived in Black communities in Southern Lebowa that interviewed psychiatric patients, relatives, traditional healers, and psychiatric nurses Mojalefa (1994) too found a mix of perceptions and that, although other beliefs were also viewed as causes, many Blacks still perceive witchcraft as the main cause of mental illness. Traditional treatment was preferred by most community respondents with biomedical psychiatry being accepted as a treatment of last resort. The author recommends a teamwork approach of all healers involved but at the same time advocates mental health education 'to enlighten the community about mental illness' and 'to convince the healers, psychiatric patients and their relatives of the importance of psychiatric treatment' (Mojalefa & van Staden, 1999: 159)²⁴. Overall these studies, while encompassing a degree of complexity in respect of cultural and attitudinal aspects of mental illness, give little if any attention either to power and structural issues or to the role the availability of services plays in which services are utilised.

D. Community work and development

Another focus that has been apparent in local social work writing is that upon community work and/or development as a practice methodology which is particularly appropriate for addressing the needs of Black clients and communities. As already referred to above, two Black social work educators endorsed community work and development approaches, subject to local social, economic and cultural characteristics being taken into account, as particularly appropriate within black African communities (Bopape, 1975 & Maqashalala, 1974). Importantly these methods laid emphasis on local participation and a degree of self-determination - in contrast to the centralised social engineering and manipulative 'development' of the government at the time (see Gray, 1989 and Rothmund, 1994) - and, potentially at least, built on existing indigenous networks and community structures (Bopape, 1975).

As early as 1972, the annual conference of South African social work lecturers challenged social work education and practice to incorporate community work and development approaches (Hare, 1972 & Shaw, 1973). Subsequently other educators began to show interest and a number of studies were carried out that explored the application of community development principles in work with Black communities (Botha, 1988, Foster, 1984, Grobler, 1994, Rothmund, 1994). It is evident that community development as an approach attracted

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proponents with different motivations. In a situation of severe deprivation and grossly inadequate welfare services, the approach appeared to offer the only hope of an improvement in the quality of life of Black communities. However, as Gray (1989) put it:

The dilemma in the South African context is that state reform initiatives are inextricably interwoven with the fabric of community development and are couched in these terms. Adopting this as a social work strategy then carries the risk of being misconstrued as identification with the status quo. (Gray, 1989: 46-7)

For example, Foster's (1984) study considered how a community development approach could address community problems in a Black 'town' created near a major provincial city 'for those Blacks unwilling to be incorporated into the homeland of Bophuthatswana'. While reference is made to government development and economic decentralisation policy of the time, the study does not question the discriminatory aspects of the broader 'separate development' policy which informed such community intervention. Although aspects of the social problem analysis and interventions advocated are useful, the broad impression created is of a social work that provides legitimisation of the wider apartheid system.

Against the background of the familiar White anxieties of Black urbanisation, fertility and population growth, another study investigated the role of community development and community work in the 'identification and management of the felt needs of the Black urbanite' with these approaches clearly being seen as the best way 'to defuse the multidimensional developmental problems of South Africa' (Botha, 1988). As the political situation in the country changed rapidly so did the way in which such studies were framed, especially as a broad social development approach was being promoted by progressive social service workers involved in creating a direction for post-apartheid welfare policy. Grobler's (1994) study explored how community development could address the social and cultural environment of 'developing people in a third world context' including a focus on the life-skills needed to adapt to urbanisation.

Another research project which aimed to develop guidelines for a provincial welfare department in the rendering of developmental services to Black communities concluded that 'prevention, development and empowerment ought to be the foci of an indigenous South African social work approach in serving apathetic, disempowered, developing communities rather than concentrating on curative and remedial services' (Rothmund, 1994: 461). The

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investigation also explored community cultural aspects in particular informal care networks, indigenous helpers and self help organisations. The author acknowledges that in South Africa's past '[d]evelopment was forced onto communities in a paternalistic fashion, with experts deciding what was good for their members, lacking sensitivity and a will to empowerment' (Rothmund, 1994: 96).

Rothmund also draws attention to a usage that became prevalent in much social work literature around this time. Drawing on writing by Gray (1989) and Drower (1991), she cautions against an overemphasis on a 'First World' and 'Third World' dualism:

the description of these two seemingly separate realities could result in the practitioner being tempted to ignore the relationship between the two and plan services on the basis of mutually exclusive needs and aspirations. As a result, social workers could hold double standards, that is, provide excellent care for the well-to-do and second class care for the poor. (Rothmund, 1994: 187)

The view that a community development approach, increasingly seen as part of a wider national social development policy, provided the best hope for addressing the needs of disadvantaged Black communities within a democratic South Africa continued to gain ground (Gray, 1994, Midgley, 1998). The Reconstruction and Development Programme document of the time took the view that Black, and especially isolated rural communities, should contribute to their own development through participation and involvement in community development programmes (Gray, 1994: xii). Gray gave a timely warning that, without the provision of sufficient funding and resources, this talk of community development would remain empty political rhetoric.

IV. Addressing apartheid welfare and professional imperialism

Much of the literature reviewed in this section has been referred to in Chapter 2 in the course of explicating the development of South African welfare policies and social work practice. The focus here however is on the themes within the literature itself that are relevant specifically to issues of race and culture. Due to factors already alluded to in Chapter 2, prior to 1980 there was almost no local social work writing that was unequivocally critical of the Nationalist government policy of apartheid. A significantly critical, and comprehensive, account of apartheid welfare was written by local authors but published overseas (Hare & McKendrick, 1976). Another overseas article that focused on the resistance of local mainly Black

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practitioners and alternative Black Consciousness-influenced social work programmes²⁵ was written by a visiting academic (Young, 1980).

During the 1980's, and as the crisis precipitated by growing internal and external resistance to apartheid deepened, further writing that provided a critique of the political and social context within which welfare operated was published by local authors outside of South Africa (Jinabhai, 1986, McKendrick & Dudas 1987, Patel, 1987). Another visiting academic published an 'outsider's' view of how the universal 'person-in-environment' conceptualisation of social work had been distorted within the local welfare scene to create what the author called a 'norm of injustice' (Lowe, 1988). While the intended audience was clearly the international social work profession, this body of writing provided local social workers with a more openly critical and trenchant analysis of local social welfare than any major social work writing published within the country up to that time.

Nevertheless from 1980 a growing number of local social work writing began, with varying degrees of explicitness, to comment on the impact of the apartheid government policies on both social work practice and clients/communities (Cohen, 1984; Galloway, 1993 & 1997, Helm, 1982; Jacob et al, 1991; Louw, 1982; Lund, 1992 & 1994; Mazibuko, 1988; McKendrick, 1980, 1987 & 1990a; Patel, 1988, Sewpaul, 1990; Slabbert, 1984; Small, 1985 & 1987; Theron, 1985). Common themes within this writing related to the negative impact of racial discrimination and segregation within welfare as well as to broader cultural issues around the over-professionalisation of social work and the inappropriateness of social casework as a primary intervention. Other authors focused less on ideological issues and more on the practical administrative inefficiencies of the fragmented welfare structures arguing for a single integrated welfare department (Eloff, 1989) or, more radically, for a complete restructuring of welfare management and structures (de V Smit, 1994).

Almost all of the above writing made explicit reference to racial discrimination and the resulting fragmentation and inequities within welfare services as a central issue that affected all social work practice and education. The editor of *Maatskaplike Werk/Social Work*²⁶ called first for the acceptance by government of the reality of black urbanisation²⁷ (Theron, 1981), and then for the dismantling of the apartheid system (Theron, 1985), while Small (1987) railed against the apartheid order in the same journal. Writers who were politically aligned with the

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anti-apartheid struggle tended to view the emerging alternative welfare movements either in terms of the principles of the Freedom Charter (Parcel, 1988), from within a Marxist analysis (Jinabhai, 1986), or from a more mass democratic movement viewpoint (Mazibuko, 1988).

Many of writers were critical of the dominance within South African social work culture of a casework/remedial focus at the expense of a much-needed reorientation towards community development work and/or social action (Cohen, 1984; Helm, 1982; Louw, 1982; Lowe, 1988; McKendrick, 1987; McKendrick, 1990a; Patel, 1987; Templeton, 1982). In addition some authors framed this shift as part of a broader process of 'indigenisation' or, in terms of Walton and Abo El Nasr's (1988) model, 'authentization'. This was seen by most as a necessary move away from Eurocentric, or Western, models and concerns and towards a more African and/or 'Third World' emphasis (Bernstein & Gray, 1991; Bopape, 1988; Marks, 1989; McKendrick, 1990a; Patel, 1987; Patel & Taback, 1989; Small, 1987).

Another characteristic of South African social work addressed by local authors was how the drive for professionalisation served to promote politically conservative and methodologically inappropriate practice (Bernstein & Gray, 1991; Bernstein, 1993; Cohen, 1984; Hare & McKendrick, 1976; Jinabhai, 1986; McKendrick, 1980, 1987 & 1990a). This topic has already been dealt with in some detail in Chapter 2.

It is striking that almost all the above writing was almost wholly restricted to a macro level of analysis of the apartheid socio-political and institutional context within which actual social work practice took place (see also Galloway, 1993). I have not found any empirical studies prior to 1990 that examined either the mezzo or micro level of social work practice under apartheid in any significant detail and there is therefore a very sparse record of the actual functioning of social work services. Detail of the extent of, for example, discriminatory practices and the usage of inappropriate methodologies at departmental, agency and community level during this period is therefore lacking. This absence may be partly explicable in terms of the helplessness many social workers felt in the face the overwhelming control apartheid welfare structures and policy exerted over practice. However there was a danger that social workers simply blamed apartheid for all the inadequacies of practice instead of taking responsibility for developing their own good social work practice along non-discriminatory and empowerment lines²⁸. Another problem that has extended into the post-

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apartheid era is that an incomplete understanding of current practice acts as a barrier to improving welfare services (Lund, 1994). As expressed more recently:

Only by examining and evaluating what *is* can new initiatives and directions be found. By focusing on practice the possibility of change being implemented at a practice level is increased. (Ferguson-Brown & Partab, 1999: 138).

Two studies carried out during the period of political transition provided some detail of the discrimination and unequal resources within social work at the level of the organisation and its services (Lund, 1992; Galloway 1993). Lund's study surveyed all seventeen of the then existing welfare departments²⁹ in respect of a number of key indicators and issues which provided graphic detail of the extent of discrimination and bias in welfare. These included the demographic breakdowns of professional social work posts, the ratio of these posts to the different population groups, the extent to which 'fields of service' structured service delivery, the extent of private welfare sector subsidisation and the extent of welfare programme implementation. Lund recommended that a major overhaul of information systems was required to move from 'fragmentation and diversity to uniformity and coherence', that the decision not to collect statistics according to racial classification should be reversed³⁰ and that the welfare bureaucracy must become more transparent.

Galloway (1993) sought to examine how welfare and social work structures actually operate by exploring the extent of racism in social work practice in the then Natal (now Kwazulu-Natal). Using a structural, if overly determinist, definition of racism she found ample evidence of racist practices in agency management structures through which social work services operated. Galloway also found an over-reliance on casework methodology, a lack of significant support for affirmative action policies, differential employment and promotion practices that favoured White over Black social workers (though see Lund, 1992 for a more nuanced assessment of how segregated welfare departments actually enabled employed advancement in specific cases), and a poor level of access to social work services experienced by Black communities. She recommended the adoption of an anti-racist, rather than 'ethnic-sensitive', approach to social work practice which would include racism awareness training, affirmative action policies, racial classification record-keeping to monitor progress, and the development of effective and relevant models of service delivery.

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In a rather unusual and frank paper Mcanyana (1992) presented his view²² of how certain 'work ethics' had been developed by some Black social workers during the apartheid years. He described the adverse working conditions of Black social workers, their alienation and lack of a sense of ownership from which developed a 'unique culture of work' in which such practices as devaluation of clients, fictitious home visits, financial embezzlement, nepotism, bribery and corruption developed as a means of coping and survival. Mcanyana argues that in view of the democratic political transition underway these practices were no longer defensible and that Black social workers must now confront and deal with their own attitudes towards work.

Most other research on practice has focused on the employability of new social work graduates and issues around the transition from social work training to social work practice (Collins, 1985; Comaroff, 1979; Marks, 1989; McKendrick, 1980 & 1994; O'Brien, 1990; Ramphal & Moonilal, 1993). This work has principally been done by academics concerned as to whether students are properly and appropriately prepared for local social work practice. The findings have consistently provided evidence of a worrying gap between the competencies provided by social work education and social work practice requirements. One study found that this lack of preparedness was particularly acute in social work graduates of 'rural' (i.e. mainly Black African) universities that have severe resource and other practical constraints (McKendrick, 1994). Of relevance here is that most local agencies in these studies emphasised competence in direct service methodologies, particularly social casework, providing empirical support for the critique, referred to elsewhere, of local practice as too remedial and insufficiently developmentally and community focused.

An example of this is O'Brien's (1990) study of recent graduates' views of their professional training in which she found that most respondents were working in therapeutically-oriented organisations which focused on direct services for which they generally felt well-prepared. This was despite the fact that most respondents identified with the ideal of a democratic, non-racial welfare system which would address both therapeutic and developmental needs, O'Brien recommended a more concerted effort by schools of social work to equip graduates with social development as well as therapeutic skills.

V. Towards post-apartheid social work: taking up the challenge

This section reviews writing that looked forward and focused on future welfare and social work policy and practice within a post-apartheid, democratic dispensation. The major themes emerging from this writing are discussed under headings that reflect the different levels from macro policy, through the mezzo level of methodological frameworks and models, to the micro levels of specific practice.

A. Welfare policy and the macro context

Much of the literature that outlines a policy vision for a post-apartheid welfare system reported on the work of members of progressive social service organisations and social work education departments actively involved in the formulation process. A research programme, titled 'Welfare Options for South Africa' and based in the School of Social Work at Witwatersrand University, was very influential in both co-ordinating such efforts and producing material that ultimately formed the basis of the new post-1994 government's welfare policy framework.

In 1989 the Concerned Social Workers group published a paper that surveyed the nature and scope of progressive social services nationally as part of an on-going research programme exploring welfare policy options for South Africa (Patel & Taback, 1989). In that year the watershed National Social Welfare Conference took place and more than 40 social workers, consumers of welfare services, members of progressive social services and the formal welfare sector met to commit themselves to the building of a united welfare movement on the basis of an anti-apartheid stance. The papers presented reflected a variety of anti-apartheid and pro-democratic positions on a range of policy and practice issues (Patel, 1989). An important consensus was reached that the evolution of an appropriate welfare policy for a future South Africa must involve a simultaneous process of dismantling the old welfare structures and building the new - the latter to be based around the alternative structures and organisations (e.g., civic associations, community advice offices and the church) that had developed their own alternative and progressive social services. This view was reflected in other local social work writing published around this time (see Letsebe & Loffel, 1990; Louw, 1990 & 1991; Mazibuko et al. 1992; McKendrick, 1990a & 1992; Patel, 1989, 1991a & 1991b).

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In a later article Patel (1991b) elaborated on aspects of the 1989 conference proceedings and also discussed the very real challenges and constraints facing a post-apartheid government wishing to transform welfare. These included economic limitations and resource scarcities, high population growth, skill shortages, the existence of a large bureaucracy consisting mainly of conservative white civil servants, political and community violence, and tension between central authority and local democracy. She also drew attention to the high expectations of improved material conditions from a new dispensation held by both disadvantaged communities generally as well as those involved in the anti-apartheid movement.

Shortly thereafter Patel published a major study that looked in detail at the social welfare options for South Africa (1992). She contrasted the distinguishing features of the two co-existing welfare models in South Africa at the time, the formal system which evolved through the periods of colonialism and apartheid and the 'alternative' model then in the process of evolving from grassroots organisations and put forward major recommendations for a new social welfare policy framework. The latter included the 'guiding principles' of national unity (respect for cultural, linguistic and religious diversity plus redress of inequalities), participation in development to help stimulate the growth of a democratic culture, social equity to effect just redistribution, and the development of authentic models of service delivery suited to grassroots needs and aspirations.

An older theme that received new life within the proposals for a new welfare policy was the stress on a community development approach. In line with earlier viewpoints Gray (1989) had proposed that local social work should take on a community development approach that would utilise trained paraprofessionals, emphasise the empowerment of communities and the transfer of skills and knowledge, train indigenous workers and adequately finance community development programmes. In a later editorial Gray (1994) argued that community development, instituted within a broader social development policy, held out the best hope for reaching the previously neglected client populations of South Africa.

This view was echoed by Ntebe (1994) who urged affirmative action in the direction of citizen participation and social development and further suggested that South African welfare take on a 'radical' approach, based on a proper understanding of 'the position of the oppressed in the context of the social and economic structures they live in', and which would consist of social

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workers taking a strongly advocative position on behalf of clients through encouraging empowerment and self-help initiatives. Rothmund's study (1994) of the role of local welfare department services to Black communities concluded that prevention, development and empowerment ought to be the foci of an indigenous South African social work approach in serving disempowered, 'developing' communities. Ned (1991) discussed the challenges of transformation faced by social work services and argued that, in addition to a clear commitment to core values of social justice and social responsibility, the principles of accessibility, appropriateness, community participation, and accountability should form the basis of an alternative welfare policy.

B. Professional social work

At a the level of professional social work practice a number of local writers proposed or explored guiding principles and elements for practice within a post-apartheid welfare dispensation. Most of this writing tends to be exhortatory argument that challenges contemporary social work practice. Referring to Patel and Taback's (1989) survey of the creative ways community organisations were meeting human needs, McKendrick (1990a) wrote that South African social workers had to face the challenge of 'working with people to develop indigenous, acceptable local services'. He further proposed the 'Life Model' (Germain and Gitterman, 1980) as a suitably ecological approach for local social work that integrates both the treatment and reform traditions of social work. Such a competence-based and empowerment approach should involve, McKendrick argued, a move from a therapeutic emphasis to one on prevention in a variety of contexts as well as a 'step down from the professional throne' so that social workers could become trainers and enablers of ordinary people.

In similar vein, Bernstein (1991) and Drower (1991) challenged local social workers to refocus on particular concerns. Bernstein discussed five 'pervasive and connected' themes as central to the transformation from the 'old' to the 'new' social work in South Africa. These included, the development of an 'interconnectedness' based on common principles of egalitarianism and social justice, social awareness of structural and policy issues, racism awareness and cross-cultural practice, strategies of empowerment, and non-remedial developmental approaches. Drower identified five very similar concerns of special relevance to

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the process of practice innovation within the new dispensation. These included values of non-discrimination, democracy and social justice; constraints such as the fragmentation and inequality of the 'old' system and diversity, affordability and accessibility; accountability and community participation, the democratisation of agency structures and relationship to service users, and the incorporation of empowerment strategies. Drower's writing is notable for its comparative willingness to introduce complexity and realism regarding current and future constraints in some contrast to the pervasive idealism of most similar writing at the time.

In a rare empirical study, Ramphal and Moonilal (1993), while also framing their discussion in terms of the challenges facing social work, surveyed staff attitudes and agency practice on a number of levels in a range of social work agencies in the Durban area. The issues examined included, the composition of management boards, integration of services, staffing policies, methods in social work practice, internal agency integration, and the role of the social worker. They found general support for the ideal of a non-racial, democratic welfare system that better addressed local needs but also an awareness of the historical constraints facing a post-apartheid government and the slow pace of change, particularly in the state sector. More specifically, the study found clear racial and gender imbalances in the management boards of many agencies. Most private welfare agencies had moved towards serving all race groups but race 'matching' policies were also still in force. In some agencies 'non-racial' appointments were occurring but while most agreed on the need for affirmative action there was little evidence of this in action. Casework was the primary method in state departments but many NGO's were involved in social development programmes. The majority of respondents felt that more emphasis on community development and retraining in various skills such as conflict resolution and advocacy was needed.

Interestingly, a half of respondents felt that problems of cultural diversity and language were 'not serious' but they anticipated these to increase as integration took place - a few agencies were doing anti-prejudice and Black language training. The researchers concluded that greater cross-cultural sensitivity and empathy in agencies was clearly required and agreed with Patel (1991b) on the long road ahead for transformation:

In a future South Africa, the structures and practices of service delivery will for some time continue to reflect the ideology and practices of the old system despite legislative changes. Attitudes do not die when structures change. (Patel, 1991b: 163)

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While all writing around changes in social work practice inevitably involved issues of race and culture, some writing addressed these issues more specifically.

1. Multicultural/transcultural practice

Writing in the mid-eighties Olivier (1984) claimed that she could not find reference to any South African literature on transcultural social work. This was hardly surprising given the enforced racial segregation and ethnic-specific nature of local social work services³². In 1991 a visiting academic promoted a typical North American multicultural approach (Weaver, 1991a & b) for application in the local child care field. This approach contrasted the cultural orientation of white and black Americans and emphasised the importance of taking positive cognisance of different cultural orientations rather than trying to eliminate or ignore differences. A central aim here was to achieve a creative 'cultural synergy' in the institutional setting.

Drawing on this sort of approach Tshabalala³³ (1992), explored cultural issues that he regarded as essential for appropriate service delivery among the Nguni people in South Africa. A number of specific cultural forms and traditions were described including the communal nature of African society, the strongly patriarchal system, the positive value of *ubuntu* ('positive and humane' feelings of one towards another) and *blompa* (respect and obedience towards one's elders), traditional initiation practices and indigenous social support systems. Although issues of equity and discrimination are not explicitly addressed, the author regards this multicultural approach as an extension of a broader anti-racist programme.

As described above, local literature dealing with cultural or race issues typically addresses the assumed needs of a 'non-Black/African' social worker working with Black clients or communities. Given the high numbers of White social workers deployed, this was the most likely 'cross-cultural' worker-client configuration during the political transition period and as services became more integrated. In the changing more 'non-racial' political climate however, many social workers felt uncomfortable using 'population group' or 'race' appellations and 'multicultural' increasingly became a more acceptable alternative - and a code word for 'racial integration'.

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An example was the term 'multicultural milieu' used repeatedly by Burger (1993) in a study surveying the views of social workers in a provincial department providing welfare services for Black clients and communities. The findings revealed an incomplete picture with many questions going unanswered by a significant proportion of respondents who were clearly uncomfortable with, or unwilling to become engaged in, the issues raised. Burger claimed that the results showed there was a strong need for guidelines for multicultural social work. She recommends that social workers should be properly prepared for 'multicultural practice' with a knowledge of anthropology (i.e. African culture) and a 'Black' language as well as self-awareness and sensitivity towards ethnic and cultural identity.

2. Non-racial practice

In order to signal a move away from race as a determining factor³⁴, social work writing increasingly spoke of achieving a 'non-racial' social work practice. Drawing largely on anti-racist social work literature in Britain and United States, Galloway (1991) sought to show how social work theory and practice both in the West, and more particularly in South Africa, manifests racism in a variety of ways. Having defined racism as a structural and cultural phenomenon, she argued that racism is evident, for example, in the individualistic values undergirding social work theory, in all three methods of casework, groupwork and community work and in its social control function that reinforces the political and economic status quo. While such a determinist view apparently allows little space for anti-racist initiatives at the individual or organisational level, Galloway exhorts social workers to become racially aware, work to eliminate racism in their agency practice as well as through anti-racist political activity.

Jacob et al (1991) also examined aspects of transformation to a non-racial social work practice and negatively contrast the value of 'individualism' within Western capitalism with that of the Marxist notion of the 'collective good'. Nevertheless they take the view that as long as social workers are 'sensitive to differences in culture and tradition, non-racial work can become a reality'. At the same time however they note that 'with lessened emphasis on differences, and more on integration, elements of a South African culture can evolve' thus perfectly expressing the ambivalence of the local progressive view of diversity. The authors also report on a small-scale study around the issue of the racial 'matching' of social workers and clients that asked

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welfare clients their preference as regards the 'race' of their social worker. While there was a clear preference for 'same race' workers, for most respondents qualifications were the most important criterion for selection of a social worker. Jacob et al conclude that education of clients, and social workers themselves, may therefore be necessary to address 'matching' and competence issues.

In an address on 'concretising steps towards a non-racial practice', Ned (1991) raised a number of issues regarding required changes in practice. These included, the knowledge and availability of services, physical/geographical accessibility, language competence, cultural sensitivity and decentralisation away from urban areas. She drew attention to the need for affirmative action in a number of different areas including the redistribution of resources, staff development and recruitment.

3. Indigenous practice

Local authors have increasingly made reference to the need to 'indigenise' local social work practice and training (McKendrick, 1990a; Bernstein, 1991; Patel, 1992) but few have explored the concept or its implications. Taking her cue from the resolution of the 1989 National Welfare Conference that social workers should focus on promoting relevant, indigenised and authentic social services, Taback (1990) summarises the findings an earlier study of progressive social service organisations (Patel and Taback, 1989). The latter were found to be rendering holistic services based on the felt needs of people through a variety of educational, preventive and direct services incorporated non-professionals and utilised acceptable and appropriate methods such as advocacy. Referring to the three stages of transmission, indigenisation and authentication of Walton & Abo El Nasr (1988) and Midgely's (1981, 1984a) concept of 'indigenisation', Taback argues that these democratic, participative models represent alternate and indigenous models of social service delivery.

In her study of the application of Western social work theory to practice in Botswana, Ferguson-Brown (1991) found that the activities of local social workers were compatible with the purpose and functions of social work as outlined by Pincus and Minahan's systems model³⁵. And that the areas of difference were 'of culture and context rather than essence'. For example, the concept of self-determination had limited utility at the individual level but could be applied to the extended family group and the community group. The child care

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legislation in Botswana was found to conflict with local practices - for example, punishment by lashes and through public 'shaming' was in conflict with the laws concerning child abuse and neglect. In the area of intervention, many social workers felt under pressure to provide directive advice whereas they had been trained in more participative and enabling styles that encouraged client empowerment.

The author concurs with Bogo and Herrington (1987) that a systems approach 'offers a largely universal perspective for both developed and developing countries' allowing for both a community perspective as well as a basis for indigenisation. She also points out that a domestic model does not exclude the use of theory/experience gained elsewhere and that increasingly there is much that social work in developing countries can contribute to practice internationally (see Midgely, 1990a) especially as regards cross-cultural practice and the development of low-budget community-based services.

Drawing on Walton and Abo El Nasr's (1988) indigenisation model as well as US community-organisation models of school social work, Mabctoa (1989) proposed an adaptation of the school-community-pupil model as an indigenous model for South African use. Criticising the over-professionalisation of social work services and for relevant and community-based methodologies, Katan and Nghatsane (1986) argued that local human service organisations and development projects should utilize indigenous workers, drawn from communities themselves.

4. Child care practice

As welfare services moved away from racial exclusivity, various areas of social work practice in which current resources did not meet urgent needs came into sharp focus. The severe lack of residential or substitute child care resources for black children was such an area. In their survey of the attitudes of sociologists towards interracial adoption, Simpkins et al (1990) found the majority of respondents to be in favour and supportive of the abolition of all racially discriminatory legislation. Only a minority either opposed such adoption or only conditionally supported it. A number of issues such as the primary need of a child for a family, the dearth of black adoptive parents, and needs for racial and cultural identity were raised. The researchers noted that they had little success in engaging the co-operation of several adoption agencies in widening the survey.

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In a published interview (Levin, 1990), the Director of a formerly 'Whites only' home for babies was interviewed regarding its decision to open its doors to all races. Due mainly to the great need for places for neglected/abandoned black babies, they had received co-operation from government departments and no opposition from the local community or White parents. The writer also expressed the opinion that, in view of local needs, multiracial adoptions may need to be considered despite the 'progressive' overseas view (in the UK and USA) that children and adoptive parents should be matched culturally and racially.

In another study of attitudes around the racial and cultural integration of residential facilities for children (Hoffman, 1993), principals and child care workers from a number of child care facilities in the Western Cape were surveyed. A range of attitudes and feelings regarding integration were evident with most respondents showing support but with some opting for racial and/or cultural exclusivity. The language barrier was regarded by child care staff as presenting the most pressing challenge of integration (a view supported to some extent by Levin, 1990 and Burger, 1991). Hoffman argued that proper preparation and training was required if child care staff were to achieve successful integration of facilities especially in view of the added demands many of this process would place upon them.

C. Social work education

As the political transition in South Africa gathered momentum, educators³⁶ began to address the issue of preparing social workers for practice within a post-apartheid welfare context. Most authors framed their discussion in terms of the variety of challenges facing social work education and, from this, a number of themes emerged.

The first of these was the attempt to ensure that social work education is appropriate and relevant in terms of the demands of a new welfare policy and structure. Thus the need for 'indigenisation' and/or 'authenticisation' is referred to by a number of authors (Bernstein & Gray, 1991; Jacob et al, 1991; Mackintosh, 1991; McKendrick, 1990a and 1990b; Ramphal, 1994; Ramphal & Moonilal, 1993). Respondents to the survey conducted by Ramphal and Moonilal (1993) specifically identified the need for social work training to assist students in dealing with 'Third World conditions' and 'non-racialist' service delivery which included increased flexibility, tolerance and respect for differences. It was also found that a majority of practising social workers did not feel particularly competent in handling the kinds of practice

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problems arising in a changing South Africa thus raising the question of whether university social work departments could offer appropriate re-training (see also Ramphal, 1994). Most of these authors took a moderate view of indigenisation in that they either state or imply that rejecting Western models out of hand would be just as unwise as following them slavishly and that what is needed 'are imaginative ways of adapting relevant features in these models for South African conditions and circumstances' (Ramphal, 1994: 344).

This leads on to the second common theme identified by the above writers - the need for a new 'developmental' paradigm that lays emphasis on specialist training for preventive and developmental practice. Bernstein (1993) in particular linked this shift to a wider commitment to a social development approach referred to by Gray (1994) and Patel (1992) above. McKendrick (1990b) reiterated that this need for a developmental approach flowed from the social work commitment to social justice and equity as core principles and from the nature of South Africa as a 'developing' country. Closer to home Jacob et al (1991) stressed the need for social work education departments to practise affirmative action in the appointment of staff.

Bernstein & Gray (1991) also identified this ideological underpinning arguing that social work education needs to make an ideological and value commitment to equality as well as to cultural sensitivity and a non-racial focus. Following Coates (1990), Jacob et al (1991) outline three ideological perspectives that have had a major influence on the development of social work education - the conservative, liberal and radical approaches³⁷.

Rather too generously, they described South African social work education at the time as liberal in orientation³⁸. They point out that the liberal view (and presumably the conservative view even more so) is inherently biased towards the First World and Western through its acceptance of what Midgely (1981) and others have described as the 'modernisation paradigm'. This assumed that, firstly, Third World countries could most rapidly develop in all spheres through the importation of Western technology and attitudes and, secondly, that indigenous culture was an impediment to progress so that tradition institutions had to be diluted and replaced with modern ideas. This therefore resulted in a denigration of indigenous tradition and can be seen as an example of what Dominelli (1988) called 'cultural racism'. While this analysis broadly fits with social work educational practice in the West at the time,

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as this dissertation makes clear. South African social work and education have taken more peculiar and diverse local forms that differ from this general trend in specific ways.

In her historical analysis of the development of 'an indigenous form of social work education' in South Africa, Marks (1989) argued that professional training was guided by outmoded principles of scientific charity and a commitment to a conservative research model. She also claimed that educators had 'unintentionally abandoned humanism for a focus on knowledge reproduction and problem-solving' and that this had deflected the profession from its primary humanist purpose. Social work education had therefore failed to prepare social workers to respond creatively and innovatively to the injustices of the South African reality other than as 'therapists'.

A further theme in this writing was discussion around courses that address both broader issues of transformation at the level of social welfare policy as well as socio-cultural diversity and racism at the practice level (Bernstein & Gray, 1989; Jacob et al, 1991; Mackintosh, 1991; Ramphal, 1994). Bernstein & Gray (1989) described a 'Working Together' experiential programme that was developed to both prepare students for cross-cultural social work practice and to assist students to adjust to the newly non-racial, and multicultural environment of an 'open' university. The programme had a dual focus on theoretical content and practice with diverse ethnic/racial groups as well as on the nature and effects of inequality and oppression in South Africa. Jacob et al (1991) also stressed the need for training in cultural diversity and non-racial practice based on their view that local social workers were ill-prepared both for work with diverse clients and in addressing intergroup relationships and tensions. Ramphal (1994) concurred and also called for less prominence to be given to Western texts, especially those with an emphasis on casework and groupwork, and for more emphasis on social policy, social action and community development. McKendrick (1990b) and Bernstein (1993) proposed the adoption of ecological or holistic approaches to practice to ensure that a holistic 'person-in-environment' perspective was taught to social work students.

In a survey of the perceptions of social work employers as to the competence of social work graduates entering practice McKendrick (1994) found that most respondents desired graduates to be more theoretically and practically prepared for cross-cultural work. With regard to the relatively neglected area of language competency, the majority of employers

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wanted new graduates to have fluency in more than one of South Africa's languages. They also viewed graduates of the 'urban' universities as having more skills, and the ability to become productive more quickly, than those of 'rural' universities³⁹

The final theme was a focus on teaching and learning methodologies more appropriate to diversity and equity content than the traditional lecture or fieldwork practice format (Mackintosh, 1991 and see discussion in Chapter 4). McKendrick (1990b) identified the need for more effective models of teaching and learning while Jacob et al (1991) argued that, in line with wider socio-political changes, social work education needs to move towards more democratic and participative educational practices. In line with much overseas literature in this area, several authors assert the importance of promoting self-awareness and sensitisation to racism and different worldviews through affective, and not only cognitive, learning experiences (Bernstein & Gray, 1989 & 1991; Jacob et al, 1991; Mackintosh, 1991; Ramphal, 1994)

Bernstein (1993) argued for a move away from a 'technical-rational' positivist approach towards a 'reflection-in-action' and participatory approach in which students are at the centre of the learning process wherein education becomes a collaborative process supportive of student initiative and interests. The latter is seen as the application of an empowerment model to social work education which could include problem-based or 'enquiry and action' learning. Mackintosh (1991) discussed the reflexive implications of the respecting and valuing of differences both for the identification of cultural bias and ethnocentric assumptions within social work theory and practice as well as for learning methodologies. The latter included the use of problem-based learning exercises (using vignettes or case material) to ensure integrated learning as well as active involvement by students in a more democratic learning environment.

VI. Concluding comments

As described in the introduction, this review has attempted to provide a broad overview of the relevant literature sufficient to identify key themes around issues of race and culture and that therefore sketched the discursive context within which the surveys reported in Part II took place. While there is clearly a diversity of approaches from different authors, often related to their own institutional and/or race/ethnic background, there are also a number of common themes or trends that emerge.

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As has been found in reviews of cognate local writing (Swartz & Foster, 1984, Swartz, 1989), issues of race and culture are constructed in dualistic terms with 'race' (for example, Black, Coloured, Indian and White) and cultural (for example, 'Western', African, Muslim) groupings being seen as so different or separate as to almost inhabit distinct 'worlds'. This is particularly true of earlier writing but even the more recent writing constructs further polarities such as 'First' versus 'Third' World, 'modern' versus 'traditional', 'scientific' versus 'irrational', 'individual' versus 'community', 'urban' versus 'rural', and 'developed' versus 'developing'. Such dualisms in distortions not only because they create reified, fixed abstract categories that bear scant relationship to reality, but also because they set up either superior/inferior and mutually exclusive contrasts (for example, 'White' associated with 'modern', 'First World/developed' and 'scientific' as against 'Black' associated with 'traditional', 'Third World/underdeveloped' and even 'irrational') or idealised, even romanticised, images (for example, 'community', 'African' and 'indigenous') that oppose their negative opposites ('individual', 'Western' and by implication, 'imported/foreign').

It is also been evident that much of the writing that focuses on cultural issues specifically ignores or downplays socio-political factors and fails to problematise the issue of culture itself. On the other hand, writing that does address the socio-political and economic context, often explicitly and critically, tends both to remain at a macro level policy as well as remaining silent or muted around issues of cultural/ethnic difference. It is interesting to observe that in several instances the data gathered in the empirical studies, when allowed to be emerge more or less directly, consistently shows a more complex and diffuse and nuanced picture that most of the discussion in the terms described above allows - the role of ideology in constructing culture and race is clearly exposed in such cases. The issues of how socio-cultural diversity in social work has been addressed on a wider and more international front are taken up in the following chapter.

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Notes to Chapter 3

The writing considered here consists of published articles in local social work journals, social work books or chapters in books, published locally, and social work theses or dissertations accepted for Masters or Doctoral degrees by local universities. Where available, reference is made to other written material by social work authors such as conference papers and occasional papers. Articles published in international journals that fall within the area of focus have also been included wherever possible.

In order to avoid confusion, throughout this dissertation the term 'black African' or 'Black' refers to persons whose ethnic and linguistic background is 'African' in the conventional sense of the term (and were classified as belonging to the 'Black' population group under the apartheid system) whereas 'black' (lower case) is used to refer more generally to all persons 'of colour' (i.e. persons previously classified as Coloured, Indian or Black). The terms 'Coloured', 'Indian' and 'White' are used to refer to those previously classified in these groups while 'white' (lower case) is occasionally used in a non-specific sense to contrast with 'black' in general race terms.

Maatskaplike Werk/Social Work as it is still known, was originally edited and published by social work educators from the historically White Afrikaans-medium University of Stellenbosch.

This is probably due to two main factors, firstly the Western Cape being the base of the only local social work journal at the time, and secondly, that a major government commission of inquiry into "matters related to the Coloured population group", known as the Theron Commission, took place during the seventies.

A significant proportion of the Coloured population group in South Africa are Muslim.

It could be argued that this is a sincere attempt by a white non-Muslim academic to inform the largely white social work readership of the religious tenets and social practices of Islam and so to reduce the 'strangeness' of the Muslim 'other'.

The Commission became known by the name of its Chairperson, Professor Erika Theron, who was Head of Social Work at Stellenbosch University at the time.

Seven members of the Commission dissociated themselves from Chapter 22 as they perceived the "culture of poverty" argument to be redolent of radical tendencies in the social sciences and negatively directed at the 'establishment' in that the concept "emphasises the impact of environmental factors to the detriment of man's inborn abilities and capacities" (Francisco-la Grange, 1977a, p. 15). Latterly of course the concept has fallen into disfavour partly because it does not take economic and socio-political factors into sufficient account.

At the time a social work lecturer at the White Afrikaner-dominated Stellenbosch University, Lategan later moved to politics becoming a Democratic Party candidate in opposition to the Afrikaner Nationalist government.

Rocher was a senior official in the welfare section of the Department of Indian Affairs based in the Durban area.

Of course in relation to the non-specific and generic mainstream writing it can be argued that Western and 'white' ethnocentric assumptions were implicit in accordance with the bias of mainstream so-called 'universal' social work theory and practice (Dominelli, 1988).

A burial society, through the receipt of regular contributions from its members, provides financial assistance with funeral costs when a death occurs in the family.

A stokvel can take different forms but perhaps the most prevalent form involves the rotational hosting of social gatherings at which contributions are made to the savings/funds of the host family.

This point is made in the earlier seminar paper version of this text presented in 1986.

Which, for a number of economic and social reasons, is the trend elsewhere in the world.

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- 11" *Lobhola* refers to the traditional system of 'bride price' whereby the bridegroom and/or his family is expected to pay over an amount of cattle and/or money to the bride's family.
- 12 It is relevant to note that the content of this article appeared not to be based on any empirical research and rather was drawn only from its nine references, five of which were over thirty years old. The author was at the time of writing a sociologist from an historically White Afrikaans and Christian-oriented university with a record of support for separate development policies during the apartheid era.
- 16 With respect to the this 'negative identity' aspect, de Haas makes reference to the importance of the Black Consciousness movement - as one respondent, a Black woman who was head of a welfare organisation, commented, before the advent of Black Consciousness blacks had assumed that 'to be human means to be white'.
- 17 The actual examples given of students' talk in the groups are far more interesting and capable of far more complex and nuanced analysis than the researchers' preoccupation with stressing 'differences' at every available opportunity allows. It should be noted here that this report was written in Afrikaans and I have translated the quotations into English in the text.
- 20 Even cursory consideration of issues faced by young people brought up in conservative religious homes, for example (be they Calvinist, Catholic, Muslim or Jewish or any other orthodoxy), and exposed to the contemporary youth and music culture(s) makes the point that this is clearly not so. The same would apply to youth socialised in conservative homes espousing hardline racist attitudes dealing with attendance at open multiracial schools.
- 21 For example, from a group dynamics perspective, this would appear to be a clear case of a scapegoating process and from a worker's rights and labour relations point of view the issues could have been dealt with more effectively and justly in alternative ways. The laudatory view of this incident taken by the authors reinforces a view of African cultural practice as exotic and 'other' and carries the unfortunate implication that lawful labour and management practices can be suspended when dealing with Black employees because of how 'different' they are.
- 22 For example, having explained that 'Black culture' always looks upon illness as the result of some external force and that 'you are ill because you are bewitched and you are bewitched because of the way in which you are living [i.e. forsaken by displeased ancestors] - your lifestyle therefore is the root cause of your illness' (p5) Mokheane then argues that this concept is very similar to the concept of causes of illness held by Westerners where these forces are, for example, germs or viruses to which you are vulnerable if your lifestyle is poor. I would suggest that his attempt to 'reconcile' the two views is ultimately as unhelpful as a dualistic view that sees African and Western conceptions and practices as inhabiting two completely different 'worlds'.
- 23 This is defined by Torrey (1986) as a situation wherein the dominant Western psychiatric culture imposes itself on another, usually indigenous, one and discredits the beliefs and techniques of the latter.
- 24 An article based on this Masters's study was published as an article with van Staden in 1999.
- 25 These included the Black Community Programmes, founded by black social worker Bennie Khoapa (assisted at that time by Steve Biko) and the Black Women's Federation which were both banned in 1977 as part of the Nationalist government crackdown on black resistance organisations (see Young, 1980).
- 26 This journal was still the only accredited local social work journal at the time. The editor was a leading social work academic at the then White Afrikaans University of Stellenbosch.
- 27 The attempt to stem and even reverse the process of black urbanisation through the creation of 'homelands' and other influx control measures was a key part of apartheid policy and was intended to maintain white dominance and control in all major cities and towns within 'white' South Africa.
- 28 The lack of such writing in the social work mainstream literature was balanced by the growth of the alternative social service movement, already referred to in Chapter 2, who tended to reject mainstream practice and focused their efforts on developing alternative social services which they felt could become the model for post-apartheid social service delivery (Patel, 1988; Patel & Taback, 1989). The writing of social workers who were part of this movement is dealt with in the following section of this chapter.

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- ²⁹ These consisted of the four provincial departments then providing welfare services to black people (Cape, Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal); the six 'homelands' welfare departments (Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa and Qwa Qwa); the four 'independent states' (Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda); and the departments of the tricameral Houses of Assembly (for the White population group), Delegates (for Indians) and Representatives (for Coloureds).
- ³⁰ This was made by the South African Council for Social Work after 1990 supposedly to herald a new 'non-racial' era - see discussion in Chapter 2. Lund's recommendation appears to have been ignored by the new SA Council for Social Service Professions that has recently replaced the previous SA Council for Social Work. In its recent newsletter the 1999 statistics for registered social workers were given by total gender breakdown only (SACSSP, 1999).
- ³¹ This article was based on a paper originally presented at a meeting of the South African Black Social Worker's Association (SABSWA).
- ³² This meant that it was only in some specialist areas, such as psychiatry and medicine more generally, that social workers were required to work 'transculturally'. And this meant, virtually without exception, White social workers working with Black, Coloured or Indian clients.
- ³³ It may be legitimately asked why this article, by a local social work academic, was published in the then new *Journal of Multicultural Social Work* published in the United States of America rather than locally where it would have reached a far wider local audience. Apart from academic pressures, part of the reason may have to do with its more minority Africanist flavour as against the more popular 'non-racial' stance of the majority anti-apartheid movement.
- ³⁴ But very likely, at least for some, to identify with the 'non-racial' ideological thrust represented by the African National Congress.
- ³⁵ Ferguson-Brown makes the important observation that while a major thrust of Midgley's 'professional imperialism' argument was the tendency of developing countries to adopt a casework approach which is seen as inappropriately Western, developing countries have no monopoly on disillusion with the individual casework method and 'it was from this disillusionment that the systems and integrated methods approaches were born' (329). She also quotes Jones (1990) as asserting that this criticism of social work is based on an outdated conception of social work in the West.
- ³⁶ It is noteworthy that this writing came mainly from the historically White (HWI), liberal and 'open' universities with two in particular, Witwatersrand and Natal, leading the way.
- ³⁷ Very briefly, the conservative approach is described as one which accepts the hierarchical organisation of society and expects individuals to adapt to the prevailing order. Personal and social problems, and their resolution, are seen as the responsibility of the individual and thus this view leads to a focus on casework/remedial methods in which the worker is the 'expert'. The liberal perspective takes the capitalist social order as preferred but accepts that it needs fine-tuning as problems arise. It is consistent with an ecological perspective in which there is reciprocity between individuals and society with social problems arising primarily due to either faulty socialisation or lack of resources. Responsibility for change is therefore both individual and societal with the helping relationship being based on mutuality. The radical view assumes that the capitalist, liberal social order is the prime contributor to social problems which are primarily structural in origin. Although the long term goal is transformation to a social order in which social justice, egalitarianism and humanitarianism are upheld, the immediate priority is to reduce suffering and play an activist political role on behalf of, or together with, vulnerable and oppressed groups.
- ³⁸ As the results of the present study (see Part 2) show, a significant proportion of local social work educators espoused views and attitudes more in line with the conservative perspective.
- ³⁹ Most urban universities are HWI English or Afrikaans medium universities. However also included here (but not in the Witwatersrand area) would be the historically 'Indian' and 'Coloured' universities of Durban-Westville and Western Cape respectively. With the exception of Fort Hare, most 'rural' universities were apartheid creations for black African students which were disadvantaged both by geographical location and by low and discriminatory state funding.

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Chapter 4

Socio-cultural diversity and social work

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Chapter 4

Socio-cultural diversity and social work

I. Introduction

I use the rubric of socio-cultural diversity to denote that broad area of issues raised by the social construction and experience of difference around 'race', culture, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, disability, religious belief, and so on. Under that heading, however, the specific purpose of this chapter is fourfold. Firstly, it sets out to briefly address the focuses of this study, namely 'race', culture and ethnicity in the local context. Secondly, it provides an overview of approaches in the international social work literature. The focus here is wide, both because diversity issues are increasingly addressed holistically and because it is important to place the focuses of this study alongside other areas of difference that are also the basis of either individual or group discrimination and oppression.

In this light, I will seek to draw out some of the challenges for the social work profession in South Africa thrown up by issues of diversity and transformation. Lastly, and with reference to the relevant literature, I will set out some of the more important implications of taking socio-cultural diversity seriously for the social work curriculum. This chapter therefore concludes the literature reviews and contextual framework within which the surveys in Part 2 of this dissertation are addressed.

II. Socio-cultural diversity

Socio-cultural diversity is a rather chameleon-like notion: it tends to take on different hues depending on who is speaking, who is being addressed and in what context this conversation is taking place. Its meaning depends on what we mean by 'culture' and the way it relates to notions of difference, which for this study are 'race' and ethnicity in particular. No discussion of diversity, certainly in the South African context (and, I would suspect, anywhere else), can take place without some clarification of how these interlinked terms are used.

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A. Race and racism

The term 'race' used to describe differences between people clearly has both biological and social elements to it (Banton, 1988). Race as a term is used to group people according to certain physical characteristics, yet physical anthropologists have rejected the notion that human beings can be unambiguously defined in terms of their genetic constitution. Some social scientists have concluded, therefore, that there is no such 'thing' as race (Goldberg, 1994). On the other hand, the experience of physical and social difference, racial categorisation and racism are social realities, and the study of racism and the social uses made of the notion of 'race' is an important area of social science.

'Race', therefore, is perhaps best understood as a relational concept with a number of different significations (Goldberg, 1994), a label with obvious political connotations that is often aligned with power relations. Precisely because of these strong social elements, in order to be aware of how race functions in practice a focus on the social use of biological differences is often necessary (Banton, 1988). The particular use of 'race/ethnic' categories in the analysis of results in this study (see Chapter 5) is therefore highly specific to South Africa, where race and ethnic differences have been emphasised and constructed.

Racism has been variously defined. Van den Berghe posited that racism is:

... any set of beliefs that physical, organic, genetically transmitted differences between human groups are intrinsically associated with the presence or the absence of certain socially relevant abilities or characteristics, hence that such differences are a legitimate basis of invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as races. (Van den Berghe, 1967)

Put more simply, racism involves the belief that one's own 'race' (however that is construed) is superior to others and therefore has the right to privilege and power. More contemporary definitions stress that racism is primarily the effect of structural discrimination and institutional practices rather than simply personal prejudice and also that it can operate both intentionally or unintentionally (Batts & Brown, 1990). Recent social theory has tended to criticise a totalising concept of 'racism' as a uniform phenomenon or experience but points out that it acts in different ways in different contexts – this view identifies not one but many 'racisms' (Goldberg, 1994).

B. Culture and ethnicity

Local everyday usage, as well as much social work literature, has tended to treat culture as both an obvious social fact and an ideologically neutral concept. But culture can be defined in many different ways and carries a range of possible associations that make it clear that it is often an ideological and contested notion. On one level, for example, culture in everyday language can mean those activities or practices often associated with sophisticated, 'advanced' and usually, but not exclusively, Western societies as contrasted with their relative absence in other 'primitive', and usually technologically simpler, societies. Much racist and discriminatory discourse has tended to rely heavily on casting people from 'First World' and 'Third World' societies in these differing moulds. By contrast, culture can be used pejoratively to refer to traditional and, by implication, outmoded social and/or religious practices counterpoised with the rational-scientific social principles of so-called 'modern' society. Such characterisations are clearly problematic in that they confine comparison of cultural differences to those of the superior/inferior kind.

This is why the serious study of cultural phenomena must begin with the assumption that culture consists of all the learned forms of behaviour evident in the life of a social group and characterises all human endeavour, all human societies and individuals. Within the formal academic context, culture is used collectively to denote the symbolic and learned, non-biological aspects of human society, including language, custom and convention. Since most societies are made up of numerous social groups, they are said to comprise a plurality of cultures, hence the notion of a multicultural society and terms such as cultural diversity. Mare understands culture as 'all that which we are *not* born with' (1993a) and for Verhelst

Culture is the sum total of the original solutions that a group of human beings invent to adapt to their natural and social environment. (Verhelst, 1990: 17)

From this viewpoint culture is highly specific, constructed and reproduced within particular relations of power, and can only be properly understood through detailed contextual analysis. Precisely because cultures are constructed they are dynamic, always open to change in response to environmental influences.

All cultural formations, whether historical or contemporary, traditional or 'modern', exotic or commonplace, are open to examination in terms of identity and power. Local cultural phenomena as varied and different as 'apartheid ideology', 'Western' influence on African lifestyles, the rise

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of Black Consciousness and the question of 'Coloured' identity and nationalism can all be usefully explored from a cultural perspective that includes an analysis of power relations. There are two complementary perspectives possible here. The culture-specific (or 'emic') perspective seeks to understand a particular culture, or set of cultural practices, within its own specific terms of reference. The culture-general (or 'etic') perspective places the particular culture within the broader socio-cultural context of unequal power relations of domination and marginalisation

In this vein, several South African social scientists have shown that the concept of culture under apartheid was highly ideological, employed to justify and underpin the oppressive and discriminatory policy of 'separate development' (Boonzaier & Sharp, 1988; de Haas, undated; Swartz, 1986). As a result, Dubow argues,

even today, as a new South Africa is struggling to be born, the coded language of 'groups', 'nation' and 'cultural identity' retains a ghostly resonance. Together, they alert us to the residual salience of an ideology which, though wholly discredited, continues to exercise a significant influence over events. (Dubow, 1991: 30)

This enduring resonance can be seen in the media and in some professional literature, where overt references to 'race' or population groups are often dropped in favour of the terms 'culture' or 'community'. This usage can be problematic for many reasons, one of which is the implication that race is equivalent to culture. Hence one finds local research reporting that inadequate and discriminatory services in the mental-health field were justified with recourse to the idea that different cultures had 'different' needs (Swartz, 1996). This could as easily apply to social work services (Lowe, 1988; McKendrick & Dudas, 1987).

There is almost inevitably a political dimension to ethnicity, most often expressed as a group's cultural identity and combined with its mobilisation for resources and power, usually in the name of self-determination. This is evident not only in post-apartheid South Africa, in Afrikaner and Zulu cultural claims, for example, but also internationally, in Eastern Europe and Central Africa. Marc (1993a) warns, however, that we should not see ethnicity simply as a means of political manipulation of a vulnerable group by some powerful class, organisation, state or person(s). Rather:

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If we view ethnicity outside of its frequent use in political mobilisation, then we also see the potential of acknowledging and protecting cultural diversity, without rewarding and privileging this social identity with political power. (Maré, 1993: 7)

While staying aware of how culture and ethnicity can be employed for political and social ends, we should also be careful of simply asserting that there is a 'real' similarity between persons and groups that underlies apparent, but ultimately superficial, cultural differences. Such a 'universalist' view criticises the construction of artificial and exaggerated differences created and sustained in the apartheid and colonial eras and stresses what all persons hold in common in basic human terms. This universalist view can be understood as a necessary part of the political and moral opposition to apartheid. By the early 1990s, however, it had resulted in 'a widespread culture of "political correctness" [that] reigned in many scholarly circles: to put the ethnic question [was] commonly viewed to insinuate opposition to the African National Congress ideology of non-racial South African nationalism' (Bekker, 1993: 83).

While it could be argued that this view was socially and politically necessary for nation-building, Swartz has pointed out that it lacks a psychological dimension in that at the personal subjective level it cast as false, or distorted, any experience of *difference* in terms of race or culture:

Essential though it was for it to be shown that the very terms 'race', 'culture', and 'ethnicity' were political terms not based upon any respectable 'real' ('biological') differences, the terms profoundly affected, and will continue to affect the construction of South African emotional life - including the life of desire, emotion, and the following of leaders. (Swartz, 1996: 127)

Other social scientists have begun to take a more critical look at the notions of 'nation' and 'nation-building'. Degenaar (1993) has sought to expose what he called the 'myth of the nation' by demonstrating how the idea of an inclusive nation-state is itself an historically and ideologically constructed one. Simpson (1993) has argued that 'nation-building is far from an unproblematic, unilinear, irreversible process', referring to contemporary conflict in many nation-states.

It is evident then that both relativist assumptions of cultural difference,¹ especially those that invoke hierarchical difference between 'advanced' and 'primitive' cultures, and universalist assumptions of cultural similarity (or the superficiality of cultural difference) are unlikely to provide an adequate understanding of social formations and personal experience if we see them as

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opposing and alternative viewpoints. As Pedersen, writing in a North American context, has argued

Overemphasis on similarity has resulted in the error of the 'melting pot' which assumes that very important differences do not matter. Overemphasis on differences has resulted in stereotyped, exclusionary isolation of groups from one another. (Pedersen, undated: 2)

In order, therefore, to engage accurately and sensitively with daily social and personal realities, it is best to make as few assumptions as possible about cultural differences or similarities. Or, as Pedersen (1991: 1) proposes, what is needed is a cultural perspective that combines the extremes of same and different by explaining behaviour both in terms of unique cultural perspectives and common-ground universals shared across groups. A conceptually inclusive approach that avoids either/or choices seems to be a prerequisite for a social work practice that adequately addresses social (group) and personal (individual) needs.

III. Diversity and difference in social work: from the universal to the particular

In historical terms social work is the creation of Western, capitalist societies in which the early charitable work of volunteers, responding to problems of social dislocation associated mainly with rapid industrialisation, gradually became institutionalised and professionalised. It is has also been in these societies that a number of approaches largely critical of mainstream social work practice have recently emerged. These approaches have sought to address ignored and marginalised socio-cultural issues within social work reflective of the wider political and social struggles of the 1960s and 1970s. To a large extent these struggles were a reaction against the dominant, globalising and 'modernist' cultures of American and European imperialism. Feminist, black power/consciousness, gay/lesbian, ecological and peace movements, as well as the national and minority-group liberation and anti-imperialist movements can all be seen as examples of a world-wide trend away from universalism toward the assertion of distinctiveness and difference.

In North America, the civil rights movement of the 1960s, with its stress on the political and social rights of marginalised ethnic minorities, led to demands for an end to racism and inequality as well as an assertion of ethnic pride. Broadly speaking, social work responded in two main ways. First, there were attempts to develop 'ethnic-sensitive', culturally relativist conceptualisations of social work practice that pointed to the equal importance of non-

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mainstream and minority-group cultures in social work (Devore & Schlesinger, 1981, Green, 1982). Secondly, minority-group leaders attempted to establish ethnically or racially based services run for and by minority communities themselves (Cheetham, 1982b). Some of these latter developments appeared ethnically separatist and, therefore, politically reactionary to many mainstream practitioners, who saw themselves as non-racial and progressive. However, these developments were justified by minority, black or African-American activists as necessary for the establishment of ethnic and personal pride and for developing a sense of competency and self-sufficiency in these minority communities (Cheetham, 1982b).

The move away from the so-called 'melting-pot' and 'colour-blind' approaches represented an attack on mainstream social work. Prior to the 1960s it was more generally believed that 'explicit attention to the relationship between ethnicity, social class, and behaviour was somehow incongruent with social work's commitment to equality and the uniqueness of each individual' (Devore & Schlesinger, 1981: vi). Some saw this development as a divergence from social work's established universalist commitment to the equal treatment of all individuals. Critiques of social work theory and practice centred around its failure to appreciate the impact on minority individuals and groups of discrimination on the basis of class, race, ethnicity and other 'differences', and, secondly, on its implicit ethnocentrism which assumed white, Western, patriarchal and middle class values to be the norm. A similar process to the one above occurred in the United Kingdom (Cheetham, 1982a & 1982b). Out of this experience various approaches to dealing with issues of social and cultural diversity developed.

While many social workers in South Africa monitored these international trends, the institution of social work was largely isolated from their influence due mainly to apartheid and its consequences for international relations. However, the transition to democracy and South Africa's re-entry into the international arena have led to the emergence of new policies and practices and to concerns with a range of previously neglected issues, one of which is the development of a practice that adequately addresses socio-cultural-diversity issues.

In this regard there is much to learn from approaches articulated in the overseas literature. It is possible to categorise these approaches broadly in terms of the range of 'differences' encompassed in each approach. Historically, these approaches initially addressed particular,

focused dimensions of difference. In the following review these are labelled 'single-issue' approaches.

A. Single-issue approaches

Although diverse, single-issue approaches tend to focus on a particular area of discrimination or marginalisation, to seek to challenge mainstream social work to confront the issue, and therefore to advocate change in the dominant social work professional culture. Many of the 'single issues' have aspects of wider political and social struggles against dominant cultural formations. Some authors stress a model of social work practice, some focus on training or curriculum approaches, and some combine the two.

1. Culture-sensitive approaches

As indicated above, an earlier approach tended to focus on the issue of culture-sensitivity or awareness (Chictham, 1982, Christensen, 1986, Devore & Schiesinger, 1981, Garland & Escobar, 1988, Green, 1982, Jackson, 1980, Norton, 1978, Triseliotis, 1986). The aim of the culture-sensitive approach was to increase the competency of largely mainstream (white, middle-class) social workers in working cross-culturally using anthropological insights, knowledge and methods. With hindsight, a negative aspect of this approach was a tendency to see the particular 'ethnic minority' or 'traditional' culture as being in an intermediate stage of development through which it would pass on its route to becoming 'modernised' and assimilated into the mainstream and dominant culture (McMahon & Allen-Mearns, 1992). This emphasis tended to locate the problem within the minority culture itself, which then became an object of interest and study, rather than locating the problem in the way that culture or group was viewed (Dominelli, 1988). Denney (1983) has usefully identified three different emphases (the anthropological, liberal pluralist and cultural pluralist) within this approach in the British social work literature.

The positive characteristic of this approach, however, stressed the valuing of cultural and social practices of ethnic minority groups and, by implication, located the source of the problem in the insensitive and ethnocentric attitudes of mainstream workers towards those groups. Norton's 'dual perspective' (1978) focused on the degree of congruence between the minority group's immediate social and physical environment (the nurturing system) and that of the major society in which the group is embedded (the sustaining system). It stressed 'empathic appreciation' of this

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'socio-cultural dissonance' (Chau, 1990a) and influenced social work educational practice in the United States. In Britain, the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work published curriculum proposals (CCETSW, 1983) as part of its policy to promote the training of social workers 'for work in a multicultural society'. Later versions of this approach addressed some of the criticisms levelled against narrow 'culturalist' approaches and include more in-depth consideration of the dynamics of ethnicity, culture and race within a transcultural or multicultural perspective (Chau, 1990a, 1990b, Nakamishi & Rittner, 1992, Triseliotis, 1986)

2. Anti-racist approaches

Partly as a response to the perceived inadequacies of the cultural-sensitive approaches, and partly in line with wider political developments, anti-racist approaches have emerged, mainly in the United Kingdom (Ahmad, 1990, Ballard, 1989, CCETSW, 1991a, 1991b & 1993, Coombe & Little, 1986, Dominelli, 1988, Gould, 1992, Husband, 1980a & 1980b, Jones, 1981, Race Equality Unit, 1988). In North America these approaches were characterised by a strong focus on racism and the need for black empowerment (Lum, 1986; Hopkins, 1980; Katz, 1979, Solomon, 1976, White, 1984). These approaches, expounded mainly by black academics and professionals, criticised the purely cultural approaches for failing to appreciate the pervasive reality of racism and skewed power relations. While acknowledging the importance of cultural issues, the anti-racist approaches have viewed the preoccupation with culture as serving to deflect attention from the core issues of racism and racial oppression. They present a range of anti-racist strategies, which include race-awareness training courses for white professionals, targeted services directed at the specific needs of black families and communities, and affirmative recruitment of black professionals into social work training and practice.

3. Radical or Marxist approaches

Radical, or Marxist, approaches emerged within a wider political movement mainly in the United Kingdom. They have been located explicitly within analyses of class and have sought to further socialist objectives (Brake & Bailey, 1980, Corrigan & Leonard, 1978). Issues of culture or ethnicity, and even of racism, are viewed as either secondary to the central dynamic of class struggle or as features of the capitalist system itself. The role of the social worker within these approaches is centred upon supporting and empowering clients and communities seen as part of the broader working-class movement. In direct social work practice much attention was given to

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community development work and to the organisation of community advocacy groups on specific issues such as welfare and tenants' rights. Amid the continued global ascendancy of capitalism and the political reversals of socialist movements both in the United Kingdom and in Eastern Europe, later forms of this approach adjusted their aims to the achievement of more specific, if limited, goals of social change (Langan & Lee, 1989; Simpkin, 1989). However more recently, and partly in reaction to what is seen as the 'fashionable' influence of postmodernism (see discussion below), there have been attempts to reassert a more thoroughgoing Marxist perspective for social work practice (Ferguson & Lavalette, 1999; Smith & White, 1997).

4. Feminist approaches

A key movement that has influenced social work thought over the last two decades or more has been that of feminism. In a profession where both service providers and consumers are predominantly women, social work provided potentially fertile ground for feminist approaches to flourish. Given the dominance of the wider patriarchal context, however, and what others have pointed to as the 'feminisation' of social work, this has not been straightforward (Dominelli, 1989; Hanmer & Statham, 1988; Hudson, 1989; Langan & Day, 1992; Tice, 1990). Broader, generic feminist approaches have tended to centre the primary task of social work around the full social, cultural and sexual emancipation of women in all spheres and to focus on the need for women to empower themselves and become more assertive, self-confident and self-sufficient. The more specific approaches have focused on issues affecting women such as battering, child sexual abuse and rape. The women's movement played a key role in bringing these issues into the public spotlight by mobilising social action, influencing legislative reform and welfare policy and developing gender-sensitive approaches. Continuing accusations of anti-male bias and 'reverse sexism', and criticisms of their sympathy with the gay and lesbian agenda, have plagued the women's movement and have served to limit the adoption of these approaches within mainstream social work practice (Dominelli, 1989).

5. Other single-issue approaches

Other single-issue approaches, each with a developed specialist literature, have responded to the needs and rights of groups with problems in common. An example is the consumer-based movement known as the Disabled People's Movement (the DPSA in South Africa) which advocates for the rights of physically and mentally disabled persons through addressing prejudice

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and institutional discrimination. Many such groups work with helping professionals towards the establishment of an 'anti-disablist practice' (Oliver, 1990 & 1991). In a similar vein there are moves towards other specific forms of practice, such as those dealing with discrimination against the aged, those promoting gay and lesbian rights and those promoting religious tolerance

Subsequent to these single-issue approaches, a more inclusive range of approaches has developed. These multidimensional approaches attempt to deal with some of the more radical implications of taking a more comprehensive range of 'differences' seriously

B. Multidimensional approaches

For a professional practice that engages with as diverse a range of disadvantaged and marginalised groups as social work does, there can be little justification for a narrow focus. Thus single-issue approaches soon became logically extended to address those obstacles which limit or prevent the full participation of individuals and communities in any area of life. Some authors have sought to integrate two or more bodies of theory and practice from issue-specific literature. Examples include attempts to explore the interrelated dynamics of race and gender (Granger & Portner, 1985; Morris, 1993), race, class and gender (Davis & Proctor, 1989), and race, ethnicity and power (Pinderhughes, 1989). Two more coherent approaches are discussed below.

I. Multicultural approaches

Another set of approaches, known particularly in the United States as multicultural approaches, focus on ethnic and religious diversity, and emphasise the richness of different traditions (Christensen, 1986; George & Ka Tat Tsang, 1999; Latting, 1990; Locke, 1992). Although in many ways an extension of the culture-sensitive approach, focusing on cultural awareness and attitudes at the individual level, most later versions (for example, Batts & Brown, 1990) consider power and oppression at the psychological and socio-political levels. The North American trend, as reflected in articles in the *Journal of Multicultural Social Work*, for example, seeks a more comprehensive treatment of interacting oppressions at various levels. A growing number of social work schools and associations in North America have adopted policies promoting multicultural education (Barsky, 1995; Van Soest, 1994).

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2. Anti-discriminatory and anti-oppressive approaches

In a similar vein, the mainly British anti-discriminatory (Harlow & Hearn, 1996, McNay, 1992, Thompson, 1993; Razack, 1999) and anti-oppressive (Dalrymple & Burke, 1995; Dominelli, 1996; Macey & Moxon, 1996; Williams, 1999; Williams et al. 1998) approaches² direct radical and anti-racist analyses of power and race relations toward, among other things, gender, class, culture, ethnicity, disability, age, religion and the interactions between them³. These approaches aim to recognise both the commonalities and the differences between multiple oppression, yet, as Thompson has pointed out, they recognise that '[this] interaction is a complex, intricate and relatively under-researched area' (1993: 12).

Such inclusive and multidimensional approaches now appear to be the preferred norm in the educational literature and increasingly on many social work training courses. Their broader focus is also, in part, informed by current social theory (such as post-modernism and discourse analysis – the work of Foucault and Lyotard in particular) as complex, specific to particular contexts and nuanced, rather than simply a function of the class struggle, racism or sexism (Leonard, 1995; Lloyd, 1998; Macey & Moxon 1996; Martincz-Brawley & Brawley, 1999; McBeath & Webb, 1991; Morris, 1993; Sacco, 1995; Sands & Nuccio, 1990; Tice, 1990). Rather than rely on the 'grand narratives' of Marxist or other modernist progressive thinking, these theoretical approaches seek to understand each specific situation, or set of social practices, in terms of the dominant and interacting power relations and discourses at work⁴. This involves a detailed contextual analysis of which groups are subjugated or regulated by which other more powerful groups, as well as which voices are silenced or muted by which discursive means.

This social theory has also articulated a critique of multiculturalism and anti-racism as social practices (Donald & Rattansi, 1992; Gilroy, 1991; Goldberg, 1994). Criticisms of the former are similar to those mentioned above that multiculturalism takes prejudice as central and 'essentialises' culture while attempting to educate people about other cultures. Multiculturalist approaches are therefore accused of ignoring or masking power relations between groups. A non-essentialist view of ethnicity, differences and identity that views these concepts as social constructions is preferred, as is the notion of 'hybridity', which seeks to acknowledge and describe the multi-layered reality of individual and group differences and identity.⁵ The anti-racist approach, on the other hand, is seen as overly rational and instrumental, and is also criticised for

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taking a Marxist view of 'false consciousness' in attempting to explain away the existence of racist attitudes among the working class. As referred to earlier, any unitary view of racism is also disregarded, as social reality is viewed as more ambiguous and complex with there being not one racism but many 'racisms'

Some social work writers have attempted to draw out the implications of this theoretical shift for both a critical social work practice and for the teaching and learning of social work (Razack, 1999; Rossiter, 1993; Stanton & Swift, 1996 and see discussion in Section V below). The relative hierarchy of academic institutions and the student/faculty-staff relationship, as well as conventional content-based teaching methods, have been seen as inimical to the teaching of truly anti-oppressive and liberatory practice models. It has been argued, therefore, that when one attempts to teach from a critical postmodern perspective 'contradictions between the content and the process immediately surface' (Rossiter, 1993: 77). The implications are far-reaching and require a critical social work educational practice that interrogates

[t]he rules of exclusion that have operated so powerfully in social work to privilege forms and sources of knowledge that are eurocentric, patriarchal, and bourgeois [that] are an essential means of ideological domination. (Leonard, 1994: 22)

One alternative proposed by a number of writers (Bozalek, 1998; Leonard, 1994; Rossiter, 1993 & 1995) is some form of critical pedagogy, or 'dialogical education', that is seen to be congruent with the study of power relations. This approach has its intellectual roots in neo-Marxism (Althusser and Gramsci) and is heavily indebted to the work of Freire (1981), as well as being influenced by post-structuralism and postmodernism. It promotes a sceptical attitude towards all claims of objective, universal truths and rejects the idea of there being a monopoly of 'expert' knowledge within the control of the teacher who then transmits this knowledge to the relatively passive student. For the social work educator the methodological challenge, from this perspective, is

to teach social work knowledge while treating it as an artifact of a culture organised in terms of relations of domination: an artifact on which the facts, attitudes, beliefs and practices that inhibit or liberate potential are constantly being inscribed. (Rossiter, 1993: 79)

There is an emphasis on learning as a process of mutual empowerment between students and teachers with 'alternative knowledges', a process that reflects a range of gender, class, ethnic and

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cultural experiences being 'treated with respect as social practices but within an educational arena of critical pluralism' (Leonard, 1994: 24). The difficulties involved in implementing such an approach are considerable, but some development, at least on a single-course level, has been reported (Bozalek, 1998; Rossiter, 1993 & 1995).

IV. The challenge of diversity in a changing South Africa

As a profession, social work in South Africa has only recently emerged from a long period (outlined in Chapter 2) of rigidly segregated settings in which social workers seldom engaged with communities and clients in communities other than their own. As most welfare funding supported services to the White, and to a lesser extent the 'Coloured' and Indian,⁶ populations, social work practice largely reflected models typical of mainstream practice in the Western, developed world (Hare & McKendrick, 1976). The dominance of these two enduring characteristics of South African welfare, the racially skewed distribution of resources on the one hand and 'case-centred' remedial social work practice on the other, have provided the poles around which much of the welfare policy debate in South Africa, especially between the mid-1980s and 1994, has turned.

Subsequent to the election of the African National Congress-led government in 1994, a formal process of review of welfare policy was carried out, culminating in the White Paper for Social Welfare (Ministry of Welfare and Population Development, 1997). This policy aims to transform welfare into a non-discriminatory, egalitarian and developmental system. As has been pointed out, at its core, this requires a cultural transformation (often referred to as 'indigenisation') leading to a re-evaluation of social work's moral and political values, its commitments to social justice and client/community empowerment, methods of service delivery and strategies for change (Bernstein, 1995; Ferguson-Brown & Partab, 1999; Gray, 1998a & 1998b; Letsebe, 1997; Midgley, 1998; Ntusi, 1998; Sewpaul, 1998).

A. The South African social work response: from anti-apartheid to progressive welfare

In South Africa, forty years under apartheid saw the repression of most political and social rights movements. The social work profession was dominated by white Afrikaans speakers,⁷ whose main focus was on serving the needs of impoverished white people (McKendrick, 1980). Despite this oppressive environment, some activist groups survived, mainly within the informal welfare

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sector (Mazibuko et al., 1992, Patel, 1992). Chisholm (1990) has pointed to the welfare work of the coloured political organisations, of the 'multiracial' Joint Councils,⁸ and of black social workers in the main urban centres as examples of neglected areas in our knowledge of South African welfare.

A unique example of a single-issue approach in South Africa was to be found in the emergence of the progressive welfare movement with its explicit anti-apartheid focus (Letsebe, 1997, Patel, 1992, Taback, 1991). The emergence of this movement has been briefly outlined and referred to in the previous two chapters. It could be argued that, by the time of the Regional Consultative Conference on Social Welfare in 1991 and as part of this broad movement, 'an alternative model of social service delivery had already begun to emerge' (Patel, 1991a: 1). This 'alternative model' became the seed from which much subsequent welfare policy and thinking has grown (see the 1997 White Paper for Social Welfare alluded to above). At the time, however, this time-limited, single-issue approach had the clear purpose of opposing and creating alternatives to apartheid welfare. It was driven, as many of the above single-issue approaches have been, by a commitment to equality and social and political rights for all. Its opposition to racial oppression and the abuse of cultural differences gave it an explicit non-racial or anti-racist focus.

B. Empowerment and social development: an indigenous social work approach?

The necessarily narrower focus of the anti-apartheid welfare movement of the 1980s has broadened into a multi-dimensional welfare model inclusive of the rights and special needs of all those victims/survivors of past discrimination on the basis of race or colour, class, gender, religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity, age or disability. In this sense it is an approach cast within the anti-oppressive mould. What is distinctive in South African social welfare policy, as in the case of other developing countries, is that it is required to address a wide range of more fundamental social and economic needs than the client-based approaches that originated in Western developed countries. The goal has been to develop an indigenous social welfare model appropriate to South Africa. Social development is increasingly being seen as the policy model most suited to South Africa's developmental and welfare needs (Bernstein, 1995; Ferguson-Brown & Partab, 1999; Gray, 1996 & 1998b; Lombard, 1997; Louw, 1998; Mabetoa, 1999; Midgley, 1995, 1996 & 1998; Sewpaul, 1997). It should be noted however that the view that social development has increasing application in the developed world, or universally, is gaining

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ground (Dominelli, 1997; Lusk & Horejsi, 1999 and Midgley, 1998). The social development policy model needs to embrace anti-discriminatory measures and remove obstacles preventing people from gaining access to resources and services. At the same time, it must promote the empowerment and development, both social and economic, of those living in poverty and with high levels of unmet needs in the areas of education, health, housing and welfare.

As a few authors have recently commented, the implementation of this policy has not been straightforward and a number of problems have been experienced and challenges remain (Ferguson- Brown & Partab, 1999; Letsebe, 1997; Midgley, 1998). These include: achieving the paradigm shift to a development-oriented approach; the training and re-training of social welfare personnel; establishing multiculturalism and multilingualism; improving the accessibility of services; overcoming financial and human resource constraints (Letsebe, 1997); the demise/floundering of the RDP² as a broad institutional framework; competing interest groups, and high rates of poverty, crime and unemployment (Midgley, 1998). In their study, Ferguson- Brown & Partab (1999) found little evidence of radical forms of practice (social action and lobbying) or anti-discriminatory practice, a lack of development of rural-based services by government departments and limited evidence of user involvement in service delivery. Midgley observes that:

despite the engaging rhetoric ... tangible examples of the implementation of developmental social programmes are limited. (Midgley: 1998: 96)

Interestingly, several authors have argued, or implied, that social and/or community development models are in fact desirable on cultural grounds (Graham, 1999; Maforah, 1987; Osei-Hwedie, 1993 & 1995; Silavwe, 1995; Tau, 1995; Tshabalala, 1986). They tend to see these models, with their participatory, collective focus, as much closer to African culture than conventional Western social work models. Thus Silavwe argues:

The principles on which social casework is based ... are therefore inappropriate for social work practice in an African setting because they are based on values (especially self-determination and confidentiality) which assume concepts of individuality not applicable in an African society ... [whereas] ... in African society the emphasis is on conformity and conservatism; there is relatively little room for the display of individual initiatives, self-direction or self-determination, ... [which] ... is usually sanctioned by or is part of the wider living community. (Silavwe, 1995: 71)

² Reconstruction and Development Programme

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The role of social and community groups in social support and decision-making is thus seen as the key to social development. Such culturally based claims can be seen as part of a wider process of Africanisation which asserts the positive and specific value of indigenous cultures which, historically, have been marginalised and vilified as 'backward' and 'primitive' by Western colonial cultures. While crucially important in terms of reclaiming the positive value of traditional cultures and in countering racist stereotypes, these claims also rely to an extent upon a relatively fixed and generalised conception of African culture that does not necessarily reflect cultural shifts and developments, especially in urban and more middle-class settings.

It is ironic that similar cultural claims based on 'otherness' and cultural and ethnic difference were used by previous white South African governments to justify, for example, the lack of social services to black communities. A common stereotype of cultural difference used in this regard was that in the black communities, unlike in urban, Westernised communities, people 'take care of their own', therefore making professional or formalised services unnecessary. As Midgley (1991 & 1998) and others (Bernstein, 1995; Ferguson-Brown & Partab, 1999; Mabetsa, 1999) have argued, a developing country like South Africa needs an integrated spectrum of social work services within a broadly developmental, multicultural framework. This would therefore include the possibility that any individual or family, regardless of their cultural background, would be able to obtain the kind of social work assistance they themselves regard as appropriate and relevant to their needs and interests⁹

C. Towards an anti-discriminatory, culturally appropriate local practice

As indicated above, the model of social work that was developed in South Africa over the last sixty years was the product of a particular set of values and power relations that drew heavily on Euro-American models but was constructed by a minority group in political power for its own ends. While an immediate and obvious goal for welfare policy has been to remove discrimination in existing social work services and welfare provision, the larger challenge is the creation of an appropriate and culturally inclusive social work practice. And, here careful consideration has to be given not only to the shift from remedial to developmental emphases but also to fundamental issues of socio-cultural diversity or 'difference' (see Azmi, 1999 and George & Ka Tat Tsang, 1999 for contemporary support for this view). These issues reflect the assumptions and values that mediate the relationships between social workers and clients. As Verheist (1990) and Tau

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(1995) have pointed out, it is possible for models of development to be as culturally inappropriate as any other methodology

Given the views outlined above, what are the implications for local social work practice? As Crawford succinctly puts it:

Culture is the space where people construct identity ...[and] ... any discussion of cultural differences or closing cultural gaps has to acknowledge the present unequal power relations if these, even with the best will in the world, are not to be reproduced over and over. (Crawford, 1994: 15)

Simply increasing awareness and knowledge around issues of difference, among social workers and communities, will not be sufficient to bring about acceptance, understanding and equal valuing of such differences. Precisely because of the unequal power relations that coexist with these differences, a diversities approach must be underpinned by core values of equity and justice. Social work practitioners who take cultural and other social differences seriously, therefore, also need to adopt methodologies that empower excluded and marginalised groups who, for various reasons, are seen by dominant groups as not only different but also inferior. An important element of such empowerment models is the inclusive and representative participation of clients, communities and groups at all levels of planning and intervention.¹⁰

There is no single model, approach or methodology that could encompass the anti-discriminatory and cultural-diversities perspectives. These perspectives help to elaborate and expand existing social work methodologies rather than replace them. Their value lies in helping practitioners to ensure that their everyday practice becomes 'good practice' (Thompson, 1993: 153). Perhaps the most important contribution of a cultural-diversities perspective is its close attention to context. It requires that local social work practitioners and researchers plan, implement and evaluate their intervention strategies in terms of their contextual appropriateness. The summary reproduced in **Appendix A**, adapted from Thompson (1993), provides a checklist of the positive steps to be taken, and the dangers to be avoided, in incorporating an anti-discriminatory, culture-sensitive perspective in social work practice.

1. Diversity issues in local social work practice: some recent examples

This section reviews recent writing or research (post 1994) that has attempted to address diversity issues in local social work practice

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a) Transcultural practice

Acknowledgement of the urgent need for a local culturally sensitive, or multicultural, social work practice has grown apace in the democratic era (see du Plooy, 1996, Mackintosh, 1998, Sikhita, 1996, van Staden, 1997, van Dam, 1997, and discussion in next section on social work education). However, as noted by Sikhita, there has been limited research and development around a locally rooted and context-specific cross-cultural practice that provides specific guidelines for South African social workers. In the post-apartheid, and especially the post-1994, era there has been a tendency for the words 'culture' or 'community' to replace 'race' or 'population group' in an attempt to signal distancing from apartheid terminology. Some social work literature reflects this particularly where the adjective 'multicultural' is used to denote racial inclusivity rather than a diversity-specific focus¹¹.

Some authors however have made attempts to advance multicultural practice specifically. Two recent studies explored the attitudes and experiences of practitioners in this regard. In a survey of the preparedness of a sample of industrial social workers for multi-cultural practice Du Plooy (1996) started from the almost reluctant position that, following the massive political changes in South Africa, the social worker who has a Western orientated reference framework 'is now forced to render services to clients from a cultural background totally different from his own' (Du Plooy, 1996: i). Unsurprisingly, she found that most industrial social workers did not feel that their training had equipped them sufficiently for service delivery in multicultural situations. Apart from recommending that social workers must be trained to be culturally sensitive, du Plooy also concludes that social workers should be encouraged to study a black language in order to eliminate communication problems with their clients.

van Dam (1997) reached very similar conclusions in a study of the attitudes and perceptions of supervisors and supervisees in the Gauteng area regarding the rendering of 'cultural-sensitive' supervision in social work. She found that there were very few problems generally but the exception was the 'communication barriers' experienced by the majority of respondents due to language differences. Recommendations included training in culture-sensitive supervision, a focus on cultural values rather than 'biographical' aspects such as race (with anthropology included as a subject in social work training), and the learning of a 'third language' (i.e. an African language). Within an eco-systems family therapy framework, van Staden (1997) drew on a review of a

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number of diverse 'culturalist' perspectives identified in the North American literature (namely the universalist, particularist, ethnic-focused and multidimensional) to emphasise the importance of taking cultural variables into account.

With a rather different emphasis Sikhita (1996) provided a summary, also culled from the North American literature, of a number of challenging issues and guidelines for effective practice in the area of cross-cultural work. Sikhita accuses South African social workers in the apartheid era of seeking 'comfort and safety' in practising within their own racial and ethnic 'cocoon' without the challenge of having their views of other races and ethnic groups exposed or questioned (Sikhita, 1996: 61). While power and status dynamics are not central to his exposition, in contrast to the above two empirical studies (which focus almost exclusively on cultural and/or linguistic differences) these issues are at least partly addressed.

b) Changes in child care practice

Although the family has become an increasingly contested area of social and particularly gender relations, in South Africa social welfare policy explicitly promotes family life and values (White Paper on Social Welfare, 1997). Even so, when racial and cultural issues are added to the emotive mix of family politics, this debate becomes complex and contentious (Mackintosh, 1992, & 1998). A traditional area of social work practice that provokes such debate is the placement within substitute families of children in need of care. It has become a social work axiom that a foster or adoptive family, rather than any institutional alternative, is the most desirable form of substitute care. Arguments in favour of placing black children in black families as a first and preferred option have, for a number of reasons, gained influence in both the USA and Britain in the recent period (ABSWAP, 1981; Macey, 1995) although policy and practice in this area remains highly controversial (Kirton, 1999). This has been based partly on the importance of fostering a positive racial and cultural identity (and the associated concern of 'losing' minority children to the dominant group), and partly on the need for black children to learn to cope with racism in the wider white society (Simon & Alstein, 1987; Small, 1987).

In South Africa transracial fostering and adoption has become legally possible only recently following years of apartheid restrictions (Simpkins et al, 1990 and see brief discussion in Chapter 3). Most social workers' priorities centre around meeting the immediate physical and emotional needs of the child and therefore the first available family is often the placement of choice which

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has, in the local context, usually meant a white family (Ledderborge, 1996). This common practice has not as yet given rise to the sorts of objections at a professional or political level that have been raised elsewhere¹² (though see Mosikatsana, 1995 for a debate amongst local legal professionals). While the reasons for this are not clear, one factor might be the severe shortage of placements of any kind for the large numbers of children in desperate need.

Two separate studies of transracial adoption and foster placements carried out by South African child welfare agencies (Gishen, 1996; Ledderborge, 1996) revealed very similar findings. The (mostly abandoned) children were being provided with a stable family environment and having their developmental needs met (Ledderborge, 1996) while transracial adoption appeared positive and successful to the majority of adoptive parents (Gishen, 1996) despite the fact that many white adoptive/foster parents had initially opted for transracial placements because of the unavailability of white children. Ledderborge (1996) reported that slightly over one half of the families had experienced a 'paradigm change' in their self-perception towards viewing themselves as increasingly 'multicultural'. The substitute parents in both studies appeared to understand the child's identity needs (e.g. the importance of living in multiracial neighbourhoods, using multiracial schools, socialising with people from different race groups and providing same-race role models) while some voiced the need for ongoing agency support in this regard. Both authors cautioned that a follow-up study of these children would be needed to assess later adjustment, developmental and racial/cultural identity issues.

In a study with a wider scope, van Dyk (1996) identified factors influencing the application of child-care legislation Black (i.e. African) families and children in South Africa. She found that African families generally have a strong adaptive capacity and ability to be flexible - the striking example being the use of the extended family to provide care to children in need. van Dyk consequently recommended that legislation, policies and interventions should be designed to incorporate 'kinship care' as a child placement option. She concluded that

... the standards of western civilisation inherent in present child care policy and legislation become inapplicable and farcical within the protection of black children and that policy and practice 'cannot be divorced from some fundamentally cultural and contextual issues' (van Dyk, 1996: 157).

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And further recommended that 'ethnic-sensitive' criteria and practices should supplement traditional child protection services while more middle-level paraprofessional social workers who are closer to the (black) communities they serve should be trained.

c) **Mental illness in black African communities**

As briefly reviewed in Chapter 3, local social work writing has shown some interest in the cultural dimensions of mental illness and treatment amongst black African communities¹³. Ratau's (1997) recent empirical study involved interviews with African respondents and their families who had received treatment from both traditional (African) healers and (Western) mental health practitioners. In line with similar anthropological studies, Ratau found that witchcraft, ancestors, breaking of cultural norms or taboos, and pollution beliefs are regarded as important causes of mental illness in African communities. These communities also distinguished between two forms of illness namely spiritual and natural illness - the former caused by the above factors and the latter by natural factors and injuries. Users of services generally believed that mental illness caused by witchcraft was best treated by traditional healers whereas natural, physical or organically based mental illness was best treated by Western medicine and they made use of both medical and traditional services accordingly. Importantly for mental health service delivery, Ratau found that respondents experienced most mental health workers (psychiatrists, nurses and social workers) as being either largely unaware of the spiritual dimension of illness or averse to the idea of traditional healing - and that they generally lacked cultural sensitivity and flexibility.

In the context of the de-institutionalisation process and the integration of mental health into the primary health care system in Botswana, Moroka (1998) addressed the impact of cultural issues, both community and profession-based, on service delivery. In terms of service accessibility, the author notes that the only alternative many poor rural people in Botswana have are traditional and spiritual healing institutions where needy patients 'will still pay to the last coin to understand the cause and prognosis of their illness' (Moroka, 1998: 353). The predominant psychodynamic orientation of psychiatric services in contrast to the inclination of the Batswana who tend to present with somatic complaints and paranoid and/or persecutory ideas linked to witchcraft and ancestral spirits is also noted. Moroka argues that biochemical explanations and/or psychodynamic concepts are inaccessible to most other languages used in Botswana other than English and can therefore only be used with limited success.

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Patient re-education has always been characterised by a tug-of-war, where the hospital and modern mental professionals would offer a different explanation from the one offered back in the community. (Moroka, 1998, 353)

This conflict between the two systems creates problems in cases that need referral and discharge and a significant number of Batswana oscillate between traditional and modern care. Moroka claims, with support from other sources, that modern health services have not won the full confidence of the community because of their 'organ' orientation rather than the holistic approach adopted by traditional practitioners. Both Ratau (1997) and Moroka (1998) recommend co-operation and even a 'teamwork' approach between traditional healers and Western health workers.

d) Cultural aspects of fertility

Explicitly linking her purposes to that of the promotion of cultural sensitivity and respect for diversity amongst social service professionals through their improved knowledge of service users' frames of reference, Sewpaul (1999) sought to understand some local cultural and religious aspects of infertility. Case studies of infertile couples and interviews with twelve religious leaders around their views on infertility were carried out with a specific focus on Hindu, Christian and African Traditional¹⁴ beliefs and practices. Although various factors were found to influence the impact of religion on an individual's experience of infertility, the most pervasive theme was that infertility was often seen, across all groups, as 'a punishment for wrong-doing'. African couples appeared to be the most biculturally socialised in that their beliefs included aspects of both Christianity and African Traditional religion. In what is perhaps her most important general argument, Sewpaul concluded that while knowledge of and respect for cultural beliefs around infertility are essential to promote sensitivity in medical treatment and therapy, these do not imply unthinking acceptance. Rather respect and initial acceptance provide a springboard for change and challenge, where necessary, to help meet the needs of women prejudiced by cultural stereotypes into blaming themselves and who are often carrying enormous burdens of guilt and grief. Sewpaul provides a salutary reminder that:

Culture is a social construct [that] is not fixed but dynamic and subject to change as well as preservation [and therefore] it can be open to reconstruction, given the right kind of contexts for critical and reflective dialogue, help and support. (Sewpaul, 1999: 753)

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As has been alluded to by some of the writing reviewed above (and see Chapter 3), two particular and often controversial issues arise more broadly within a transcultural approach. The first is the central role of language as the principal means of communication between worker and service user, and the second is the 'matching' or 'mixing' of worker and service user/community according to socio-cultural background or characteristics.

2. Language, communication and institutional change

The major activity of social work involves listening, explaining, negotiating and interpreting. This communication most commonly takes place directly between social workers and individuals, families and groups from disempowered communities, marginalised in terms of social class, race, culture and/or language. For reasons discussed above, the majority of registered South African social work professionals are white, and of these over half are Afrikaans-speaking.¹⁵ Of these, most are able to speak only English as a second language; white English speakers are most likely to be unilingual.¹⁶ Yet the vast majority of potential consumers of social work services are black Africans whose home languages are neither Afrikaans nor English. Such an imbalance is reflective of the wider power inequities between dominant and subjugated languages. Despite the constitutional recognition of eleven official languages, English is used increasingly as both a common language of communication and education in a multilingual society and an international language of commercial and political dialogue. It thus has a status and influence far higher than the minority of home-language English speakers would warrant. In addition, Afrikaans is still South Africa's most commonly spoken second language (Reagan, 1995).

While increasing numbers of black social workers are being trained, a major problem clearly exists in respect of the right to be spoken to in the language of one's choice during any social work encounter. And as language, culture and social power are so closely intertwined, the question of limited language competency among social work professionals is a central part of addressing cultural diversity. As Swartz et al. (1997) have pointed out in respect of mental health services, language issues have not been regarded as a priority for a number of reasons to do with local power and occupational interests as well as international neglect of these issues. Pugh & Jones (1999) offer support for this view and argue strongly that language needs to be considered as a form of differentiation and discrimination in its own right rather than being subsumed under issues of 'race'. The following three possible solutions are commonly debated.

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a) The use of interpreters

It has been fairly common practice in many settings to make use of non-professional (e.g. cleaning or clerical) staff or bilingual family members (often children) to assist social service and health professionals in communicating with service users (Norton, 1978). For a variety of reasons this is an unsatisfactory practice. As Crawford (1994) and Drennan (1992) have shown, however, even the well-resourced medical profession lacks adequate and trained interpreters. This situation is most likely to result in what Swartz (1990) has referred to as a 'veterinary' level of medical or psychiatric care, in which meaningful verbal communication between staff and patients is not regarded as important, or is accorded low priority.

While it is possible to achieve good quality communication through the adequate provision of properly trained interpreters (see Freed, 1988), given current levels and priorities of state funding this is an unrealistic option that which might only be justified in certain specialist settings. Other problems, including status and skill issues and the training of professionals in the use of interpreters, also have to be addressed (Swartz et al., 1997).

b) 'Matching' social worker and service user or community by language

Under apartheid policy, public and many private welfare organisations were racially segregated because of the ideological emphasis placed on 'own group' services to 'own group' clients or communities. It was therefore both policy and practice to 'match' social workers and clients/communities according to the latter's home language wherever possible. Although this solution has been proposed in 'progressive' North American and British literature as part of effective cross-cultural work with 'minority groups' (see below) and is still part of local practice in many agencies, in South Africa such a policy would inevitably be perceived as a return to apartheid. Moreover, the practice of 'matching' is not only ideologically tainted but also has practical constraints. With increasing urbanisation and migration and a greater linguistic mix in all areas of the country, the provision of language-based services by region is far too simplistic a solution (Van der Merwe & Van Niekerk, 1994)

c) Multilingual and multicultural agencies

Multilingual and multicultural approaches require an agency's firm commitment to what some have called a 'cultural change' approach (Swartz et al., 1997). In the short term, agencies can

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train social workers to achieve basic competence in an indigenous language. Even though this simple conversational competence tends to be inadequate when more in-depth communication is required, such efforts can greatly improve agencies' acceptability to those communities they wish to serve. There also seems little reason why social work education should not include such a requirement either on entry to or exit from professional training at university level.¹⁷ The longer-term solution is clearly the encouragement of multilingualism and multiculturalism through the education system at all levels. While this does not offer a solution for current practice, it does need immediate attention if the benefits are to be felt in several years time.

For current practice, social work agencies have to examine their own practices, institutional culture and local and specific factors, and design appropriate solutions. As Drennan (1993) and Swartz et al. (1997) have argued, language practices within institutions and the professional and linguistic patterns of inequality they reproduce need proper analysis and evaluation. Ways need to be found to engage practitioners at practical as well as social and emotional levels, so that they will participate in the reconstruction of the worker-service-user interface, making services more sensitive to the social position, culture and language of consumers.

3. 'Matching' social worker and service user/community

One strategy used to overcome challenges of cross-cultural interviewing and intervention is that of 'matching' the social characteristics (most often ethnicity, race, gender or class) of the service user and social worker. The rationale for and effectiveness of this strategy has been reviewed by Kadushin (1990). This strategy aims to improve the accessibility of services by reducing social distance and so overcoming constraints in interaction caused by difference. An assumption of such homophily is that members of subcultural groups feel most comfortable with others of that group, and that there is more likelihood that there will be more empathy, understanding and greater sense of trust in such circumstances (Kadushin, 1990).

However, as Kadushin's review of available research indicates, the effects of matching are not uniformly positive. Studies of the use of indigenous paraprofessionals from a specific community have found, for example, that such persons can quickly seek to distance themselves from, and feel impatient with, their service users. Nor is there any guarantee that the 'matched' worker will in fact act differently to a worker of a different race, class or sex, as professional training,

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identification and values often appear to be the dominant influences on behaviour (Kadushin, 1990).

Galloway (1993) reviewed the social work literature regarding matching by race or minority group and found a number of arguments in favour of the view that many white workers were not in the best position to help black people. Most arguments viewed white workers as inevitably prejudiced towards black persons, as lacking of direct experience of racism, as lacking understanding of the culture and social traditions of black people, as not being able to act as role models, and as unable to teach survival skills for life in a racist society (Ahmed, 1981; Dominelli, 1988; Solomon, 1976; Vontress, 1973). Despite these views, Galloway found that very few authors argued positively for matching as an invariable policy because of a range of potentially negative consequences. Apart from allowing white workers to opt out of responsibility for equitable service provision and to avoid confronting their own racism, other such consequences include perceptions by black service users – based on internalisation of racist assumptions – of a second-class service and restrictions on black workers' experience through leaving responsibility for work with black people with them primarily. Galloway (1993) concludes that the more pervasive consensus is that black and white social work practitioners and educators should work together in relationships free from racism to address central issues of discrimination in social work service delivery (e.g., Cheetham, 1982; Dominelli, 1988; Goodman, 1983).

Some studies indicate that clients prefer workers of the same background for services that entail personal counselling (Jenkins, 1981), while other data suggest that clients are more concerned about workers' competence, particularly in the provision of more concrete services (Burgest, 1989). A small scale local study (Jacob et al, 1991) found both these concerns to be operative. It is widely accepted, however, that linguistic, cultural and/or racial matching is not in itself a guarantee of quality service (Jenkins, 1981; Kadushin, 1990; O'Neill & Yelaja, 1991). The relevant research material, in Kadushin's view, suggests that the relationship between the establishment of rapport and effective interviewing is a curvilinear one: too little or too much rapport is undesirable, and overall 'heterogeneity within a framework of homogeneity' is probably optimal (Kadushin, 1990). Most challenges presented by cross-cultural interviewing can be resolved by skilled and sensitive interviewers who take the time and trouble to understand the service user even though, for those who wish it, it may be best wherever possible to offer service users a choice of worker, either within or among social work agencies (Kadushin, 1990).

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In the South African context, matching by culture or language often means a separation by race. In my own experience in the Western Cape this is effectively how many social work agencies operate, however regretfully and with a degree of dissatisfaction from some staff.¹⁸ Black staff matched in this way can feel resentful in that they and the communities they work in are still marginalised and relatively distant from the often more powerful, still 'white' agency and urban centres. They can also be required to do particularly stressful work in township or peri-urban areas that have poor facilities and inadequate resources combined with high levels of need and poverty. Progressive thinking in welfare circles, and now official welfare policy post-1994, is strongly in favour of non-racial, 'mixed' social work services. Of course, the effective functioning of such a service model requires considerable effort and commitment on a number of levels. Whether enough is being done in terms of training, in local indigenous languages for example, to ensure that such services are accessible and of uniform good quality has yet to be demonstrated.

The sections above have outlined both single-issue and multidimensional practice approaches that incorporate, and address to varying degrees, issues of 'difference' in the areas of race, ethnicity and culture. These are, firstly, those of 'culture-sensitive' (or transcultural) and anti-racist practice and, secondly, the more inclusive multidimensional approaches of multicultural and anti-discriminatory (or anti-oppressive) practice. Experience around the world has shown that teaching and learning around these approaches raise a number of issues for both individual educators and their social work departments and institutions (see discussion below). Several of the more important of these issues have been summarised within a curriculum framework formulated by O'Neill & Yelaja (1991) in their review of multicultural issues in social work education in Canada. A modified form of this framework was used, in conjunction with reference to local needs and issues, to help structure the relevant items (*Items 21a-c*) of the survey questionnaire used for this study (see Chapter 9).

V. Implications of a socio-cultural diversity perspective for social work educational practice

A. The social work curriculum

A detailed review of the literature concerning curriculum structure, course/curriculum content and teaching/learning methods with regard to socio-cultural diversity is contained in **Appendix B**. Only a brief summary of the main points directly relevant to the present study is set out here.

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1. Curriculum structure

Content on issues of race and culture can be incorporated into the social work curriculum in various ways. The most common alternatives discussed in the literature have been separate specialist courses (the *discrete* approach) as against the integration of such content into the mainstream curriculum (the *integrated* approach). There are obviously degrees of integration, which can involve modules or components on aspects of culture and race within existing courses, a comprehensive integration of such content throughout the curriculum, or something in between.

The main advantages of the integrated approach which, if appropriately implemented, would seem to represent an ideal educational model, are that such an approach:

- ensures substantial and relevant contributions from a range of different disciplines;
- emphasises everyday life experiences, not just the problems, of minorities;
- clarifies the relationship between oppressed and dominant groups;
- trains students to think comparatively, and
- reaches all students.

The possible disadvantages are that this approach:

- depends on most staff being interested in or convinced of the relevance of the subject matter;
- can include only 'nominal' content with superficial 'mentioning' of racial and cultural issues;
- risks swamping content with the dominant culture;
- may not allow students to develop detailed knowledge in this area, and
- can be a recipe for 'benign neglect' of identified issues.

The main advantage of the *discrete* approach is that if the course(s) are undertaken by knowledgeable and committed staff and/or specialists, the importance and relevance of the subject can be communicated more readily and some issues explored in detail. However, the potential disadvantages of this approach are that:

- such courses are generally optional;
- courses are often of limited duration and space within the curriculum;

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- there is little room in a brief course for critical analysis or comparative teaching;
- it allows the rest of the curriculum to ignore race, racism and cultural issues;
- multicultural education is seen as secondary rather than as essential,
- it allows non-dominant groups to be seen as deviations from the norm; and
- conflict develops between models taught in mainstream courses and critiques of these in special course(s).

Most authors agree that variations of an integrated model are best, and that the discrete and integrated models should be seen as complementary and not mutually exclusive. In terms of implementation, however, it is often easier to introduce discrete courses initially and to go further once the interest of staff and students is stimulated. While the ideal is a thoroughly integrated curriculum, most current programmes are situated at a point somewhere between the discrete and integrated models.

2. Curriculum/course content

Social work educational programmes commonly distinguish three elements of course content as those of knowledge, values and skills. However, a strong emphasis on personal, cognitive and emotional engagement with the curriculum content in this area cuts across these elements (see the section on learning/teaching methods below). The following list summarises those content areas most commonly identified as important in social work courses addressing issues of culture and race

a) Knowledge

- *Relevant theoretical concepts:* awareness and understanding of a number of key concepts and social processes such as race, ethnicity and cultural pluralism, as well as racism, ethnocentrism and sexism; the dynamics of inequality, power, prejudice and discrimination and how these are expressed at the personal, systemic and structural levels.
- *General cultural/ethnic knowledge:* knowledge of cultural and ethnic backgrounds, experience and traditions of the main client groups in the particular social work context.

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- *Relevant policies and legislation:* legislation and policies, both those that perpetuate inequalities and discrimination and those that are anti-discriminatory or establish new rights or affirmative actions.
- *Specific service-related group needs:* the specific needs and experiences of racial, ethnic and/or cultural groups in terms of their vulnerability, stigmatisation and disadvantage; current traditional, indigenous and other helping resources within local communities
- *Implications for social work practice:* transcultural factors and the effect of racial and cultural differences on needs and service delivery; models, frameworks, methods and principles of culture-sensitive, anti-racist, anti-discriminatory, anti-oppressive and/or emancipatory social work practice. An understanding of social and economic development needs within developing country contexts.

b) Values and personal awareness/empathy

- *Professional values and ethics:* the development of professional values that support diversity, respect the values of others and assist in cross-cultural helping relationships and communication.
- *Awareness of one's own cultural and personal values:* self-awareness and of the impact of one's own race, ethnicity and cultural background; the promotion of the student's own positive ethnic identity to ensure the proper valuing of the client's values and identity
- *Social values and empathy:* the awareness, at a personal and experiential level, of cultural/ethnic stereotypes and both individual and institutional racism; the promotion of non-discriminatory and anti-oppressive attitudes and practices

c) Skills and competencies

- *Micro-level intervention skills:* the ability to work with personal, racial, social and cultural differences and to intervene effectively with individuals, families and client groups from race, ethnic and/or cultural groups other than one's own.
- *Macro-level intervention skills:* the ability to promote organisational and institutional change, counteract discrimination and prejudice and foster social change, to eliminate structural factors

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that support discrimination and oppression; to employ a developmental social work framework that facilitates multi-level intervention and/or advocacy.

- *Critical thinking and reflexive practice skills*: critical thinking skills with regard to biases, assumptions and experience with regard to privilege, discrimination, racism and prejudice; the ability to re-evaluate one's own practice in the light of experience and goals of social justice, human rights and equality.

3. Learning/teaching methods

a) Experiential approaches

Most authors writing about courses that deal with issues of culture and race indicate that course content requires experiential, rather than just cognitive, teaching. Students need to engage at a personal level in self-reflection and awareness-raising as part of the personal change and development involved in learning in this area. Despite this emphasis, research-based support for experiential approaches, which tend to rely heavily on the facilitatory skills of teachers, is sparse and generally equivocal.

Within the ambit of an experiential approach, different authors advocate a range of specific methods, strategies and resources, including the use of video and role-plays, 'ethnic self profiling' exercises, media resources, student participant observation, vignettes, group approaches, classroom-based field experiences, creative literature, biographies and autobiographies and simulation games.

b) Cognitive approaches

The emphasis on experiential methods is not exclusive, however, and the more comprehensive or integrated approaches advocate the inclusion of relevant content in all areas of the social work programme, including all theory (knowledge and values) and practice (skills).

There is some research support for the view that the development of cognitive sophistication has a significant effect on prejudice reduction and attitude change. This is in contrast to educational practice that assumes that prejudice stems from ignorance and that information and/or exhortation with regard to bias is sufficiently effective.

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c) More radical approaches

Some authors argue that courses on ‘difference’, discrimination and/or oppression, social justice and emancipatory practice require teaching and learning methods consistent with their content. Conventional educational methods based on passive learning and the hierarchy of the academy may subvert the empowerment goals of such programmes. Good teaching practice should increase student participation, reduce passivity and encourage reflection, dialogue and critical thinking.

Carter et al (1992), for example, criticise CCETSW training guidelines in the United Kingdom for the tendency to dichotomise social work and social science theory, arguing that it is potentially damaging to the development of critical practice. They argue that social work education needs to identify with a critical approach and analysis, rather than with the development of technical skills and competencies. Dominelli (1996) also argues against the wholesale adoption of a CCETSW-advocated competency-based approach as a set of highly technical, decontextualised practice skills broken down into small constituent parts and carried out by personnel trained to a specific level. This, Dominelli argues, leads to the demise of the autonomous reflective practitioner, creating instead a fragmented, deprofessionalised service poorly placed to meet the requirements of anti-oppressive practice:

In abstracting individuals, whether users or workers, from their social context and the political realities of life, competency-based approaches perpetuate a postmodernist trap – the inability to recognize and deal with structural inequalities – a prime concern of social work. (Dominelli, 1996: 173)

The ideological stance taken regarding content will therefore determine ‘appropriate’ teaching and learning methods. As content around race, culture and ‘differences’ is generally never a ‘comfortable’ component of the curriculum, it can be experienced by students, and some staff, as a critique of other parts of the curriculum. Almost inevitably the exploration of social differences and inequalities raises wider issues and concerns that affect relations among both staff and students (see section D below).

B. Curriculum typologies for socio-cultural diversity content

Using both Jenkins’ (1981) social work agency typology and the common curriculum framework referred to above, O’Neill & Yelaja (1991) have usefully identified four different approaches

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which schools of social work tend to adopt when addressing issues of socio-cultural diversity. This spectrum of approaches are distinguished by the way they address most of the different curriculum aspects discussed above. In summary, the main elements of these approaches are as follows (for more detail see **Appendix C**):

Dominant culture and token multicultural approaches:

In this approach racial and cultural issues tend to be fairly superficially discussed as part of generic courses (e.g. on social work values or professional ethics). There is an emphasis on clinical, or direct service, intervention and therefore a focus on individual pathology rather than structural issues with the result that social work approaches based on the dominant culture are assumed to be universally applicable to all clients and communities. In the authors' view this approach tends to contribute to the assimilation, deculturation or segregation¹⁹ of minorities.

Ethno-specific programme approaches:

Here independent programmes focus on the needs of a particular minority group or groups (e.g. Native-Americans in the United States or Asians in the United Kingdom) and knowledge from and about the specific group(s) is central. The emphasis is on the development of both clinical and community development skills appropriate to the specific group or culture. The approach can either the withdrawal of the group from mainstream society or facilitate eventual integration.

Separate multicultural programme approaches:

Within these approaches issues of racial and cultural diversity tend to be isolated as separate specialisations within the curriculum but may have little influence on the mainstream programme to which they are adjuncts. The emphasis is tolerance and understanding of differences but within a fairly conservative pluralism that focuses on the adjustment of individuals and groups. The practice emphasis tends to be on culture-sensitive clinical (direct) services whether in mainstream or minority agencies. These approaches can either support integration or separation of ethnocultural groups depending on the level of integration into the core curriculum.

Integrated multicultural/multiracial programme approaches:

In these programmes racial and cultural issues are incorporated throughout the core curriculum and cross-cultural skill development is a generic course requirement. Both social conflict and pluralist perspectives are utilised and there is an emphasis on community development and

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advocacy skills, with corresponding links with minority/disadvantaged groups, rather than on clinical technique. Practice teaching is supported by a social policy emphasis on universal access to services and resource redistribution. O'Neill & Yelaja see this approach as having the best potential to achieve the eventual goal of equitable integration of minority groups into mainstream society.

A different approach to typifying the process of the inclusion of topics on 'minority' and women's issues in the mainstream curriculum in other disciplines has been characterised by Andersen, 1987 (in Tice, 1990). This is conceptualised in distinct two stages, that of the compensatory phase and that of the transformation phase:

The compensatory phase:

Discussions and readings on new diversity content is simply appended to traditional content. There is little attempt to address the implications for the value and skills components of the curriculum. In respect of social work education there is a failure to reveal the paradigms that govern the social work knowledge base including the exclusionary nature of dominant group (male and/or white) referential norms and standards. The curriculum tends to perpetuate universalistic and essentialistic thinking.

The transformation phase:

Knowledge itself is treated as incomplete and problematic and traditional approaches are critiqued for their failure to address the needs and experiences of women and minorities. More attention is given both to the contextual and to the personal as knowledge is seen as more multifocal and relational. A wide diversity of materials such as oral histories, biographies, community narratives are used to foster an awareness and appreciation of diversity.

Allowing for the differences between the North American and South African social contexts, for example the very different meaning 'minority group' has in each, both these frameworks provide some useful pointers for evaluating different approaches taken by local social work educational programmes. Where of relevance these will be taken up and discussed in Part 2.

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C. Broadening social work practice strategies

One important implication of a cultural diversities approach for the social work curriculum made explicit by a number of authors is a shift of emphasis from direct (or clinical) practice (remedial-oriented work with individuals, families and/or small groups) to so-called 'indirect' work at community, institutional and/or policy development levels (Barsky, 1995; Chau, 1990b; Denney, 1983; Dominelli, 1988; Granger & Portner, 1985; Lloyd, 1998; Midgley, 1991; O'Neill & Yelaja, 1991; Stainton & Swift, 1996). As mentioned earlier, approaches that have sought to address cultural and racial discrimination issues in social work have focused largely on issues of direct practice, without adequate attention to the wider institutional and socio-political context. This theme has been ever more urgently sounded by local social work educators in what has become a broad consensus based around the direction for social work education as prescribed in the 1997 White Paper for Social Welfare (Bernstein, 1995; Botes, 1997; Dlamini, 1995; Lombard, 1997 & 1999; Louw, 1996; McKendrick, 1998; Nel, 1996; Strydom, 1995, van Rooyen, 1996).

In setting out a cross-cultural practice model for educational purposes based on 'socio-cultural dissonance' (i.e. the reciprocal, interacting relationship of minority individual needs and social conditions), Chau argues that all such models must address *socio-structural change* as much as they do personal process and target social or institutional arrangements such as legislation, policy, administrative procedures, service delivery systems, the use and allocation of resources, priority setting and so on (1990b: 250). Some more structural approaches advocate that attention be shifted from the individual's personal problems towards resource development in the community and the combating of racist practices (see Denney, 1983). Nonetheless, for most authors the purpose is not to polarise the goals of personal and structural change but to maintain a continuum of the two as central to cross-cultural practice (e.g., Barsky, 1995; Chau, 1990b; Granger & Portner, 1985). Specifically addressing welfare needs in the 'Third World', Midgley (1991) argues that developmental activities should be harmonised with conventional remedial roles, so that social work can make a multifaceted and meaningful contribution to the promotion of welfare.

In respect of educational programmes, O'Neill & Yelaja (1991) view an important aspect of *integrated multicultural* programmes, as opposed to more limited *token* or *separate* programmes (see **Appendix C**), as the emphasis on community development and advocacy skills more than on

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purely clinical skills. Such approaches prepare students to promote organisational change, increase access to resources and opportunities, and foster broader social change to eliminate structural factors that support discrimination (see also Barsky, 1995). Granger & Portner (1985) agree with Washington (1982) that social workers working with clients coping with socio-structural factors such as racism, poverty and victimisation must be equipped with skills in macro-interventions²⁰. They also see anti-discriminatory practice as involving natural (or 'indigenous') support systems, the promotion of self-help and advocacy, outreach and empowerment. As indicated above, there is now strong support for such an educational approach from local South African social work educators.

If, as Stainton & Swift argue, 'social work is, at heart, about unmasking oppression and supporting emancipation' (1996: 83) then such goals need to inform all intervention at all levels. Lloyd (1998) stresses the importance of understanding the linkages between broader political and economic trends and the experiences of individual social workers and service users, and that social workers should be educated to push for more democratised, participatory relationships in social services and find ways of promoting awareness of users' needs and demands. Meaningful participation by service users and communities is crucial here, in line with the anti-oppressive emphasis on the importance of process as well as outcomes (Lloyd, 1998).

D. Institutional context of social work education

Given the content of socio-cultural diversity courses with their emphasis on equity and appropriateness, it is not only social work theory and practice 'out there' in the literature and in practice that is under the spotlight. Equity and appropriateness in social work education itself, its institutional culture and practices, also becomes exposed to examination. Inconsistencies between educational 'practice' and 'preaching' are not only thrown into relief but also undermine the content of such courses and the credibility of the school or department running them (Mackintosh, 1991). As Barsky (1995) points out, many of the structural inequities in the broader community are reflected in educational institutions themselves, and most schools of social work are hierarchical systems with long histories of cultural and, in some cases, racial exclusivity. Although these issues have, to some extent, been the subject of discussion in political and professional forums (and the 1997 White Paper for Social Welfare does allude to these issues) local social work writing around the area of socio-cultural diversity has been largely silent in this

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regard. The international literature encourages schools and departments of social work to address at least three areas.

Firstly, where schools have traditionally served dominant, typically white, groups of students, representative numbers of students from previously excluded and disadvantaged groups need to be recruited and actively supported, in terms of both their specific needs and the ethos and culture of the school (CCETSW, 1983; O'Neill & Yelaja, 1991).

Secondly, social work education requires adequate and appropriate teaching resources, including a complement of representative teaching staff (Barsky, 1995; Dominelli, 1988). Quite apart from the wider issue of employment equity, there is significant support for the view that black and/or minority staff should teach anti-oppression and cultural diversity content both because of their personal closeness to issues of racism, discrimination and cultural difference and because of their value, not only to black students, as professional role models (Barsky, 1995; CCETSW, 1983 and 1991; O'Neill & Yelaja, 1991).²¹ Other teaching resources include appropriate practice placements, using black or minority supervisors where possible, which provide students with sound opportunities to develop knowledge and skills working with clients and communities of different backgrounds to their own (Dominelli, 1988; O'Neill & Yelaja, 1991; Sikkema & Niyekama, 1987). The use of visiting lecturers and speakers from agencies and projects serving black and minority communities is also recommended (CCETSW, 1983).

Thirdly, there is the impact and implementation process of introducing a major curriculum change to consider. This is crucial, especially in schools which are traditionally mainstream in their teaching content and predominantly white and male culturally. Carter et al. (1992) observe that the introduction of anti-oppressive coursework within such an educational environment can evolve into a critique of other parts of the course and, by implication, of other teaching and educators. For this reason, as well as investments staff have in the status quo, a number of authors warn of the necessity to anticipate and engage with the organisational and personal resistance often encountered within higher education (Carter et al., 1992; O'Neill & Yelaja, 1991; Tice, 1990). Singleton (1994) notes that even when schools of social work formally adopt anti-discriminatory goals, discrepancies between these and actual operating goals can persist. For example, colleagues may undermine those teaching the anti-oppressive and/or cultural-diversity content.

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In Tice's view (1990), social work in particular may be resistant to such curriculum change for three reasons. Firstly, many social work departments struggle for academic legitimacy in relation to other academic departments such as sociology and psychology. Secondly, social work has historically embraced empiricism and, therefore, the norms of neutrality, objectivity and rationality, and is less disposed to embrace an area that appears subjective and emotive. Thirdly, in times of budget cuts and space pressures on the curriculum, a commitment to maintain the status quo may be stronger. For these reasons curricular transformation on some campuses has required concerted and sustained action, such as semester-long interdisciplinary seminars on diversity content for educators (O'Neill & Yelaja, 1991, Tice, 1990).

VI. Concluding comments

In the course of the review and discussion in this chapter, I have identified a number of important themes that emerge when issues of race and cultural diversity are addressed in social work theory and practice. I have alluded to the central importance of taking cognisance of power relations and structural issues from a critical perspective that takes social justice and the achievement of greater social equity and empowerment as primary goals. Some of the key consequent implications for social work practice (both professional and educational) of taking such a perspective seriously have also been drawn out. These include specific issues such as language and communication, and the related issue of 'matching' of worker and client/community; as the necessary (yet of itself not sufficient) shift from a focus on individual need or distress to a more inclusive and wider community and social development focus; and the potentially transformational impact on the construction and teaching of the social work curriculum and its institutional context.

I have deliberately moved between the South African and the international professional contexts here both in order to place the present study within a more global understanding of the issues but also because the South African case provides a sharp and, as some have claimed (Swartz, 1990), illuminating focus around the inevitably ideological nature of issues around race and culture. At the same time however previous South African governments' historical obsession (throughout the colonial and apartheid periods) with constructing and maintaining racial and cultural categories has also prevented the development of a more positive engagement with issues of cultural identity and difference from a more genuinely pluralist and/or relativist perspective such as that evident in some of the international literature reviewed above. This possibility was certainly one of the areas

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that I was concerned to examine in the present study. The second part of this dissertation explores the ways that the major participants in social work education, particularly educators, engage with the range of cultural diversity issues that have been raised in this and the previous chapters and that are of direct relevance to an educational practice that seeks to prepare student social workers for anti-discriminatory, culturally appropriate practice in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Notes to Chapter 4

While writing this I came across a newspaper article by a respected South African academic and political figure (Stabbert, 20 December, 1998, *Sunday Independent*) who, quoting Ernest Gellner (1985) argued that it is important to distinguish cultural relativism and intellectual relativism: with the former being true and the latter being false. 'One cannot argue that all truth and knowledge is relative and still wish to make a case for human rights' and 'Nobody who takes human rights seriously can be comfortable with the false distinction between so-called Eurocentric and Afrocentric thinking... To argue that a special kind of thinking is accessible only to a certain category of people is demonstrably false... [this] contradicts the view that human rights are universal and transferable and is reminiscent of apartheid logic. The issue of relativism is clearly a philosophical minefield and not easily resolved.

'Anti-discriminatory' and 'anti-oppressive' are often used as interchangeable terms, although, as pointed out elsewhere, it has been argued that, at least in the United Kingdom, 'anti-discriminatory practices tend to reflect equal opportunities policies whereas anti-oppressive practices attempt to link in with notions of equality and justice' (Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work, 1991a: 25).

Forsyth (1995), in a useful historical exposition, has pointed out that there is a long tradition of anti-discriminatory thought and practice within social work that dates back to its roots in the early 20th Century.

A 'grand' or 'meta-narrative' is an explanation of the world that tries to unify and explain all human experience (Katz, 1995). This usually refers to modernist philosophies of humanism and Marxism which tend to regard social development as a continuous progress towards the attainment of ultimate goals. The post-modern view by contrast views social development as 'contradictory, discontinuous and agonistic' (Katz, 1995: 121).

Postmodern thought replaces the essentialist view of the individual within humanism with an argument for the 'de-centred subject', one which is constructed within culture, time and place (Katz, 1995: 121).

I use these unsatisfactory 'population group' labels fully aware that they are historical constructions of the past, and that many people so labelled find them offensive, yet also that they continued to be used in everyday, and much academic, discourse due at least in part to the lack of suitable alternatives to describe broad 'racial' and social cleavages still apparent in South African society.

In 1988, when the last official 'population group' breakdown was given, 67.5 per cent (of a total registration of 6 575 social workers) were classified as white. Of these 3 288 (74 per cent) chose Afrikaans as their official language, which means that 50 per cent of all registered social workers were Afrikaans-speaking white persons.

Joint Councils were inter-racial discussion societies designed to promote co-operation and racial harmony and were a product of American intervention in 1921 in direct response to the African militancy of 1917 and 1920 (Chisholm, 1990: 108).

Gott et al (1998) have recently argued that social development and social constructionism provide complementary theoretical underpinning for such an integrated spectrum of intervention.

The implications of such meaningful participation are potentially radical and complex, if not unsettling, for the practice of social work (Dalrymple & Burke, 1995). This is not least because they can run counter to the drive by social workers, as an occupational group, for further professionalisation and social recognition in terms of status and financial remuneration.

This is evident, for example, in Fowler (1997) where the usefulness of a 'multicultural' treatment model for the sexual offender is applied across the South African population rather than in specific population groups only. A similar tendency is present in the title of a study of the formulation of social welfare policy for all South Africans which uses the term 'multi-culturalism' in its title to denote an inclusive rather than group-specific focus (Weekes, 1998).

The promotion of same race adoptions for black children in the USA and UK has largely been driven by black professional and community organisations. As Kirton (1999) showed in a recent UK study, support for

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- same race adoption was markedly stronger among a large sample of ethnic minority student social workers than their white counterparts
- ¹³ There is a much more detailed psychiatric and medical anthropological local literature within this highly contentious and complex area - see Swartz & Foster (1984) and Swartz (1990) for reviews of this literature.
- ¹⁴ As Sewpaul explains, African Traditional religion is qualitatively different from other organised religions as it does not represent a single unified system of beliefs which differ to a degree according to geographic locations and ethnic groups. Also, 'unlike other religions, African Traditional religion has no founders and no scriptures or holy books; it is written in the hearts and minds of people.' (Sewpaul, 199: 742).
- ¹⁵ This was true at the time of the survey in 1993/4 and is probably still the case, but as pointed out in Chapter 2 a population-group breakdown of registered social workers is no longer available.
- ¹⁶ As is the case in other multilingual contexts internationally, local English speakers are most likely to be unilingual (Swartz et al., 1997).
- ¹⁷ This issue is explored in the survey and discussed in Chapter 8 - as noted there, the psychology department in my own university has instituted such an entry requirement for clinical training at the Masters level.
- ¹⁸ This is my impression both from supervising social work students in local agencies and from more formal interviews conducted by students with staff.
- ¹⁹ These terms are used with the meanings given to them by Berry (1984), who makes the following distinctions. 'Assimilation evolves when a minority loses its distinguishing characteristics and merges with the mainstream community; separation is evident when a group maintains its defining characteristics but does not interact in the dominant society, either through its own voluntary withdrawal or through segregation imposed by the controlling faction; deculturation follows when a group gives up its traditions and is excluded from mainstream participation; integration is evident when a group both maintains its distinctiveness and participates in the larger society.' (O'Neill & Yelaja, 1991: 174 - 175). Integration, as defined here, is seen by Berry as the multiculturalism policy ideal for Canada.
- ²⁰ Whether such 'indirect' work at macro levels does in fact reduce discrimination and result in culturally appropriate and positive services depends on the values and goals that drive such approaches. In the case of community work in the United Kingdom, for example, there is evidence that racism and discrimination are not adequately addressed simply by adopting community-based methodologies, and that community work per se can be just as racist in its effects as any other social methodology (Dominelli, 1988; Galloway, 1993; Manning & Ohri, 1982). Community work has been associated with the reification of notions of 'community', community-blaming and pathologising, making communities responsible for solving their own problems and inadequate attention to the wider socio-political context.
- ²¹ While this should not in my view be an invariable rule, as personal qualities and skills may override race or cultural background in certain circumstances, my own experience as a white male teaching such courses bears this out to an extent. As recorded elsewhere (Mackintosh, 1991), I found co-teaching such courses with black colleagues to work best with most classes. Apart from the race- and culture-specific aspects we each could bring to classroom teaching as persons, the impact on the class of a visible and co-operative black/white 'team' was considerable, particularly in the late 1980s and the immediate post-apartheid period.

Chapter 5

Introduction to the surveys of participants and institutional settings in social work education

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Chapter 5

Introduction to the surveys of participants and institutional settings in social work education

I. Introduction

The second half of the dissertation reports on the attitudinal and policy and practice surveys that were directed to the key participants in social work education nationally, as well as more specifically, in the Western Cape. In this chapter I first outline the aims of these surveys, before discussing the overall design and execution. The latter includes detail of the subjects and settings surveyed, questionnaire design, data collection procedures used and response rates achieved. Finally, the methods of data analysis used and the presentation of results in the subsequent chapters are discussed. In order to prepare for the discussion of the attitudinal aspects of the surveys in the next chapter (Chapter 6), this chapter concludes with a summary of relevant demographic details of the respondents.

II. Aims of the surveys

As referred to in Chapter 1, the overall aim of the surveys was to gather empirical data relating to the state of social work education during the period of the South African interregnum (1990-1994). The social work profession, along with the rest of the country, was in the early stages of a transition from a long period of white-minority apartheid government into a majority-ruled democratic dispensation. As has been set out in some detail in previous chapters, many new ideas for transforming social work practice and education were being put forward for discussion and debate. Given the mix of ideological flux and high degree of openness to new perspectives which coexisted at the same time with political and therefore economic uncertainty, it was an opportune time to explore the range of possible views on a number of topical issues central to the transformation of social work education as the main provider of personpower to both welfare services and the social work profession itself.

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More specifically the aims of the surveys can be summarised as follows. Firstly, a central aim was to elicit responses from participants in social work education (all educators and some students and fieldwork supervisors) with regard to a number of specific issues of 'race' and culture (see questionnaires in Appendices D3-D5 for items¹) as they arise in social work theory, practice, and social work education. These issues can be grouped as follows:

- Issues around cultural diversity, stages of sociocultural development of national/ethnic groups, and the preservation of cultural/national identity and separateness.
- Issues concerned with the expansion of welfare resources and services to disadvantaged groups, the representivity of staff and students in social work education and affirmative action in social work departments and agencies.
- Issues around the separation, integration and culture-sensitivity of welfare services, the 'matching' of social workers with clients, and language and communication.
- Issues around the preparation of social workers for practice in post-apartheid South Africa including curriculum structure, content, and methods, current practice and the appropriateness of social work theory in the local context.

Given social work's past role within an apartheid South Africa, and the challenges facing social work and social work education in a post-apartheid democratic society (discussed in Part 1), I was particularly interested as to how social work educators, within an historically very diverse (and divided) tertiary education sector, position themselves in relation to both local and international professional discourses around such issues.

Secondly, given the focus on issues of race and culture, I also wished to explore whether respondents' attitudes and perceptions on these issues was related to their own 'race' and/or ethnic background or to their institutional context². And if such attitudes do vary significantly between such groups or sectors what does this mean for the existence of a distinct social work educational culture in South Africa? And thirdly, within the present and likely future context for social work practice and education in South Africa, what are the implications of the above findings for the training of social work practitioners for a post-apartheid South Africa?

III. Design and execution of surveys

A. Introduction

This section describes the overall design and execution of the surveys that constitute the central part of the study as a whole. After briefly discussing theoretical aspects of the method adopted, the subjects of the surveys, key participants in social work education, and their institutional and organisational settings are identified. This is followed by a description of how the questionnaires were drawn up, the procedures used to ensure their completion and what response rates and degree of representivity was achieved

B. Methodological considerations

The conventional classification of research in terms of its goals distinguishes between studies with exploratory, descriptive or explanatory purposes. Mouton & Marais (1990) combine these distinctions with their categorisation of research strategies, as being of either contextual or general interest, to form a matrix of basic research designs:

Table 5A:
Basic research designs

RESEARCH STRATEGY		
RESEARCH GOAL	Contextual interest (internal validity)	General interest (external validity)
Exploratory research	Overview of phenomena by means of case studies and in-depth interviews	Overview of phenomena by means of exploratory surveys
Descriptive research	Case studies, in-depth interviews, participant observation	Sample surveys
Explanatory research	Contextual explanations by means of case studies, historical analysis	Experimental and quasi-experimental studies

(reproduced from Mouton & Marais, 1990: 51)

As has been evident from the literature review in Chapter 3, the specific area of focus of this study had not been the subject of any significant research attention by the time the surveys were carried out and therefore the available public knowledge of the views and understandings

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in respect of issues of race and culture of those involved in South African social work education was very limited. An initial exploratory and/or descriptive approach to this area of study was therefore both necessary and appropriate (Fowler, 1984, de Vaus, 1986). As illustrated in the above table such research goals can be pursued using either contextual interest or general interest strategies which also imply the use of either qualitative or quantitative methodologies respectively. These schematic boundaries are not mutually exclusive however and, except in the case of experimental studies perhaps, represent degrees of emphasis, relative focus or complementarity (Fielding & Fielding, 1986) - this is certainly the case in the present study.

The exploratory aspects of this study are mainly the reviews of both local and international social work literature that have presented in Chapters 3 and 4. In line with the view that research within a particular area should ideally begin with the least structured end of a methodological continuum and move to more structured methods (Antaki, 1988), these reviews combined with my own teaching, involving classroom discussion/debate as well as course assignments and evaluations around many of the issues raised in this study, to help inform the design and construction of the questionnaires used in the surveys reported in this dissertation (see below) and ensure a high degree of internal validity. These latter surveys, which as stated in Chapter 1 provide a cross-sectional take on social work education at a critical point in its development, form the predominant descriptive focus of the study. The attitudinal questionnaires were constructed to yield both quantitative data, in the form of scale scores and closed responses, as well as more qualitative data in the form of elaborative comments recorded by respondents.

A degree of triangulation (Denzin, 1978; Fielding & Fielding, 1986) has also been sought in that attitudinal 'subjective' data from questionnaires as well as more factual and 'objective' data on policy and practice from institutional/organisational sources was collected. Together with the identified themes and trends emerging from the literature reviews, this data, wherever relevant and appropriate, was integrated in order to achieve both as high a degree of accuracy and as holistic a perspective as possible.

I should note here that my original interest in this study was in adopting a qualitative approach by means of relatively unstructured and in-depth interviews with what I hoped would

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be a reasonably representative selection of approximately 20-25 social work educators. As the above table indicates, such a strategy reflects a strong 'contextual interest' i.e. the attempt to make sense of a unique phenomenon through a 'searching investigation' (Mouton & Marais, 1990: 50). However, on further reflection as well as discussion with colleagues, I identified a number of possible disadvantages and constraints involved in this line of approach. Firstly, in view of the considerable differences both between the tertiary institutions themselves (see discussion of historical categories below) and the demographic and socio-political characteristics of the regions in which they are situated, I would have a problem in deciding which social work departments to focus on. While my interest in this aspect of social work education remains contextual, in the sense used above, it is in the broader social, institutional and political context rather than that of any particular institutional setting.

A second concern was the possible effects of my acting as the interviewer in these interviews (which would have been unavoidable as employing an interviewer would have been prohibitively expensive). My position as a fellow social work academic, interviewing colleagues, would have meant that no anonymity was possible and I felt that, given the sensitive nature of many of the issues to be raised, more open responses may be inhibited. In addition, my own identity as a white English-speaking male based in a 'liberal' (and relatively resource-rich) university, may have influenced colleagues from other backgrounds and in other settings to respond in particular ways. These effects can of course still be operative in the self-administered questionnaire format I settled upon, but conventional research wisdom suggests, tend to be reduced because of the protection afforded by the anonymous nature of the postal questionnaire (Fowler 1984; Mouton & Marais, 1990)³. The alternative perhaps would have been to take a more strongly anthropological approach through engaging with staff and students in particular settings over a period of time in order to gain more of an 'insider' view of attitudes and practices *in situ*. While desirable from my own theoretical point of view, I would have had to restrict my research to a local Western Cape geographical area for such an approach to be practical.

All in all I concluded that a broad *inclusive* research overview would provide helpful indications as to further more intensive work in particular areas. Many of the issues addressed in the questionnaire were therefore intentionally framed in fairly broad terms and aimed at prompting respondents to construe the issue in ways that made sense to them. At the same

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time respondents were urged to raise additional issues that the questionnaire items did not necessarily address.

C. Subjects and settings

I. Academic staff in social work departments

As I have indicated in the Introduction (Chapter 1) social work educators⁴, due to their position within the institutional structures of social work education, have been key and powerful role-players participants within educational and, to a lesser degree, professional practice. They, in conjunction with the tertiary institutions within which social work departments are situated, have effectively controlled entry into both social work training and, as registration as a professional social worker is contingent upon the award of a recognised bachelor's degree, into the profession itself. In addition, up until very recently, the South African Council for Social Work (subsequently renamed), although a statutory body with the majority of its members elected by registered social workers, has always been dominated by social work academics⁵.

This does not imply however that educators have entirely independent control over the social work curriculum, or that they are not subject to other important influences with regard to the construction of that curriculum. Individual social work educators and departments of social work face pressures and constraints on different levels; from the Council for Social Work's minimum curriculum requirements, through to the demands of the job market and the expectations of social work students and agencies, as well as the limits of their own knowledge and experience and the available resources for practical fieldwork training, amongst others.

Nevertheless social work educators are charged with the primary responsibility of training student social workers for professional practice and as such have considerable flexibility and choice regarding the precise content and development of such training. In terms therefore of, firstly, my attempt to gain an overall broad perspective of the dominant views within social work education around the issues of focus, and, secondly, the practical difficulties and expenses that would have been involved in attempt to include other key participants on a national basis, I felt that the primary focus on educators was justifiable in a study of this size.

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The limited purposes of the supplementary survey of a selected sample of social work students, fieldwork supervisors and their agencies in the Western Cape region are discussed below.

According to the returns from Heads of Departments I received in 1993 (and using an alternative staffing list for the three departments who did not respond - see below) the total numbers of social work educators in all social work departments in South Africa and the TBVC states at that time, broken down by both gender and population group, were as detailed in Table 5B below.

Table 5B:
Social work educators in South Africa & TBVC states in 1993
(by gender and population group)

	n	%
Female	135	71
Male	56	29
Black	45	24
Coloured	13	7
Indian	9	5
White	124	65
TOTAL	191	100

The criteria used for staff in the social work departments of tertiary institutions who were to be included in the survey as 'social work educators' were as laid out in the introductory letter addressed to all heads of departments of social work.

... any member of your teaching staff who is (i) employed directly by your department over a period of at least one year, (ii) works at least half-time, and (iii) who has direct teaching input whether through lectures, seminars or practice teaching/supervision. (see Appendix D.1)

I therefore wished to include all permanent academic staff as well as those contract staff who, in some departments, are employed on an ongoing basis to assist in the practice teaching and supervision of fieldwork placements and who work from the departmental base. Such staff often carry a significant proportion of the practice supervision and/or teaching load and thus importantly determine the nature and quality of the work of the department in this area. At the same time I wished to exclude those contract staff whose primary employment is in social work agencies and who may, in addition, do occasional or part-time supervision on behalf of

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social work departments. Such supervisors normally only supervise a small number of students at any one time and therefore, as individuals, tend not to influence departmental practice in significant ways⁶

Given the total number of social work educators in South Africa and the TBVC states that I identified according to the above criteria (n=191) it was feasible to attempt to reach all such staff by means of the survey questionnaire and there was therefore no need to draw a sample - the whole population was therefore surveyed. While this decision avoids the additional work, and possible problems, involved in a sampling process, it does not necessarily guarantee the representativeness of the survey. This issue is dealt with in section F below.

2. Departmental settings and institutional categories

At the time of the surveys (1992-3) all social work education took place in 21 social work departments within the same number of tertiary institutions⁷ both within the then South African borders and the so-called 'independent states' (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei). As described in Chapter 2, these institutions are usefully grouped according to their very distinctive historical origins and development - broadly speaking into 'historically white' (HWI) and 'historically black' (HBI) (see Bunting, 1993). However due to their quite distinct histories and cultures, briefly sketched in Chapter 2, I have also distinguished between the Afrikaans-medium and English-medium historically white institutions (HWI-Afk and HWI-Eng) and refer to this designation in subsequent results chapters.

For completeness of historical information I have here also subdivided the historically black institutions (HBIs) into those previously designated for the use of particular black population groups only - namely Blacks (Africans), Coloureds and Indians respectively. These latter designations have rapidly lost relevance since 1990 however and are only referred to where appropriate⁸. There is also the single non-residential university that offers distance education by correspondence (DIST) - although it has long had a very racially mixed student body, the academic staff profile most closely resembles that of an HWI institution. The institutional categories, and the numbers of institutions within each category, at the time of the surveys were as follows:

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HBI-Afr (6) - those historically black institutions previously designated for the education of Black students only (University of Bophuthatswana, University of Fort Hare, University of the North, University of Transkei, University of Venda and University of Zululand).

HBI-Col (2) - those historically black institutions previously designated for the education of Coloured students only (Minnie Hofmeyr College, University of the Western Cape).

HBI-Ind (1) - that historically black institution previously designated for the education of Indian students only (University of Durban-Westville).

HWI-Afrik (7) - those historically white institutions whose major medium of communication and instruction is Afrikaans (Huguenot College, University of the Orange Free State, University of Port Elizabeth, Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, University of Pretoria, Rand Afrikaans University and Stellenbosch University).

HWI-Eng (4) - those historically white⁹ institutions whose major medium of communication and instruction is English (University of Cape Town, University of Natal, Rhodes University and University of the Witwatersrand).

DIST (1) - That institution which historically has served all population groups, using both English or Afrikaans as the medium of instruction and correspondence as its primary method of instruction (University of South Africa).

The discussion of results throughout Part II tends to make use only of the three main designations of HBI, HWI-Afrik and HWI-Eng. As will become evident marked differences existed in the demographic patterns of students and staff between the different historical categories of institutions at the time of the surveys. As would be expected the major differences were between the historically white institutions (HWIs) and historically black institutions (HBIs) as well as notable differences between the HWI-Afrik and HWI-Eng categories.

3. Students in social work departments

Although the primary focus in this study is on social work educators, for the reasons discussed above, I felt that it would be of additional interest to survey the attitudes of at least a sample of those on the receiving end of social work education itself - i.e. the students themselves. While in no way assuming that students are passive recipients of knowledge who are entirely moulded by their social work education, I felt that their views on the issues raised in this study would reflect, to a significant degree, the influence of their professional training. If it is true that professional education is as much about socialisation into a professional culture as about the acquisition of specific knowledge or skills, then social work students attitudes would convey something of what had been learned both formally and informally.

In view of the costs and the considerable logistics involved in attempting to obtain a national response from social work students, I decided to focus on a local available sample only and ensure that it was, at least to some extent, representative, in population group terms of the national social work student profile. According to the returns from heads of departments I received in 1993 the total numbers of social work students studying, at both undergraduate and postgraduate level, in all social work departments in South Africa and the TBVC states at that year were as detailed in Table 5C below.¹⁰

**Table 5C:
Students in social work departments in 1993
(by institutional category & population group)**

	HBI-Afc		HBI-Col		HBI-Ind		HWI-Afk		HWI-Eng		DIST		TOTAL	
	(6)		(2)		(1)		(7)		(4)		(1)		(21)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Black	1356	97	170	48	79	38	107	7	331	46	179	48	2222	47
Col.	36	3	184	52	1	<1	144	9	77	11	10	3	452	10
Indian	3	<1	0	0	125	60	6	<1	65	9	46	12	245	5
White	3	<1	2	<1	3	1	1368	84	242	34	141	37	1759	38
Total	1398	100	356	100	208	100	1625	100	715	100	376	100	4678	100

As three institutions in the Western Cape area were representative of the HBI (Col), HWI-Afk and HWI-Eng sectors respectively, and between them included a reasonable spread of students from all four population groups (see Table 5G below), I selected these for participation in the survey. I felt it was important to gain the views of students as near to the end of their training

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as possible as they would have completed almost all the curriculum requirements of the four year Bachelor's degree programme and therefore have the most complete overall perspective on their social work education. I was able to target the fourth year social work classes in two social work departments (Peninsula and de Kaap) and, as I had already taught the fourth year class¹¹, the third year class in my own department (Good Hope) as the population for the student survey.

4. Fieldwork practicum settings and supervisors

The third essential participant in the overall professional education of social workers are those agency-based social work practitioners who take on a shared responsibility with the teaching institution for the practical training of students. As indicated above, the specific arrangements made by each social work department for practical training tend to vary according to whether there is concurrent practice supervision from the department or whether the major responsibility for this is delegated to the agency-based professional staff. In the latter case such staff would normally be 'accredited' by the institution in some way so as to attempt to ensure adequate and consistent teaching standards. As the practical training of social work students is a key element of the educational process and outcome, these fieldwork supervisors form an integral, if supplementary, part of the team contributing to a professional social work education and as such I felt their views on the issues raised in this study would be of substantial interest.

As was the case for students, for practical and logistical reasons I decided to focus on a local sample only and further limited this to those social work practitioners who were, in 1993, acting as fieldwork supervisors for the full range of fourth year practice placements for my own social work department (Good Hope). This group of 23 supervisors, which comprised 1 Black, 5 Coloured and 17 White supervisors, was clearly not representative of even the skewed national proportions of registered social workers (see Table 5E below) with both Coloured and White practitioners over-represented and Black supervisors severely under-represented. Although probably more representative of a Western Cape profile, Coloured social workers are under-represented relative to Whites in this sample.¹²

These supervisors were spread amongst 20 different social work agencies which included a range of organisations from the more traditional social work agencies (e.g. child welfare,

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hospitals and blind services) to the more community and development (e.g. health and street children projects), and the more specialist NGOs (e.g. aids/HIV training, gay and lesbian counselling).

D. The survey questionnaires

In order to gather the required data, two types of survey instruments were used - attitudinal surveys consisting of self-administered questionnaires which were sent to all individual social work educators nationally and selected students and fieldwork supervisors in the Western Cape; and institutional surveys consisting of self-report questionnaires around policy and practice which were sent to the heads of all social work departments in tertiary institutions nationally and the directors or heads of selected welfare organisations or departments in the Western Cape.

I. Attitudinal questionnaires to educators, students and fieldwork supervisors

I arrived at the final questionnaire formats for the respective questionnaires to individual educators, students and fieldwork supervisors through a fairly lengthy process. Over the two years prior to carrying out the surveys, I had evaluated my own 'cultural diversities' courses and workshops with social work students using some earlier versions of the statements and questions. I had formulated the latter drawing both on issues that arose within these teaching sessions and from my reading of the relevant literature on race and cultural issues in social work (see reviews in Chapters 3 and 4). I constructed each item either in the form of a statement or a question to which educators were requested to respond in two different ways. The first was a closed response which for the statements was a five point Likert scale which ranged from 'strongly disagree' (1) to 'strongly agree' (5) with a 'neutral' (3) midpoint. The closed responses to the direct questions were specific to each question (see questionnaires in Appendices D.3-D.5).

In terms of the methodological concerns raised above, the second type of response requested was an open one. Educators, students and fieldwork supervisors were therefore encouraged to qualify or expand upon the issue raised in their own words. In this way I attempted to combine the broadly descriptive aims of a national survey covering a range of issues I had already identified as topical and relevant, with the exploratory aims of a more open-ended invitation to

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respondents to raise their own written or spoken 'voices' in response to my opening a dialogue around such issues. And, beyond the immediate data-gathering purpose, part of the aim of the survey was to engage fellow educators in a reflexive process in which issues that are often the subject of strong personal feelings, hopes and fears are given a more formal space in which to be explored and articulated.

Once the draft educators' questionnaire was complete, I piloted this informally with social work colleagues both in my own academic department and in the field. The final (English) version incorporated various suggestions as to clarity, meaning and length and was then ready for translation. Given that the first or home language of many of the educators was either Afrikaans or one of a range of (potentially) 9 distinct African languages, and that a major thrust of my study had to do with cultural sensitivity, it was important that participants in the survey should feel they were being addressed in the language of their choice as far as possible. I had then to decide into which languages the questionnaire could practically be translated. From my knowledge of and contact with Afrikaans speaking colleagues, it was quite clear that they would expect any correspondence or questionnaire to be in their native tongue. At the time of course, Afrikaans was, together with English, one of the two South African official languages in which most state and public documents were supplied and this reinforced the view that an Afrikaans version was essential.

As regards Black educators, I was aware that the predominant medium of instruction within the HBI universities was English and that at the various meetings and conferences attended by Black social work colleagues they spoke formally, and often informally, in English. This was also true of Black educators working in the HWI-Eng sector. I then approached my Black (African) colleagues within my own department and asked what they felt was most appropriate in terms of the language in which letters and questionnaires to Black educators should be written. The unanimous view was that English would be the preferred language and one colleague clearly implied that an attempt to provide a translation in an African language would be experienced as inappropriate and even insulting by some Black educators.¹²

I therefore decided to restrict the questionnaire to English and Afrikaans versions only. In order to ensure an Afrikaans questionnaire that was an appropriate translation of the original as possible I used the translation and back-translation method as set out in Brislin (1986). As

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my own competence in Afrikaans was insufficient for this task, I made use of two professional translators competent in both English and Afrikaans. Translator A first created an Afrikaans version from my English 'master' version. As well as eliciting informal feedback from bilingual colleagues as to their reading of this translation, I then gave the first Afrikaans version to Translator B who translated this back into English. I then compared this 'second' English version with the original to ascertain whether the intended meanings had been retained in the translation. Apart from some minor differences, mostly where acceptable synonyms had been used, there were no substantive alterations in meaning. After these minor adjustments, the Afrikaans version was finalised and both versions proof-read and printed.

The questionnaires for completion by the sample of social work students and fieldwork supervisors (see Appendices D.4 and D.5) were essentially scaled-down adapted versions of the educators' questionnaire. Some items were removed entirely, either for reasons of overall length or lack of relevance, while others were modified, or added to appropriately address either the student or agency context. However the main issues or themes were consistently addressed even if the manner of addressing them varied slightly. The translation of the student questionnaire into an Afrikaans version was done in the same way as the educators' version described above. As all fieldwork supervisors were either English speaking or bilingual (Afrikaans/English) they were all sent English versions of the questionnaire.¹⁴

2. Policy and practice questionnaires to institutions and fieldwork agencies

The purpose of the questionnaire to all the heads of social work departments in which the above social work educators worked was to assist in fleshing out the specific context within which social work education took place in each institution or sector. I therefore sought to obtain mainly factual information both as to the demographic breakdown of staff and students (in terms of gender, population group and home language) as well as to educational policies within the department as regards teaching and fieldwork practice around issues of race and culture (see Appendix E.2 for details). There was also a question as to the departments' staff recruitment and employment policy. Exactly the same translation process was followed as described above and accompanying letters sent.

A similar questionnaire addressed to the directors/heads of the fieldwork agencies/social work sections in which the above sample fieldwork supervisors were based was also constructed

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(see Appendix E 2). Here I also sought to obtain various contextual information including the target population of the agency, staff demographic details, student placement policy and internal staff recruitment and language policy. Only English versions of the questionnaire were sent out as no specifically Afrikaans agencies were part of the sample.

F. Data collection: process and procedures

1. All social work educators

In order to prepare lists of all social work educators in each social work department in the identified institutions, I telephoned each department and requested the titles, initials and surnames of all current teaching staff who met the criteria for inclusion as 'social work educator' (see above)¹⁵. In late May 1992 all 191 educators in the 21 departments of social work in the Republic of South Africa and the TBVC states were posted a questionnaire and a covering letter personally addressed, wherever possible, to each educator by name (see Appendix D 2 for example). I also wrote separately to each head of department explaining the nature of the survey, providing additional copies of the questionnaire and requesting them to encourage their staff to participate in the study (see Appendix D 1).

In order to ensure that the questionnaire was as attractive as possible, and therefore to improve the likelihood of its completion, I printed the two (Afrikaans and English) educator questionnaires in the form of colourful respondent-friendly A5 size booklets with clear instructions and quality layout (see Appendix D 3). I sent Afrikaans versions (and covering letters) to all educators in HWI-Afk institutions and to those educators in other sectors who had obvious Afrikaans surnames. Given that it was not always possible to tell from surnames whether individual educators were Afrikaans speaking or not, and that some institutions were 'dual-medium', I invited educators to phone me to request a questionnaire in the alternate language if preferred. The covering letter introduced the purpose and context of the study, encouraging educators to make full use of the opportunity to add their own comments, and assuring them of the confidentiality and anonymity of the study (see Appendix D 2).¹⁶ Educators were exhorted to return the completed questionnaires, in the stamped and addressed envelopes provided, within two weeks of the date of receipt. I followed up, a month or so later with a reminder letter sent to all educators individually as well as a faxed letter to all head of departments.

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By October 125 questionnaires had been returned to me either by post or by hand¹⁷. An analysis of these returns and the source institutions showed that return rates by department varied from a low 20 per cent to 100 per cent. Of particular concern were low return rates (below 50 per cent) from a nearly half of the HBI sector institutions. In view of this skewed response, which had particular salience given the issues addressed in this survey, I decided that it was essential to follow up a proportion of these departments and, where possible, personally interview these educators. Apart from gaining a more balanced set of responses I felt I may also be able gain some idea of the particular conditions in these departments and the feelings of staff regarding participation in the survey.

During these subsequent visits, in mid-1993, to three different departments in the HBI sector (departments A3, A6, and A7 as identified in Table 1 in Appendix G) I interviewed¹⁸ ten educators who had previously not returned questionnaires. The original questionnaire was used unchanged as the interview schedule and comments were tape-recorded and then transcribed. Of these ten, one had joined the department (A7) during 1993 and was therefore not on the original staff list. There were therefore a total of 135 social work educators, out of the 191 identified population, who constituted the respondents and therefore the sample, for this survey. All 21 academic social work departments, located within 19 university and 2 college settings, were represented (although only one questionnaire was returned from one small department).

2. Social work students: three Western Cape institutions

During the month of May 1993 I requested the participation of the respective fourth and third year social work classes in the survey from the heads of department of each of the selected Western Cape educational institutions (Good Hope, Peninsula and de Kaap¹⁹) via personal contact over the telephone. I then arranged directly with individual lecturers to use a part of a specific teaching period for the completion of the questionnaire. I personally met with each class, briefly introduced the purposes of the overall study and the particular survey and while stressing the voluntary, confidential and anonymous nature of their participation, requested that they complete the questionnaires²⁰. These were printed on plain A4 size paper with the Afrikaans translation on the reverse side (see Appendix D.4). The questionnaires were then handed out to all students attending the class, and collected by me after completion.

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Although almost every student who was present on the day of my visits handed in their questionnaires, I was dependent for participation on class attendance. I collected 51 questionnaires from the fourth year class at Peninsula for which the registered total was 90. The comparative participation figures for de Kaap were 30 questionnaires from a class of 42 and for Good Hope 26 from 31. A total of 107 senior social work students across the three departments therefore participated in the survey.

3. Fieldwork supervisors: selected Cape Town social service agencies

In June 1993, having telephonically secured the agreement of all the fourth year agency fieldwork supervisors, I posted the questionnaires to each individual by name. The personalised covering letter was very similar to those sent to the social work educators (see Appendix D.2) suitably modified and requested that the questionnaire be returned, in the stamped addressed envelope provided, within two weeks of receipt. All but one (23 out of 24) of the targeted fieldwork supervisors returned their questionnaires.

4. All social work departments

In August 1993 the 'policy and practice' questionnaire was sent to the heads of all social work departments in the 21 tertiary institutions in the then South Africa and the TBVC states. The covering letter explained this request as a follow-up to the survey in which departmental staff had participated via their completion of the attitudinal questionnaire (see Appendix E.1). Again confidentiality and anonymity, the latter through identification by codes only, was assured and department heads were requested to return the questionnaire within one week of receipt if possible. I also undertook to present the results of the survey at a subsequent Joint Universities Committee (JUC) conference²¹. Of the 21 social work departments canvassed, 18 returned the completed questionnaires after follow up telephone calls to individual heads.²²

5. Selected Cape Town social service agencies

In September 1993, subsequent to most of the fieldwork supervisors having returned their individual questionnaires, I sent the 'policy and practice' questionnaire to the director or head of each social service agency or social work section within which these supervisors were based. The covering letter explained the purposes of the study and the reasons for requesting the demographic information (see Appendix F.1) and respondents were requested to return the

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questionnaire within a week of receipt if possible. I also offered to present the survey results once complete and run workshops around the training implications should the agency request this. Of the 22 social service agencies targeted, 19 returned the completed questionnaires.

F. Response rates and representivity

The issue of representivity, which is central to an attempt to make any generalisations about social work educators nationally, depends, firstly, on the response rate, and secondly, on whether the characteristics of the respondents and non-respondents differ in any significant ways (Babbie, 1973; de Vaus, 1986; Fowler, 1984). The higher the response rate the less likelihood there is of significant response bias. Both these aspects are central in addressing a fundamental question in survey methodology, i.e. to what extent do the respondents form a random sample of the targeted population? These two aspects, both of which concern possible bias within the survey respondent group, are discussed in some detail in Appendix G.

This discussion presents, firstly, response rates by institution as well as by institutional category. Secondly, limited demographic data on the overall staffing profile of each social work department and those of respondents are compared. Thirdly, the demographic characteristics of those respondents who initially did not respond to the mailed questionnaires but were subsequently interviewed were compared with those of the other respondents who worked in the same departments.

While the response rates of a few individual Departments are clearly inadequate (see Appendix G), the response rates by institutional category (see summary Table 5D below) are more adequate with none lower than 65 percent even for the more conservative rate A (i.e. based on the A staff list - see Table 1 and discussion in Appendix G for a full explanation of the A and B staff list²³). Taking the more optimistic rate B (based on the B staff list), the institutional category response rate range was from 72 percent (HIWI-Afrik) to 100 percent (DIST.) while the overall responses rate was between 71 per cent (using staff list A) and 76 per cent (list B).

Table 5D:
Survey of educators: population, returns and response rate
(by institutional category)

Institutional Categories	Staff List A	Staff List B	Q'aires Returned	Response Rate A	Response Rate B
	n	n	n	%	%
HBI	68	60	44	65	73
HWI-Afrik	74	71	51	69	72
HWI-Eng	39	36	30	77	83
DISTANCE	10	10	10	100	100
TOTAL	191	177	135	71	76

The detailed analysis with regard to the question of whether non-respondents differ markedly from the respondents with respect to any key characteristics, to the extent that would introduce significant bias into the results, is set out in Appendix G. As Table 5E above shows, the respondents broadly reflect the population group profile of all social work educators except that Black educators are under-represented by 7 per cent and White educators are over-represented by 6 per cent. Another way of expressing this is that while 77 per cent of White educators responded, only 51 per cent of Black social workers did so. As regards comparisons between initial (who responded by post) and subsequent (who were interviewed later) respondents, it would appear that while there are some marked demographic differences between these groups *within* the three departments, the nature of this difference varies between the departments. The only trend that was consistent between the three departments was that more males were found amongst the non-respondent groups than amongst the respondent groups but no overall gender bias can be identified (see Table x above). The population group response bias needs to be borne in mind when evaluating the results of the survey.

As indicated previously, no attempt was made to achieve national representivity in the social work student and fieldwork supervisor samples. While I would maintain that the student sample, even allowing for the response rates by class, was reasonably representative of Western Cape social work students, the fieldwork supervisor sample is only representative of those who supervise the practical work for one local social work department (Good Hope). The main purpose of including these samples was more for illustrative purposes and only very limited comparisons between, for example, the attitudes of educators, students and supervisors

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regarding particular issues can be made. This limitation should be taken into account throughout the discussion of results and it is for this reason that the major findings and conclusions of the study flow from the data on social work educators.

IV. Data analysis and presentation of results

A. Data analysis

As is evident from the structure and content of the questionnaires, the data from the attitudinal surveys was collected in two main forms - scale or other closed responses to each statements or questions, and written comments relating to each item that were provided by the respondents (The demographic and meta-commentary data is discussed below).

All the items for each questionnaire and the possible closed responses were coded, scored and captured onto a spreadsheet. This data was then entered onto the BMDP programme on the university mainframe computer and univariate and bivariate tables, to specified variables (mainly demographic details cross-tabulated with closed responses to each item), were generated. Having studied the computer print-outs of these tables I then selected the data I wished to present and then manually constructed the combined tables as set out in Appendices H to K. From these tables I also created the graphs that are presented in both the results chapters (6 to 9) and in the detailed discussion in Appendices L to O.

The tables that are presented in the Appendices record the closed responses in 'raw' form i.e. that actual response frequencies to each item across all five points of the scale, in the case of statements, or across all pre-set response options, in the case of questions. These raw scores are then cross-tabulated with both institutional category, or institution in the case of students, and the 'ethnic/race' group categories which I constructed (see discussion below). The right hand section of each table presents the combined agree and disagree scores, in the case of statements, i.e. into 'disagree', 'neutral' and 'agree' expressed as percentages²⁴. For responses to questions, depending on the number and salience of the responses, the frequency scores are either simply converted to percentages or after being combined depending on the closed response options. These latter percentages are presented in the form of bar graphs in the figures inserted into the text of the results chapters.

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The 'ethnic/race' categories used bear some explanation as they differ from the 'race' or 'population group' convention used up to this point. The main difference between these categories and the 'population group' categories used in Part I of this dissertation, is that I separated the White population group into two subgroups - those named Afrikaans (White-Afk) or English (White-Eng) as their home language. While, as with any cultural or ethnic group, the boundaries between these two groups is an increasingly blurred and permeable one (and they have shared an advantaged socio-economic group status as a result of colonial and apartheid policies as well as common European cultural identifications) there are also clear historical antecedents and ethnocultural characteristics that go some way to define the dominant White Afrikaner or English-speaking White South African groups as distinctive. The findings of this study clearly validate this distinction.

A less satisfactory 'ethnic/race' category was created to combine the responses of Coloured and Indian educator²⁵ respondents - designated as the 'Col/Ind' category. I would argue however that this combination is functional in terms of the purposes of this study for two reasons. Firstly the number of educators in each of these population group categories is small - 11 and 5 for Coloured and Indian educators respectively - and therefore combining them creates a more substantial subgroup for comparative purposes. Secondly, although these two groups are quite distinct in many ways, including historical origins and predominant areas of residence and settlement within South Africa, they have shared a common 'intermediate' position (between Whites and Blacks) and experience, in the racial and socio-economic hierarchy elaborated and legislated under apartheid in South Africa (Randall, 1971). While some sections of these communities share a common religion, Islam, it should be noted that both communities are internally heterogeneous with significant intra-group differences along religious, linguistic and class lines.

In the presentation of fieldwork supervisor responses, because of the very low numbers involved I have had to create simplistic 'colour' categories that ignore cultural or ethnic aspects - an inclusive 'Black-Inc' category which combines Black and Coloured respondents, and, as there were only two White fieldwork supervisors who claimed Afrikaans as their home language, a simple 'White' category.

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There are two ways in which a more nuanced and, to an extent, qualitative reading of the survey data has been attempted. Firstly, and to assist in more fine-grain analysis where appropriate, I have used the full range of possible responses along the five points of the Likert scale to comment on the relative 'strength' of agreement or disagreement with a particular view. Secondly, and most importantly, has been the analysis of the written comments made by all respondents and which provide some depth and layering that complements the closed response data. All of these comments were content-analysed and categorised, with some reference to the closed response score they followed, but mainly according to identifiable themes and trends. In the text of the results chapters these comments are further discussed in terms of ethnic/race group and, where indicated, institutional category where different patterns of response are evident.

As is evident from the demographic data (see below), despite a high degree of congruence in the case of the HWI-Afk sector in particular, there is not a perfect 'match' between educators' ethnic/race group and the institutional category of the department within which they work even though the latter was also racial and 'ethnic'. While institutional culture must clearly exert a degree of influence upon the social and educational attitudes of individual educators, I have taken the view that these institutional categories are more reflective and reinforcing of the broader ethnic/race characteristics of the major social groups of social work educators and students than constructive of institution-specific and separate social identities. My initial analysis of the raw scores, as set out in the tables, supported this view and I have therefore mainly used the ethnic/race categories as variables when breaking down the survey data presented in the text.

It should also be noted here that my initial analysis included the possibility of carrying out a more detailed analysis using other demographic differences between respondents collected (gender, age, language, religion etc). I did in fact carry out selected analysis of some key items breaking race/ethnicity categories down further into these sub-categories as well. However the very small size of some of these subgroups, particularly in the case of language and religion, was an immediate problem in terms of the yielding of significant results. In the case of gender, where subgroups were at least more viable, I found no indication of any significant gender differences in responses and I therefore decided that the considerable extra work and space needed to present such additional detail was not justified.

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With regard to confidentiality, despite my not using any real names of individual institutions it is difficult to conceal some of these identities especially when demographic details and institutional categories are juxtaposed. In one instance in particular, the only institution in the DISTANCE category, it is impossible to prevent identification by anyone with even a passing knowledge of South African tertiary education, owing to its unique position and function within that sector. In the case of the rest of the social work departments I have attempted to present data derived from the personal views and attitudes of staff members in ways that make identification of the particular department impossible or at least improbable and most references are to institutional category rather than department. No individual educator, student or fieldwork supervisors can be identified from any reference made anywhere in this dissertation

B. Organisation and presentation of results

The organisation of the subsequent chapters in Part 2 that present and discuss the results of the surveys is as follows. The items (statements or questions) as contained in the questionnaire are grouped, both into chapters and sections, around broader issues and theme headings (not necessarily in the same order as in the questionnaires). These issues or themes are then introduced and contextualised with reference to discussion in previous chapters, and other specialist literature where necessary, including their relevance to social work education. This is followed by presentation of the responses of the survey participants to each item - firstly those of social work educators nationally and then, for the common items, those of social work students in the three Western Cape university departments and of fieldwork supervisors in Cape Town social service agencies.

At the end of each chapter a brief overview of the issues and themes raised by the results discussed in that chapter is given. Some of these connect with wider and more theoretical issues already identified in earlier chapters and such reference points are flagged here. Those issues I have adjudged as the most important and relevant for the purposes of this study are then taken forward into Chapter 10 where they are briefly summarised and discussed in more detail more especially in terms of their implications for local educational and professional social work practice.

C. Demographic profile of survey respondents

Rather than present the demographic information on respondents to the attitudinal surveys in a separate chapter, this detail is summarised here

I. Social work educators

Column A of Table 5E below summarises the gender and population group profile of educators from their responses to the demographic section of the questionnaire. While well over two-thirds of the respondents (72 per cent) were female, and under a third (28 per cent) male, male social workers were significantly over-represented in academic institutions relative to the profession as a whole as in 1988 only 12 per cent of all registered social workers were male (and only 10 per cent in 1995 – see columns D and E of Table 5E). Within the education sector however, the respondents fairly accurately reflect the overall gender profile of social work educators (see comparison between columns A and B in Table 5F) although there is some slight variance when these figures are broken down into institutional categories (see Table 3 and discussion in Appendix G).

Table 5E:
Comparative proportions of respondents, all educators and all social workers
(By gender and population group)

	A		B		C		D		E	
	Social Work Educator Respondents 1992-3		All Social Work Educators 1993		All Registered Social Workers 1988		All Registered Social Workers ²⁶ 1995		All Registered Social Workers 1999	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Female	96	72	135	71	5799	88	7349	90	8763	90
Male	37	28	56	29	776	12	841	10	998	10
No Resp.	2	<1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Black	23	17	45	24	1045	16	n.a.		n.a.	
Coloured	11	8	13	7	747	11	n.a.		n.a.	
Indian	5	4	9	5	344	5	n.a.		n.a.	
White	95	71	124	65	4439	68	n.a.		n.a.	
No Resp.	1	<1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	135	100	191	100	6575	100	8190	100	9761	100

Asked to record their 'race' group classification in terms of the previous Population Registration Act, 23 educators indicated classification as Black, 11 as Coloured, 5 as Indian

Chapter 5: Introduction to the surveys of participants in social work education

and 95 as White. As Table 5E above shows, and has been discussed above, the educator respondents broadly reflect the population group profile of all social work educators except that Black educators are under-represented (by 7 per cent) and White educators are over-represented (by 6 per cent).

The distribution of educator respondents by ethnic/race group across the different institutional categories is set out in Table 5F below. The relative ethnic/race heterogeneity of the HBI and HWI-Eng sectors in contrast to the all White composition of social work departments in the HWI-Afk and DIST. sector at that time is clearly evident.

Table 5F:
Social work educators: 1992-3 survey respondents
(by ethnic/race group and institutional category)

	HBI	HWI-Afk	HWI-Eng	DIST	TOTAL
Black-Afk	21	0	2	0	23
Col/Ind	10	0	6	0	16
White-Afk	7	46	2	8	63
White-Eng	6	5	20	2	33
Total	44	51	30	10	135

In terms of age the majority of educator respondents (69 per cent) were aged between 30 and 49 years and divided equally between those 30 to 39 years of age and those 40 to 49 years of age (34.5 per cent, n=46, in each group). The balance of educators were 29 years or younger (7 per cent, n=9), between 50 and 59 years (19 per cent, n=25) or 60 years or over (5 per cent, n=7).

In terms of years experience as social work educators the majority of respondents, 37 per cent (n=48) and 29 per cent (n=38), had between 4 to 9 and 10 to 19 years of such experience respectively, while 15 per cent (n = 20) have 20 years or more such experience and 19 per cent (n = 25) 3 or less. It should be noted here that it tends to be the norm in local social work education that teaching staff have a number of years post-qualification experience in social work practice, in one or more settings, before being appointed to academic posts. While there are exceptions to this norm, it can be assumed that most of the respondents have some such experience in addition to their teaching and/or research experience.

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2. Social work students

The gender and population group profile of social work student respondents is set out in Table 5G below. The specific demographic spread of population groups in the Western Cape, with much higher numbers of Coloured persons and much lower numbers of Black persons compared to a national profile, is reflected in this sample. In broad 'colour' (black-white) terms however this sample is similar to the national breakdown of social work students (see Table 5C above). The low proportion of male students is notable as is the fact that Peninsula, where the whole student sample is black, has the highest proportion of male students. This reflects a general trend.

Table 5G:
Social work student respondents to survey
(by institution, gender & population group)

	Peninsula (HBI-Col)	de Kaap (HWI-Afk)	Good Hope (HWI-Eng)	Total	
				n	%
Female	41	28	23	92	86
Male	10	2	2	14	13
No Resp.	-	-	1	1	1
Black-Afk	21	0	8	29	27
Col/Ind	30	3	6	40	37
White-Afk	0	24	0	24	22
White-Eng	0	3	10	13	12
No Resp.	-	-	1	1	1
Total	51	30	26	107	100

The majority of social work students (n=64) were 22 years old or younger while under a third (n=28) were between 23 and 25 years old and 14 students were 26 years or older. Over 80 per cent of the students 23 years or older were black students studying at Peninsula. In summary, black students tended to be older, and were more likely to include a larger minority of males, while white students were younger and predominantly female.

3. Fieldwork supervisors

The gender and ethnic/race breakdown of fieldwork supervisor respondents is summarised in Table 5H below. The majority of the supervisors (n=10) were aged between 30 and 39 years, five were 29 years or younger, four were between 40 and 49 years old, while three were 50

Chapter 5: Introduction to the surveys of participants in social work education

years of age or older. As was discussed above no attempt was made to achieve demographic representivity of individual supervisors in this small sample.

Table 5II:
Fieldwork supervisor respondents to survey
(by gender & 'colour')

Female	Male	Black-A/c	Col.	White-Afk	White-Eng	Total
17	6	1	5	2	15	23

V. Concluding comment

This chapter has described the aims, design and execution of the surveys that constitute the central aspect of the empirical data in this study. The analysis of this data, and its organisation and presentation in the following chapters, has also been set out in some detail - Chapters 6 to 9 that follow each deal the findings around related issues or themes as elicited through these surveys. In order to prepare the way for the presentation of the core findings and results of the empirical study, the chapter has concluded with a demographic profile of the social work educators, students and fieldwork supervisors who were the survey respondents.

Notes to Chapter 5

¹ The specific issues addressed in the questionnaire are too numerous to set out here. The last section in this Chapter explains how the responses to the different issues are presented in the dissertation.

² As can be seen from the demographic section of the questionnaires, I had also collected data on the gender, age, social class, home language, and religion of the respondents. However, as discussed later in section IV, after initial reviewing the results, I decided not to pursue any analysis that incorporated these differences.

³ I am not here implying that these effects are just nuisance factors or that they can ever be entirely excluded so that purely 'objective' data can be gathered. This is positivist fiction. All responses by research 'subjects' occur within a relationship and to a 'real' or imagined researcher. My hope was that respondents may feel free to record their views and feelings through a postal survey - some respondents did in fact express very strong feelings around both particular issues and the research itself though I have no way of knowing whether they would have done so to me personally as well.

⁴ I use the term 'teaching staff' or 'educators' rather than 'academics' when referring to personnel employed in the social work departments that are the subject of this research. This is in view of my inclusion of staff who are often wholly involved in supervision and teaching of fieldwork practice (see discussion below) and who may not be required either to lecture on theory courses or to undertake research and thus who would not necessarily meet the normal criteria for permanent employment as academic staff.

⁵ This body is constituted in terms of the Social Work Act, and was previously known as the Council for Social and Associated Workers. The membership over the years since its inception is reported in the annual reports and newsletters and clearly reflects the dominance of university-based social work academics. More recently there has been some increase in representation from social workers in the field.

⁶ Such supervisors are often expected to supervise in accordance with clear departmental guidelines either presented at training workshops and/or in fieldwork handbooks. Any one social work department can, depending on its practice programmes, contract with a large number of such supervision staff and their inclusion in the population under study here would therefore result in their responses receiving undue weight within the overall survey.

⁷ As qualifying social work courses were taught in two colleges (one of which closed at the end of 1993) I have used the term 'tertiary institution' instead of 'university' and thus the abbreviations TIWI and HBI.

⁸ Since the abandonment of 'ethnic' or population group specific policies in the tertiary sector in the early 1990s, large numbers of black African students enrolled at the two universities previously designated for the education of Coloured and Indian students respectively.

⁹ As recounted in Chapter 2 it should be noted that all four of these were so-called 'open' universities who would not have barred qualifying black persons from registering as students, were it not for the apartheid era restrictions applied to all universities.

¹⁰ Three heads of social work departments of the six in the HBI-Afe category did not return their questionnaires. I therefore had to estimate the likely student enrolments for each of these departments based both on their numbers of academic staff and student numbers in comparable institutions and my personal knowledge of these institutions. All other categories use figures supplied by the institutions themselves.

¹¹ The third year within my own department was used as the target population here as I had completed a Cultural Diversities course with the fourth years and most of them had completed a pilot questionnaire similar to the one used in the survey.

¹² This situation is no doubt reflective of historical employment practices in local social work agencies as well as of the university social work department's practices concerning the recruitment of fieldwork supervisors and/or agencies.

13 I have not explored the reasons for this more than anecdotally - clearly English is viewed in many Black communities as the language of higher education as well as international communication. Most Black intellectuals and politically aware Blacks also reacted very negatively to the enforced ethnic policies of the National Party government that divided Black Africans into ethnic and linguistic subgroups, based on earlier tribal patterns and therefore any communication that was 'home language specific' could be construed as in line with of apartheid government policy rather than genuine cultural sensitivity.

14 I personally had confirmed this with each field work supervisor when I telephoned each of them to request their participation in the survey. In the letter accompanying the questionnaire I nonetheless invited each supervisor to request an Afrikaans translation if they preferred - none took up this offer.

15 It was not possible in a few instances as staff vacancies were not yet filled and therefore no individual staff names could be supplied. This was the case in seven institutions and a total of thirteen generally addressed covering letters and questionnaires were sent care of the head of department concerned.

16 While educators were requested, in the demographic section, to record the name of the institution in which they were employed, they were specifically asked not to write their own names on the questionnaire and informed that both individual respondents and departments would be identified in the results by code names only. Although it is of course possible, given the other demographic information requested, to identify particular respondents in those social work departments with which I am familiar, I do not present data in a form that will identify any individual respondent.

17 The educators in my own department were obviously also subjects in this survey and their questionnaires were sent and received via the internal departmental 'pigeon-hole' system.

18 During my visit to department A3 I interviewed four staff members and left a copy of the questionnaire with a fifth. This staff member subsequently returned the completed questionnaire to me by post. All nine other staff in the visited departments were interviewed in person and their comments recorded.

19 These fictional names have been used in order to avoid referring to the actual names of the respective institutions.

20 At the dual-medium Peninsula institution I spoke in English, having been assured by the lecturer that most of the courses were taught in that language, and pointed out that the questionnaire was printed in both English and Afrikaans. Some students here chose to complete the Afrikaans version. At de Kaap I delivered the formal introduction in Afrikaans, supplemented by some clarification in English. Three students chose to complete the English version of the questionnaire.

21 This commitment was subsequently met at the September 1995 JUC Conference at which I presented an overview of the results of the present study (Mackintosh, 1995).

22 I received most of the responses by the end of the 1993 academic year and although one head of department submitted his response in early 1994, the answers were still based on 1993 demographics and policies.

23 In summary, the A staff list (n=191) comprised the full official complement of educators in each department as originally supplied to me. The B staff list (n=177) takes into account those educators who had either left the department or were on leave, by the time the questionnaires reached the department four to five months later.

24 As the level of 'no responses' is generally very low wherever I use percentages they are calculated using the net total of respondents who made a response to the particular question.

25 This is only really of salience for educators as there was only one Indian respondent (whose home language was English) among the entire 107 student social worker sample - for this reason this students' responses are included under the 'Col/Eng' category in the tables and under the 'Col/Ind' category in the bar graphs.

26 The figures for registered social workers are taken from official statistics as published in the professional Council newsletters of the respective years.

Chapter 6

Macro issues: cultural diversity, stages of socio-cultural development and cultural/national identity

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Notes

Chapter 6

Macro issues: cultural diversity, stages of socio-cultural development and cultural/national identity

I. Introduction

As I showed in Chapter 2, not only 'race' but ethnic, cultural and 'national' differences have been pervasive issues for much of South Africa's history. In Chapter 4 I discussed particular ideological contestations around notions of cultural diversity/difference and ethnicity that have been highlighted within the South African context in some detail and also clarified the way that apartheid ideology, or more accurately Afrikaner Christian nationalism, relied heavily on the construction of local notions of cultural and ethnic diversity (often referred to in terms of 'nation' or *volk*). It may well be that any attempt at a more objective and less ideologically-loaded discussion of cultural diversity in the South African context has to explicitly construct alternative meanings if it is to avoid merely reproducing these enduring associations and meanings.

This chapter reports on that part of the survey that sought the attitudes of social work participants regarding a number of these 'macro' diversity and identity issues. These are all issues which involve attitudes, assumptions and values that help construct the ideological and cultural context within which social work educational practice in South Africa takes place. The specific issues addressed here were, firstly, the degree of emphasis that is, or should be, placed on cultural differences between individuals and groups. Secondly, the question of whether engagement with such diversity includes recourse to reified notions of differing stages of development between distinct ethnic or 'national' groups. And lastly, whether, and to what extent, the preservation of cultural/ethnic or 'national' identities through socially exclusive means is perceived as socially desirable.

II. Acknowledging cultural diversity

As set out in Chapter 4, largely in reaction to the apartheid-driven divisions and subjugation that were justified by an emphasis on cultural and ethnic differences and group membership, and in order to focus on the envisioning of an alternative common, non-racial South African citizenship, it became the norm in progressive circles to discount or minimise the role of cultural and ethnic factors in peoples lives. In contrast however, the struggle for equality and the rights of oppressed

or marginalised black and other 'minorities' in other countries (most notably North America, Britain and parts of Europe) has often incorporated a cultural relativist position that focuses on the positive cultural values and practices, as well as the political empowerment and solidarity, of such minority groups¹ (see Chapter 4).

I anticipated therefore that those respondents who identified with this local progressive perspective might tend to have negative, or at least cautiously positive, views towards the notion of valuing cultural diversity. At the same time however, I was aware that the effective end of the race-based apartheid government in 1990, and the prospect that the establishment of a non-racial democracy was not far away, had, together with increased knowledge of international trends in this area, begun to change views towards issues of cultural diversity.

It should be noted here that, in view of the above, it is possible to have (at least) two quite different, in terms of rationale, intention and outcome, but positive attitudes towards cultural diversity. On the one hand there is the more relativist and progressive view that promotes respect and equal valuing of a range of social, cultural and lifestyle differences conceived of either in more social constructionist or culturally essentialist terms. And on the other hand, there is the conservative, essentialist view (that can be articulated in pseudo-relativist terms) that attempts to draw hard and exclusive boundaries between groups on the basis of such differences. These groups are often implicitly seen as qualitatively different, as measured against 'universal' but ethnocentric norms (in effect those of a particular reference group) and are therefore often ranked in some sort of social hierarchy.

I was interested as to which of the possible range of positions respondents would take on this issue - in particular the 'local progressive' view, an 'international progressive' view, or a more conservative 'culturalist' view (or other possible variants). The first item was therefore intended to elicit social work respondents' attitudes towards acknowledgement (rather than the active promotion) of cultural diversity in the South African context of 1993. This consisted of the following statement:

Item 1: *The diversity of cultural values, beliefs and practices amongst different people/communities should be acknowledged as an important social reality in South Africa.*

A. Closed responses of social work educators

There is quite clearly overwhelming support from virtually all respondents (98 per cent) for the recognition of cultural diversity as an important social reality and this is despite the historical factors alluded to above and almost regardless of ethnic/race group (see **Figure 6.1** in **Appendix L**). Two Black-Afc (9 per cent) educators chose not to commit themselves on this issue and a solitary White English-speaking respondent opted to oppose the statement. Such results would seem to indicate a remarkably uniform response from what at first glance would seem to be very diverse sectors within social work education. Indeed it is only when a closer look is taken at the actual strength of agreement (measured by the ratio of 'agree' to 'strongly agree' responses) that a more differentiated response pattern is evident with White-Afk and black educators recording 'stronger' support for the acknowledgement of cultural diversity than White-Eng educators (see detailed comments in **Appendix I**).

B. Comments by social work educators

Seventy-eight per cent of educators provided comments and these were categorised as follows:

1. Support for the acknowledgement of cultural diversity

The largest group of educators followed their agreement with the *Item 1* with comments that either restated the notion in a more or less similar way or elaborated on specific aspects. Most comments did not appear to either actively promote or discourage cultural diversity but rather promoted the view that such differences are a reality which have to be accepted or at least taken into account, for example

Every person has their own values and convictions and this cannot be ignored or rejected⁷

and,

We can only live and work together harmoniously if we acknowledge and accept the reality of our differences.

The large majority of White-Afk and Black-Afc educators provided these comments while only around a half of White-Eng and Col/Ind did so. These latter educators apparently feel least comfortable with the statement of *Item 1* in contrast to most White-Afk and Black-Afc educators

⁷ Elke mens het sy eie waardes en oortuigings en kan dit nie geignoreer of verwerp word nie. (All quoted comments that were written in Afrikaans have been translated into English in the text and the original footnoted)

who are almost unanimously comfortable with affirming the notion of cultural diversity as formulated here

As will be discussed below this general category of response also obscures a number of different possible emphases within the construction of difference (probably partly because of the level of abstraction of *Item 1* – see discussion in Overview section)

Two themes emerged in the balance of commentary. A few comments here (from all race/ethnic groups) described cultural diversity as having an enriching quality in the social and/or national sphere:

As a reality it must be recognised - can also enrich the social milieu.

Such an emphasis on the notion of 'diversity-as-enrichment' can be seen as part of a specific multicultural discourse (see Chapter 4) and it is possible that these respondents are signalling both their knowledge of and some identification with that discourse.

Another small group of comments (all White-Afk) explicitly linked a positive acceptance of cultural diversity with values of respect for the 'unique individual'. Most pointed out that this notion has long formed part of the discourse of social work as a discipline and that this respect for individual uniqueness is capable of encompassing respect for cultural 'differentness' as well. Two examples here are:

Uniekheid en individualiteit - belangrike uitgangspunte in die evaluering van behoeftes.⁴

Agree - but then the diversity of cultural values etc. must be seen as individual 's/communities' uniqueness which is a principle of social work. This uniqueness must therefore be respected and accepted as such.⁵

Discussion of the possible effects of this individualist focus will be taken up later in this chapter.

2. Qualified support for acknowledgement of cultural diversity

A smaller group of respondents (n=24), while agreeing with *Item 1*, immediately qualified this by sounding a cautionary note. Most of these respondents problematised the notion of cultural

⁴ Uniekheid en individualiteit - belangrike uitgangspunte in die evaluering van behoeftes.

⁵ Stern saam - maar dan moet verskeidenheid kulturele waardes ens. as die mense/gemeenskappe se uniekheid gesien word, wat 'n beginsel in maatskaplike werk is. Hierdie uniekheid moet dus gerespekteer en as sodanig aanvaar word.

diversity by referring to a corresponding need to emphasise commonalities or similarities as well as differences. However a proportion of these educators (one third) explicitly addressed the abuse that apartheid ideology made of differences in order to oppress, discriminate against, or separate people, for example:

Provided that these differences are not disguised as separateness based on discriminatory ideology

It was the Col/Ind and White-Eng respondents who were most concerned to qualify their agreement here, while only a few Black-Afc and White-Afk respondents felt the need to do so. While these responses implicitly problematize the concept of cultural diversity within the local context, no respondent explicitly articulated a more radical constructionist line or questioned the construction of cultural difference in a more universal sense.

The balance of comments were given by one White-Eng educator who disagreed with the statement on the same grounds as in category 2 above and a Black-Afc educator who scored a neutral response and also sought to problematise the statement.

C. Closed responses of social work students

The identical item was included in the student social worker questionnaire. As for educators, there was a strong positive response pattern (92 per cent agreement) endorsing the acknowledgement of cultural diversity in South Africa (see **Figure 6.2** in **Appendix L**). While there was a unanimously positive response from all white students there is a degree of ambivalence, and some opposition, toward the statement on the part of a small number of Black-Afc and Coloured students mainly from the Peninsula setting. In terms of strength of agreement, White-Afk and Black-Afc students record 'stronger' agreement rations than do Col/Ind and White-Eng students (see **Appendix L** for detail).

As the student questionnaire provided space for joint comments for both *Item 1* and *Item 2* only after *Item 2*, most commentary referred directly to the latter item. These comments are therefore discussed in section III below.

D. Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

The identical item was also included in the fieldwork supervisor questionnaire. There is an overall high level of agreement with *Item 1* here (87 per cent) although not quite as high as that of

students and 11 per cent lower than that of educators (see **Figure 6.3** in **Appendix L**). While the low number of supervisors in the inclusive Black-Inc category⁷ makes meaningful intergroup comparisons here difficult, the general response trend in both, including the ratio of 'strong' to 'weak' agreement remains similar to that of the social work educators and students discussed above. As for students, comments in respect of both *Item 1* and *Item 2* were combined in this questionnaire and are discussed in section **III** below.

III. Emphasising cultural diversity

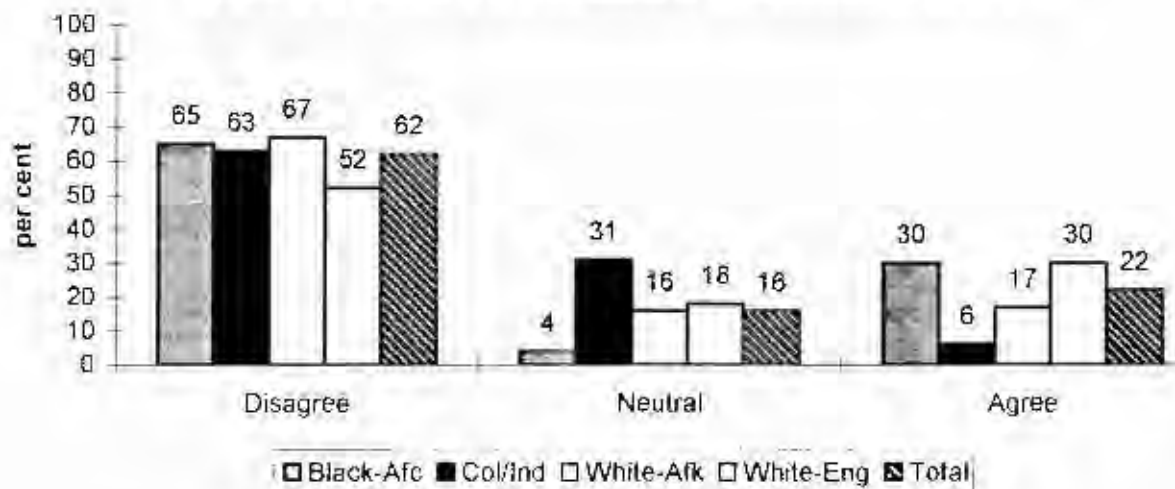
In order to stimulate a wider range of responses, through providing a contrasting slant on cultural diversity, I formulated a second item based loosely on what I have called the 'local progressive' view on cultural diversity. This invited responses to the proposition that an emphasis on cultural diversity (as opposed to an acknowledgement) has negative effects in that it encourages separatist, apartheid-style thinking. This item read as follows:

***Item 2:** Emphasising the diversity of cultural values, beliefs and practices amongst people communities in South Africa encourages separatist, apartheid thinking.*

A. Closed responses of social work educators

Nearly two-thirds of all educators disagreed that an emphasis on cultural diversity leads to apartheid-type thinking while just over a fifth agreed (see **Figure 6.4** below). The balance of educators felt unable to commit themselves on the issue as formulated. The level of disagreement was consistently around the two-thirds mark for all race/ethnic groups except for the White-Eng group just over half of whom felt this way. The latter group shows the widest range of responses with nearly a third agreeing and almost a fifth neutral. Of interest is the polarised response pattern within the Black-Afc group with only one educator recording a neutral response but with an approximately two-thirds to a third split between disagreement and agreement respectively.

Figure 6.4: Social work educators' responses to Item 2



B. Comments by social work educators

A high 86 per cent of educators provided comments in respect of this item and these are discussed within the following categories:

1. Positive support for a cultural diversity emphasis

This comments of those educators who disagreed that an emphasis on cultural diversity encouraged separatist apartheid thinking reflected at least three distinct sub-categories:

About half of the comments here (from all race/ethnic groups) took the view that there is no necessary or inevitable link between an emphasis on cultural differences and apartheid-style thinking. Some educators felt that this depended on how and for what purposes such an emphasis is pursued. Others gave examples of how power differences or superior/inferior assumptions can create hierarchies, rather than equality, within cultural diversity, for example:

It could, and has, of course encouraged this kind of thinking, but it's because diversity was considered above equality rather than alongside it.

The next largest group of comments were those that positively endorsed an emphasis on cultural diversity as promoting sensitivity, mutual respect and understanding, and what one respondent called 'the country's rich social heritage'. A further example in this vein was as follows:

While it notes differences it should encourage respect and the right to be different, not separate thinking.
Emphasize 'richness'

While these comments came from all race/ethnic groups it was firstly the Black-Afr group and secondly the Col/Ind group that had the most significant representation. Overall these comments can be read as reflecting a similar multicultural discourse that was identified in educators' comments to *Item 1* above.

The balance of comments did not fall neatly into either of the above sub-categories. Three respondents (all White-Afr) reacted to what they saw as a simplistic or scapegoating reference to 'apartheid' in *Item 2* and implied a distinction between the proven impracticality of apartheid policy and the more principled recognition of cultural differences. A further three educators (Black-Afr, Col/Ind and White-Afr) perceived cultural differences simply as a given reality, neither good nor bad in itself that needed to be accepted and not denied. The remaining comments were either unclear or idiosyncratically formulated².

2. Dangers of a cultural diversity emphasis

The second largest category of comments was of those made by educators who agreed that an emphasis on cultural diversity encouraged separatist/apartheid thinking. A sizeable proportion of comments here (almost all by White-Afr and White-Eng educators) pointed to the need to focus on similarities or commonalities between people:

Yes if acknowledgement of differences is not balanced by acknowledgement that commonalities are equally valid and important.

A subgroup of educators (from all race/ethnic groups) supported their agreement with *Item 2* by alluding to the political and human rights abuse of the notion of cultural diversity locally and/or internationally:

Basic human rights have been sacrificed by using the above as a reason for separatism.

Two further comments identified an emphasis on cultural differences as leading to 'manipulated racism' or 'inferiority complexes'

3. Uncertainty and ambivalence towards a cultural diversity emphasis

These comments followed a neutral rating of *Item 2*. Most took the view that the consequences of an emphasis on cultural diversity was dependent upon how and for what purposes it is made. Several responses stressed the importance of achieving a balance between cultural differences and what people hold in common.

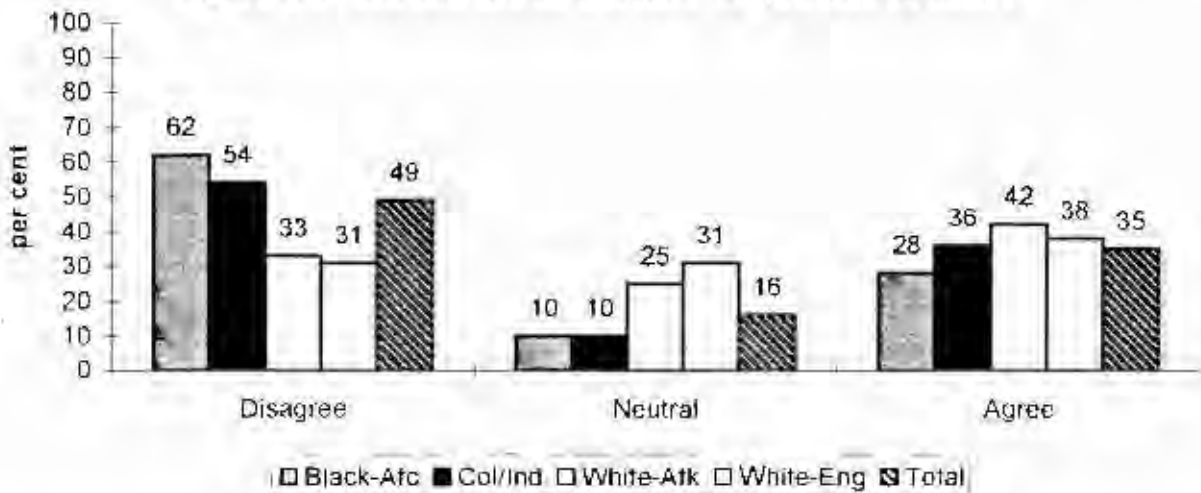
It is easy to overemphasise difference with this viewpoint and to overlook the basic commonalities of people.

Other educators were explicit regarding their strong ambivalence as to this issue. While spread across all race/ethnic groups, most of these comments were made by White-Eng and Col/Ind educators.

C. Closed responses of social work students

A half of student social worker respondents disagreed with *Item 2* while over a third agreed and the balance were neutral or uncertain (see Figure 6.5 below).

Figure 6.5: Student social workers' responses to Item 2



The majority of Black-Afc and Col/Ind students recorded their disagreement with *Item 2* whereas only a third of the White-Afk and White-Eng students did so. Interestingly White-Afk students were the most likely to agree that an emphasis on cultural diversity encourages separatist apartheid thinking. This is remarkable in that White-Afk students in the sample were from an HWI-Afk institution (de Kaap) that for many years was closely aligned with Afrikaner Nationalist and apartheid ideology - was this in reaction to the stigma of apartheid and an attempt to distance themselves from this historical association? Conversely, it is striking that Black-Afc students, whose families and communities were most likely to have experienced discrimination and/or oppression under apartheid, were as a group were most likely to disagree that emphasising cultural diversity necessarily had negative consequences. These latter student therefore had an interest in promoting cultural diversity (and perhaps claiming cultural distinctiveness?).

D. Comments by social work students (*Items 1 and 2*)

As only one space was allowed for comments in respect of both *Items 1* and *2*, these are discussed here. Just over two-thirds of student respondents recorded comments and these were categorised in terms of the various combinations of closed responses for these two items.

1. Positive support for a cultural diversity emphasis

The largest category consisted of those comments that followed closed response agreement with *Item 1* combined with disagreement as to *Item 2* - i.e. those students who felt that cultural diversity needed to be acknowledged as an important social reality *and* disagreed that emphasising this diversity encouraged separatist, apartheid thinking. A range of sub-themes were evident.

Just over half of students here (from all race/ethnic groups) referred, either directly or indirectly, to the importance of an awareness of, and tolerance or respect for, cultural diversity.

The acknowledgement of different cultures and the values and practices that go along with it should encourage tolerance.

Two students felt that such issues had been ignored in the past while another pointed out that emphasising cultural diversity at the expense of other issues such as gender and age was problematic.

A smaller subgroup of comments (from Col/Ind, Black-Afr and White-Eng students) addressed issues of the disparity of power between groups and the need for empowerment and human rights to be acknowledged, for example:

Instead it encourages the rights of everyone in the community.

A further subgroup of comments (most by White-Afr students) pointed to the need to focus on the 'unique individual' and differences, which included cultural preferences, between individuals rather than groups.

I believe it is important to value every person as an individual and to address their unique needs accordingly.⁴

This theme is very similar to that expressed by White-Afr educators (see above).

⁴ Ek glo dis belangrik om elke mens as 'n individu te ag en daar volgens unieke behoeftes aan te spreek.

The remainder of the comments (from all race/ethnic groups) included a stress on the common humanity of all people regardless of cultural differences and the positive role an emphasis on cultural diversity could play in creating and maintaining a personal sense of identity.

2. Qualified support for a cultural diversity emphasis

The second largest category (36 per cent) consisted of those comments which followed closed responses that agreed with both *Item 1* and *2* - i.e. those students who, while agreeing that cultural diversity needed to be acknowledged as an important social reality, also felt that emphasising this diversity encouraged separatist, apartheid thinking.

Over half of these comments (mostly from Col/Ind but also some White-Afk and White-Eng students) in some way indicated that a balance had to be struck between an acknowledgement of cultural differences, the equal valuing of those differences and the essential similarities between all people. Many respondents cautioned against overemphasis of such differences in view of South Africa's past.

It is important to acknowledge differences but at the same time work towards dispelling value judgements on them so that some beliefs/practices etc. are not deemed inferior. Also the enormous human similarities must be emphasised to build common understanding and culture.

A smaller subgroup of students (from all race/ethnic groups) pointed specifically to the superior/inferior assumptions that accompany assertions of cultural differences as the main reason for their agreement with *Item 2*.

Often it is thought that a specific race and/or culture accepts standards lower than ourselves thus promoting the belief that certain race/culture groupings are inferior.

Of the remaining comments two (by a Black-Afc and a Col/Ind student) expressed the view that cultural and ethnic differences tend to be experienced as barriers to communication. Another comment (by a White-Afk student) asserted personal individuality as a greater source of 'uniqueness' than group differences while another (White-Eng) student felt that these issues were problematic because they had been ignored for so long.

3. Opposition to a cultural diversity emphasis

The smallest category consisted of four comments, two of which (by Black-Afc students) followed disagreement with *Item 1* and agreement with *Item 2*. One of these students took the view that class interests controlled cultural and ethnic issues while the other felt that there must be one culture and nation for the whole country. Another (Black-Afc) student had disagreed with *Item 1* and was unsure regarding *Item 2* feeling that ethnocentric positions were very hard to overcome.

E. Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

Three-quarters of all fieldwork supervisors disagree with *Item 2* with the balance agreeing - no supervisors felt unsure or neutral here (see **Figure 6.6** in **Appendix**). The proportion of the Black-Inc group disagreeing is slightly lower (at two-thirds) than that of the White group but in view of the small size of the former group hardly significant. The general trend of response towards disagreement with *Item 2* here is in the same direction as that for educators and students but is more pronounced.

F. Comments by fieldwork supervisors (*Items 1 and 2*)

As for student respondents, the fieldwork supervisor questionnaire also combined space for comments in respect of both *Item 1* and *Item 2*. Just under two-thirds of supervisors chose to record comments and these have been categorised in terms of the various combinations of closed responses for these items.

1. Positive support for a cultural diversity emphasis

Most comments fell into this category in which respondents provided elaboration following their closed response agreement with *Item 1* (that cultural diversity should be acknowledged) and disagreement with *Item 2* (that emphasising such diversity encouraged apartheid or separatist thinking). Two broad sub-themes were identified.

The first subgroup of (mainly White) supervisors were explicit about how they felt cultural diversity could promote tolerance and understanding.

I think that diversity of cultural values needs to be acknowledged to promote tolerance and understanding and to be able to serve the needs of all people in S.A. I think that different values/beliefs should be acknowledged but not emphasised.

Some supervisors stressed the need for a balance in that acknowledgement rather than emphasis of these aspects was called for while others described cultural diversity as a 'richness' which enhanced mutual learning possibilities. One comment described diversity simply as a 'fact of life'.

Another small subgroup of mainly Black-Inc supervisors, while agreeing with a positive acknowledgement of cultural diversity, qualified this by cautioning against the abuse that can and has been made of such differences

It depends entirely on how and why the emphasis is made - out of respect or fear of racism

2. Support for a balanced approach to cultural diversity

Only two comments were made by those respondents who recorded their agreement with both *Items 1* and *2*. Both comments (by White supervisors) argued for a balanced rather than emphatic approach to cultural diversity

IV. National/ethnic groups and their stages of development

Within that part of the survey that tapped respondents views on selected macro issues, I wished extend exploration of the cultural diversity issue by opening up two related notions. Firstly, the question of to what extent distinct, bounded national or ethnic groups are perceived to exist in South Africa - and are these viewed as 'natural' and permanent, or as cultural constructions and open to change? And secondly, whether differences between such groupings are perceived to be at different stages of social and cultural development. Attitudes towards these issues tend to be distinguishing of particular discourses in which quite different assumptions are made. Discussion in earlier chapters has referred to the pervasive influence within right-wing ideology generally (and Afrikaner Nationalism specifically) of a discourse that both holds group differences to be deeply 'natural' (whether biologically or culturally based) as well as conceives of social development as essentially an evolutionary process (the perspective known as 'social Darwinism'). While not necessarily appearing overtly racist or discriminatory, the assumptions and effects of such a discourse have been shown to be problematic in that they lend legitimacy to policies and practices that have discriminatory and oppressive effects.¹

As has been argued by a number of writers on the topic (see Adam, 1971, Dubow, 1991) the theoretical justification for apartheid policy and practice was subject to a number of

reformulations and refinements in response to both internal and international criticisms. Rather than a crude and overt set of racist beliefs based on the biological/genetic arguments of earlier 'scientific racism' (and, in the post-1945 era, inevitably associated with Nazi ideology), argument shifted to focus on the apparently different stages of development attained by South Africa's diverse races, languages and cultures. As a prominent apartheid theorist argued, it was

not colour but culture, not race, but the level of development which forms the basis of discrimination between population groups. (Gerdener, 1952, in Dubow, 1991: 24)⁵

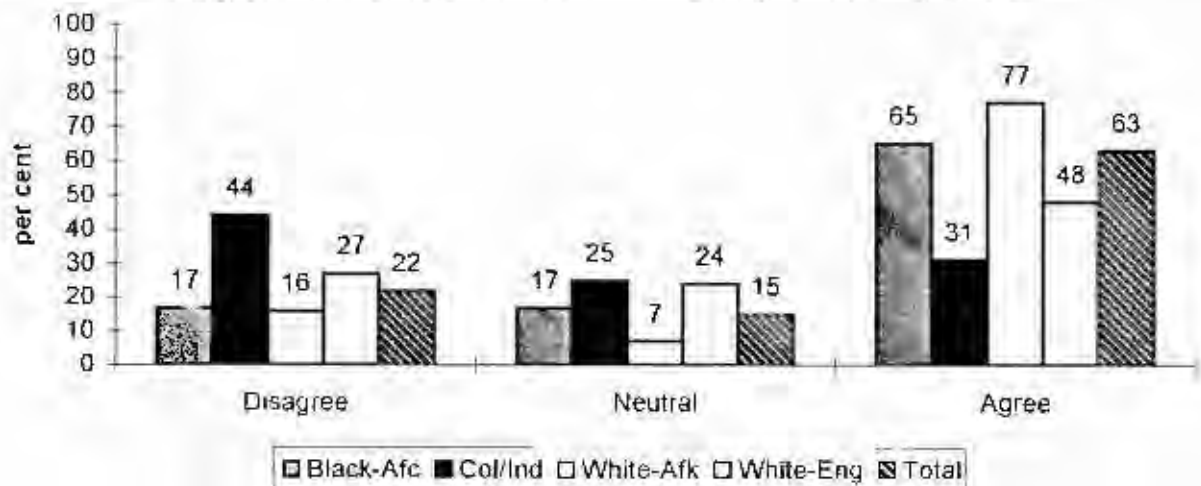
In order to gain a sense of where social work educators⁶ stood in relation to these notions they were asked to respond to the following statement:

Item 3: There are distinct national and ethnic groups in South Africa which are at different stages of social and cultural development.

A. Closed responses of social work educators

Nearly two-thirds of educators agreed with the assertion that there are distinct national ethnic groups in South Africa which are at different stages of social and cultural development (see **Figure 6.7** below) while over a fifth disagreed. White-Afk and Black-Afc groups recorded relatively high levels of agreement in respect of this item. In contrast less than a third of Col/Ind educators agreed (and nearly a half disagreed). White-Eng educators' responses were also ambivalent with the nearly a half agreeing with the statement and the rest fairly equally split between disagreement and neutrality.

Figure 6.7: Social work educators' responses to Item 3



B. Comments by social work educators

Over three-quarters of all educators recorded comments here and these are discussed in the following categories

1. Agreement with the notion of differential stages of development of ethnic groups

The largest category was of those educators who either agreed with the statement and whose comments indicated a more or less unproblematic acceptance of the statement as formulated. These (mostly White-Afk and Black-Afc) educators therefore endorsed the assertion of distinct national and ethnic groups in South Africa and the notion that these groups were at different stages of social and cultural development. Some comments also appeared to refer to technological/material and educational development even though the statement explicitly referred to social and cultural development. Many of these comments also included further references to dualistic distinctions commonly used in everyday discourse on development issues such as 'First World' versus 'Third World', 'developed' versus 'underdeveloped' nations or groups, and 'traditional' or 'indigenous' versus 'Western' culture. Some examples here were:

South Africa belongs to two worlds - developed and under-developed with all the stages in between.

Certain ethnic groups are further developed/evolved than others and have different cultural backgrounds that are peculiar to them.⁶

Known that S.A. accommodates First and Third World, even amongst black population groups [there are] differences.⁷

Whites are more advanced than Blacks. (Black-Afc educator)

2. Stages of development of ethnic groups constructed by apartheid/colonialism

Another smaller group of (mainly Col/Ind and Black-Afc and no White-Afk) educators agreed with the statement but attributed the current existence of different stages of social and cultural development to apartheid, racism or colonial exploitation, for example:

The Blacks are lagging behind socially and culturally because the government deliberately subjected them to an inferior educational system.

⁶ Sekere etniese groepe is verder ontwikkel as ander en het verskillende kulturele agtergronde wat eie aan hulle is.

⁷ Bekend dat S.A. Eerste en Derdewereld tuisves, selfs onder swart bevolkingsgroepe verskille.

Some of these educators also emphasised the need for economic redistribution and development.

3. Partial problematising of Item 3

A further small group of (almost all White-Eng and White-Afk) educators, having registered either an agree or neutral score, partially problematised the *Item 3* statement either by questioning what was meant by 'stages' of development or 'distinct' groups, or by indicating the need for further clarity as to the meaning or intent of this item.

I have a problem with the word 'national' some 'nationalities' were created by the authorities. Also 'stages of development' can be problematic. What criteria for 'stages'?

4. Disagreement with the notion of differential stages of development of ethnic groups

This larger category consisted of those educators, from all race/ethnic groups (especially Col/Ind and White-Eng educators working in the HWI-Eng sector), who disagreed² and then unambiguously problematised or questioned the formulation of *Item 3*. This was done either in terms of discomfort with the assertion of 'distinct groups' or of the implications of the 'different stages' conceptualisation of social and cultural development, for example:

Conceptualization in terms of stages implies a lesser to greater degree of maturity and functioning and a linear development framework rather than a recognition of differences which are a social reality.

'Groups' are not exclusive - 'stages' of development implies that later stages are better - this is unacceptable.

Three of these educators (Black-Afc, White-Afk and White-Eng) registered their emphatic disagreement both by scoring a 'strongly disagree' for this item and in the tone of their comments, for example:

My reason for strongly disagreeing is the use of the term 'stages of development'. This implies some kind of progression with the possibility that some groups are less mature/advanced/civilised than others. I do not accept this view.

There is evidence here of identification with a more relativist and multicultural position (see discussion below).

V. Preservation of cultural/national identity and separateness

I also thought it important to elicit social work respondents' views on an issue that the apartheid South African government writ large in terms of state policy. This was whether, and to what

extent, respondents saw a necessary link between the maintenance of cultural and 'national' identity and the homogeneity and/or separateness of cultural/national groups. I therefore deliberately worded an item in terms that reflected an aspect of a wider socially conservative discourse in which specific cultures, ethnic groups or 'nations' are seen as having been formed by, and emerged from, special historical origins or struggles. Such cultural/national identities are often conceived of as valued traditions in need of preservation, most often through a range of exclusive social practices and ritual, if they are to remain authentic or 'pure' (see Mare, 1993b). This item was formulated as follows:

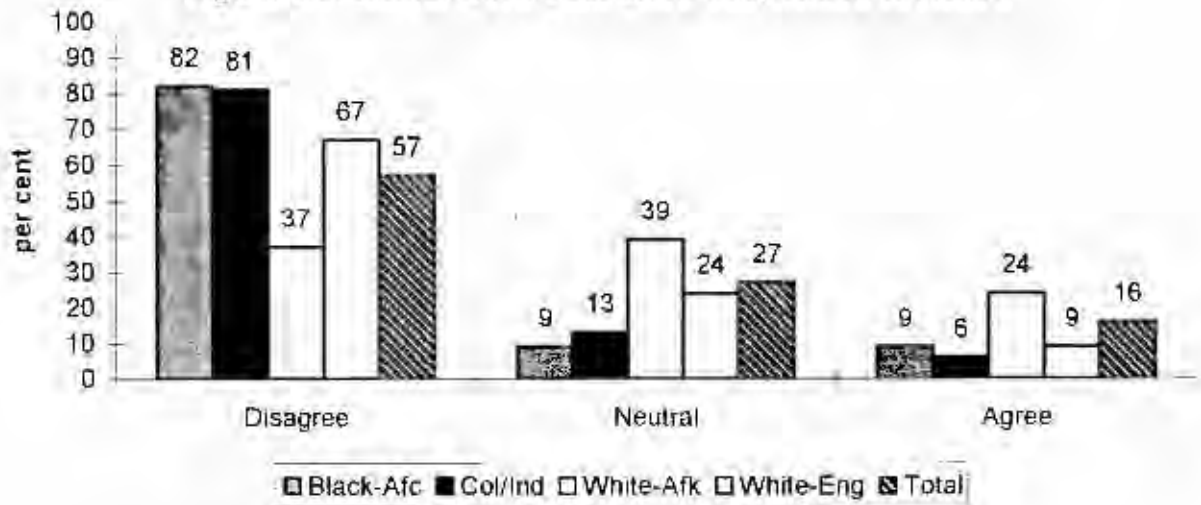
Item 4: The different population groups in South Africa should seek to preserve their cultural and national identities by remaining socially homogeneous and or separate.

As is evident in the responses discussed below, the inclusion of the adjective 'national' before 'identities' evoked the even more conservative view that conceives of cultural, ethnic or racial groups as constituting 'nations' - with all the politically separatist implications that commonly accompanies such a view. While such a formulation is in danger of not allowing for the expression of more moderate 'culturalist' views - for example those that support cultural homogeneity on a social level but within an overarching national political state - I hoped that respondents would make use of commentary to reflect more nuanced views and positions.

A. Closed responses of social work educators

As is clear from **Figure 6.8** below, well over a half of educators disagreed that the different population groups in South Africa should seek to preserve their cultural and national identities by remaining socially homogeneous and/or separate. Agreement is fairly low while over a quarter of educators are undecided or neutral on this issue. Taken by race/ethnic group, the responses of the White-Afk educators are clearly distinctive with three quarters of this group split equally between disagreement and neutrality and a relatively high quarter in agreement with the proposition. On the other hand the vast majority of Black-Afc and Col/Ind educators are strongly opposed to social homogeneity and/or separation while the responses of White-Eng educators lie in between these two extremes.

Figure 6.8: Social work educators' responses to Item 4



B. Comments by social work educators

Almost all educators recorded comments here and these were categorised as follows:

1. Support for a balance between commonality and difference/separateness

The largest group of educators (mostly Col/Ind, Black-Afc and White-Eng) disagreed with the statement and then in their comments reflected a range of arguments (along both pragmatic and more principled ‘multiculturalist’ lines) for a balance to be struck between respect for and tolerance of cultural identity and integrity on the one hand and the need for all citizens to co-exist and to relate across cultural group lines on the other. For example:

I believe that groups should maintain their rich social and cultural inheritance but should not remain necessarily separate to do so. Must maintain a balance

Many of these educators asserted that cultural identity is not dependent upon separation:

People do not have to remain separate in order to maintain their own identity⁸

A small subgroup of comments within this category (from all groups except Col/Ind) stressed the rights of individuals and groups to choose to be homogeneous or separate if they so wished and some linked to this international realities and practice in this regard

⁸ Mensse hoef nie afsonderlik te bly om 'n eie identiteit te bekom nie.

2. Strong opposition to apartheid conceptions of groups and identities

A much smaller group of (mainly Black-Afc, White-Eng and Col/Ind) educators^a strongly disagreed with *Item 3* with most comments explicitly identifying the statement as reflective of an 'apartheid' or a right-wing separatist viewpoint, for example

It is not necessary to separate people to preserve their identities. Policies that separate/keep people apart have done more harm than good.

This will amount to apartheid

The balance of comments went further by implicitly rejecting the maintenance or support of cultural and/or 'national' groupings as currently constituted by asserting the need for the building of a common South African culture and nationhood (a 'nation-building' project). These educators tended to react negatively to the separatist implications of the word 'nation' within the statement even though this referred to such groups remaining 'socially' separate or homogeneous.

3. Neutrality or ambivalence

This smaller broad category consisted of those educators (from all race/ethnic groups but mostly White-Afk) who scored a neutral response to the item followed by comments that mirrored either those in the first category above. Just under half of the comments here emphasised the right of individuals/groups to choose separation/homogeneity

This depends on peoples' own choice - the opportunity for diversity should be given but within the whole of belonging to one and the same nation.

4. Agreement with the preservation of cultural identity through social separateness

The last category consisted of those educators who followed an 'agree' score with comments that justified that choice on the grounds of either individual and group identity needs (mostly White-Afk educators) and/or as a matter of individual/group choice (two Black-Afc educators):

The different population groups should not be compelled to remain socially homogenous. This should be a matter of choice rather than government legislation.

A few educators described the separation of distinctive groups as 'natural' or universal and two (White-Afk) educators implied that group differences are 'God-given':

We are created as separate nationalities and races. As we get groups/kinds of animals, also people.^b

^b Ons is geskape as afsonderlike nasionaliteite en rasse. Soos ons groepe/soorte diere kry, ook mense.

C. Closed responses of social work students

Nearly three-quarters of all social students disagreed that the different population groups in South Africa should seek to preserve their cultural and national identities by remaining socially homogeneous and/or separate (see **Figure 6.9** in **Appendix L**). The remaining student respondents were evenly split between agreement and a neutral response. This response pattern was more or less even across all race/ethnic groups except that a relatively high proportion (29 per cent) of White-Afk students agreed with the statement and their disagreement rate was the lowest (63 per cent). Although this differential trend follows that of the educators above, in contrast White-Afk students were significantly less neutral (only 8 per cent) and more opposed (63 per cent) to the statement in *Item 4* than their educator counterparts.

D. Comments by social work students

Comments were recorded by just under two-thirds of student respondents and were categorised as follows

1. Support for a balance between commonality and difference/separateness

Over half of student respondents (from all race/ethnic groups especially White-Afk) followed their disagreement with *Item 4* with comments that sought to balance the need for cultural identity with the need for co-existence without emphasis on separation, for example

Acknowledge the diversity, but only as a valuable basis from which a rich cultural unity can arise¹

Mixing with other groups is also important, and it's through that way that other people learn to respect and know different cultures and nationalities.

2. Strong opposition to apartheid conceptions of groups and identities

Another quarter of comments (almost all by Black-Afc and Col/Ind students²) followed strong disagreement with *Item 4* by either explicitly linking it with apartheid or right-wing separatism, or promoting what I referred to above as the 'nation-building' project.

Cultural and national identities could be preserved even if people stay together. Separating the people actually promotes apartheid thinking and furthermore it leads to the oppression of those who are regarded as coming from a non-dominant culture.

There were no comments in this category from students at de Kaap (an HWT-Afk institution).

¹ Erken die diversiteit, maar slegs as waardevolle basis vanwaar 'n ryk kulturele eenheid kan ontstaan.

3. Neutrality or ambivalence

This small group of comments were made by (Black-Afr, Col/Ind and White-Eng) students recording a neutral closed response. Most of these comments were in line with those expressed by educators in the equivalent category i.e. a focus on the need for a balance of both cultural identity and co-existence between different groups.

Different cultures must protect their culture, but not separately. The whole is more than the sum of its parts.

4. Agreement with the preservation of cultural identity through social separateness

Another smaller group of (mostly White-Afr) students recorded comments following their agreement with the view that the different population groups in South Africa should seek to preserve their cultural and national identities by remaining socially homogeneous and/or separate. Three students justified their agreement by referring to the maintenance of cultural identity and/or integrity while another student noted that separation should not lead to oppression. One (Col/Ind) student emphasised that everyone should be allowed to choose their own lifestyles in line with their values.

E. Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

The overwhelming majority of fieldwork supervisors disagreed that the different population groups in South Africa should seek to preserve their cultural and national identities by remaining socially homogeneous and/or separate (see **Figure 6.10** in **Appendix L**). The only different responses were from four (White) supervisors who recorded neutral responses.

F. Comments by fieldwork supervisors

Just over a half of field work supervisor respondents to this item provided comments¹⁰ and these were categorised as follows:

1. Support for a balance between commonality and difference/separateness

The majority of comments here (all by White supervisors) followed disagreement with the statement. Some comments took the view that it was necessary to balance the need for cultural identity with the need for co-existence, for example:

Chapter 6: Macro issues: cultural diversity to national identity

People do not have to live separately in order to maintain a cultural identity e.g. Jews living among Gentiles. However if they prefer to live with others of a particular group without oppressing others, that's okay.

Other comments stressed the right of individuals and/or groups to choose their degree of integration and separation:

Cultural and national identities are important and should be an individual choice. Attitudes of cooperation and acceptance should be fostered.

2. Strong opposition to apartheid conceptions of groups and identities

Three (Black-Inc) respondents expressed views in their commentary that supported their strong disagreement with *Item 4* by either explicitly linking it with apartheid or right-wing separatism, or promoting what I have referred to above as the 'nation-building' project, for example:

Population groups in S.A. were arbitrarily defined and national/cultural identities imposed on them to ensure separatist thinking as being Godly and true.

3. Neutrality or ambivalence

The only two comments here were preceded by a neutral scale score and were both made by White supervisors who took the 'individual choice' position as expressed by educators and students above.

VI. Overview and concluding comments

There was overwhelming support from the vast majority of all respondents for the positive *acknowledgement of cultural diversity* as an important social reality. White (Afk and Eng) respondents were virtually unanimous in this respect while small proportions of Black-Afc educators, students and Black-Inc and White fieldwork supervisors had some reservations. However a reading of the commentary provided by educators to this item modifies this picture somewhat. It is apparent from these comments, for example, that Col/Ind and White-Eng educators (most of whom work in the HWI-Eng sector) felt the least degree of comfort with affirming the notion of cultural diversity as formulated here while almost all White-Afk educators, and the majority of Black-Afc educators were relatively comfortable with an acceptance of cultural diversity as a reality or 'fact of life'¹¹. There are also further themes that emerge from this commentary. However as these themes recur in the commentaries around the next item, they are discussed below.

In contrast to the responses above, those to the negatively framed proposition that an *emphasis on cultural diversity* encourages separatist, 'apartheid' thinking, were more complex and varied. Substantial majorities of educators and supervisors disagreed with such a negative slant and therefore took a more positive view of cultural diversity, while students were more evenly split on this formulation of the issue. Interestingly majorities of Black-Afc, Black-Inc (supervisor), White-Afk educator and White fieldwork supervisor respondents supported a cultural diversity emphasis while only half of White-Eng educator and a minority of White-Afk and White-Eng student respondents did so. White students and educators (especially the White-Afk group) showed opposing trends here with White-Afk students, unexpectedly, the most likely of any student group to agree that an emphasis on cultural diversity encourages apartheid thinking¹². It is also surprising, given the abuse made of cultural differences by apartheid ideology, that Black respondents generally recorded such a relatively high degree of unqualified comfort with the notion of cultural diversity¹³. However it is also apparent that Black-Afc and Black-Inc responses are polarised to an extent with almost a third specifically disagreeing with a cultural diversity emphasis.

A number of themes emerged from the commentaries provided by respondents. A significant proportion of respondents (more White than Black) alluded to the need to achieve a balance by focusing on commonalities between individuals/groups as well as differences and many of these also saw no necessary link between a cultural diversity emphasis and separatist/apartheid thinking. Another theme was one in which cultural diversity was viewed (especially by Black-Afc respondents) as adding an enriching social dimension to the national life of the country. This notion of 'diversity-as-enrichment' can be seen as part of a specific multicultural discourse (see Chapter 4) and it is possible that these respondents are signalling both their knowledge of, and some identification with, that discourse¹⁴. Closely linked to this was an expression of the importance of respect/tolerance, understanding and awareness of cultural diversity. By contrast the minority of respondents who felt that an emphasis on cultural diversity carried with it an implicit encouragement to think in culturally exclusive or divisive terms (with the social and political dangers that accompany such thinking) provided another important theme that echoes the 'local progressive' position referred to in section II above.

Chapter 6: Macro issues: cultural diversity to national identity

A relatively small subgroup of White-Afk educators and students felt that the 'traditional' social work mission of a focus on, and respect for, the 'unique individual' was capable of encompassing cultural diversity as well. The problem with such a construction is that it takes an ideologically conservative view of social work theory and centres social work intervention on individuals ignoring, or glossing over, their social and cultural context.

Despite the contentious nature of *Item 3* - the social Darwinist assumption of evolutionary development which implies a conceptualisation of 'backward' versus 'advanced' societies or cultures that evolve over periods of time - a significant majority of educators concurred with it. Most also appeared happy to accept the unproblematic assertion of the existence of distinct national/ethnic groups.

In overall terms, White-Afk and Black-Afc educators were most likely to accept the statement as it stands and least likely to problematise it. Although nearly a third of the Black-Afc group (who made explicit comments) attribute the cause of different stages of social and cultural development to apartheid and/or colonialism, this subgroup appeared to accept the superior/inferior judgements implied in attaching ethnic or national categories to notions of such development. While Col/Ind and White-Eng educators were most likely to explicitly disagree with this item and assert a more relativist viewpoint in terms of developmental stages, their responses ranged across all categories reflecting a diverse range of feelings and perceptions around this complex and contentious issue.

A significant majority of social work respondents clearly did not support the view, as set out in *Item 4*, that the different population groups in South Africa should seek to preserve their cultural and national identities by remaining socially homogeneous and/or separate and explicitly opposed this view to varying degrees. However White-Afk educators and White-Afk students, and White-Eng respondents to a much lesser degree, were more likely than other two race/ethnic groups to be either neutral towards, or in agreement with, this view. While this is hardly surprising given the local context, such 'culturalist' group-based views are not the sole preserve of the White groups as at least a few respondents from all race/ethnic groups felt similarly.

Chapter 6: Macro issues: cultural diversity to national identity

A number of recurrent themes emerged in the commentary. The predominant concern of most respondents was that of the need to strike a balance between support for the maintenance of cultural and national/ethnic identity and the need for co-existence of different groups within a single nation-state. A further theme expressed by respondents of all race/ethnic groups was that of support for the rights of individuals and groups to choose the degree to which they remained socially homogeneous or separate. The explicit linking of the formulation here with apartheid or other right-wing separatist ideological views on cultural and ethnic/national questions was another theme that emerged from the comments of a significant minority of mostly Black-Afk and Col/Ind respondents.

A smaller number of mainly White-Afk respondents prioritised the need for population groups to maintain their own identity through a degree of social homogeneity and/or separation. While only two educators from this group explicitly expressed the view that cultural/ethnic differences were 'natural' or 'God-given', it is perhaps likely that this sort of assumption is more widely held among those who agreed with this item.

In exploring respondents attitudes to the above fairly abstract notions and propositions, I have assumed two things. Firstly that such attitudes, and the assumptions about the world they reveal, are important in themselves as social work education, like any form of education, is partly constituted of the 'hidden curriculum' in which it is not so much content but implicit values and assumptions that are conveyed in the socialisation process that is part of professional training. And although there is no neat relationship between attitudes and behaviour, I have also assumed that such attitudes play a key role in what participants actually do within the range of teaching and learning activities that constitute social work educational practice. In the next three chapters I now move to concentrate in the main on participants attitudes towards more concrete issues that are directly concerned with welfare and social work practice and education.

Notes to Chapter 6

- ¹ Of course, as referred to elsewhere in this dissertation, the Africanist or Black Consciousness position within South African liberation movements also incorporates a positive valuing of Black/African culture and identity. In view of the dominance of the non-racial more structuralist African National Congress ideology however, this viewpoint has been a minority one and is restricted to mainly intellectual circles.
- ² As there were only 5 Coloured and 1 Black respondents I have collapsed them all into this inclusive 'Black-Inc' category. I should also note here that although two respondents did not complete the section on 'race' classification, they are personally known to me and were, under previous Population Group legislation classified 'Coloured'. I have therefore included them in the Black-Inc group as described above.
- ³ These are unclear or poorly expressed comments which make no clear sense and these occur, to an extent and in small numbers, under most items. However unless germane to the pattern or analysis of results I do not repeat mention of these in subsequent sections.
- ⁴ Whether such effects inevitably flow from, or are a material part of, this discourse is not clear - some authors have argued that, for example, Black Consciousness ideology, which has clear liberatory intent, represents a similar discourse in that it constructs a unique and separate 'blackness' that is discontinuous with other racial/cultural identities or categories (Tikly, 1994; Wetherell & Potter 1992).
- ⁵ Gerdener was Professor of Theology at Stellenbosch University and Chairman of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) at the time. Dubow identifies SABRA as the 'natural home of idealistic "visionaries" who portrayed apartheid as a morally just solution to South Africa's colour problems.' (Dubow, 1991: 23-24).
- ⁶ *Item 3* was not included in the student or fieldwork supervisor questionnaires mainly due to lack of space rather than appropriateness.
- ⁷ Three educators in this category actually registered a neutral rating for *Item 3*.
- ⁸ Only one of this group of thirteen educators was of the White-Afk group.
- ⁹ Only 1 White-Eng student (representing 10 per cent of this group who recorded comments) and no White-Afk students expressed views within this category.
- ¹⁰ These comments cannot therefore be regarded as necessarily representative of the views of all fieldwork respondents - as with the student comments above only significant trends can be identified.
- ¹¹ The comments in this sub-category could be read as *realist* in the sense that Moore (1993) uses the term, as they tend to endorse the notion of cultural diversity, and by implication that of culture itself, as a relatively unproblematic and more or less self-evident reality. No hint of any qualification or criticism of these notions, as presented in *Item 1* and as they are commonly used in everyday discourse, was given.
- ¹² This result may well be a matter of 'emphasis' relative to the context of a previously apartheid supporting White Afrikaner university. These students' relatively high agreement with *Item 2* may be their means of distancing themselves from that stigmatised past especially to an English-speaking social educator/researcher framing the question in a 'live' survey situation.
- ¹³ It is difficult to determine the ideological or assumptive positions that underly such support for cultural diversity from Black respondents. Many of them were working in tertiary settings that were creations of, and often supportive of, apartheid policy but also, especially in the most recent period, were also sites of radical opposition to the apartheid government. As referred to previously, the different ideological forms that Black liberation groups have taken, centrally the the non-racial African National Congress approach as against the Black Consciousness and Africanist approaches, may also influence responses here. The latter approaches sought to reconstruct black culture and identity for liberatory ends and may therefore tend to support cultural diversity in a generic sense as well.
- ¹⁴ This discourse has developed in a localised form as reflected most popularly through the 'rainbow nation' speeches of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and others.

Chapter 7

Welfare and social work resource issues: redress, representivity and affirmative action

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Notes

Chapter 7

Welfare and social work resource issues: redress, representivity and affirmative action

1. Introduction

The history of the development of grossly unequal welfare resources for the different population groups in South Africa, from the inception of formal welfare policy in the first quarter of this century through to the segregationist policies of the apartheid period, has been outlined in Chapter 2. The role of the social work profession and social work education in this development was also sketched in that chapter. The major political and social changes that were in process at the time of the survey have since resulted in the establishment of a rights-based constitution and democratically-elected government in South Africa with major consequent changes in welfare policy many of which are still in the process of implementation. Nevertheless the political direction changes were taking in 1993 were already challenging social work educationists to take up positions regarding equity issues in welfare services generally and in social work education specifically.

The survey therefore included items that raised three specific issues within the broad area of redress. These were, firstly, the issue of equity of welfare resources and services especially with respect to black South Africans who had been discriminated against in all social and economic as well as political spheres. Secondly, the issue of representivity of professional social work personnel and social work students in racial, ethnic and cultural terms, within both educational and agency settings across South Africa. And, thirdly, issues around the use of affirmative action programmes to achieve such employment equity and educational access.

My intention here was to elicit the views of respondents with regard to 'hard' resource issues that related as directly as possible to social work practice and education. This was important in order to address equity issues in their own right, as well as to provide the necessary balance to the

Chapter 7: Welfare and social work resource issues

'softer' and more abstract and conceptual issue of cultural diversity which has been discussed in Chapter 6 above.

II. Expansion of welfare resources and services to disadvantaged groups

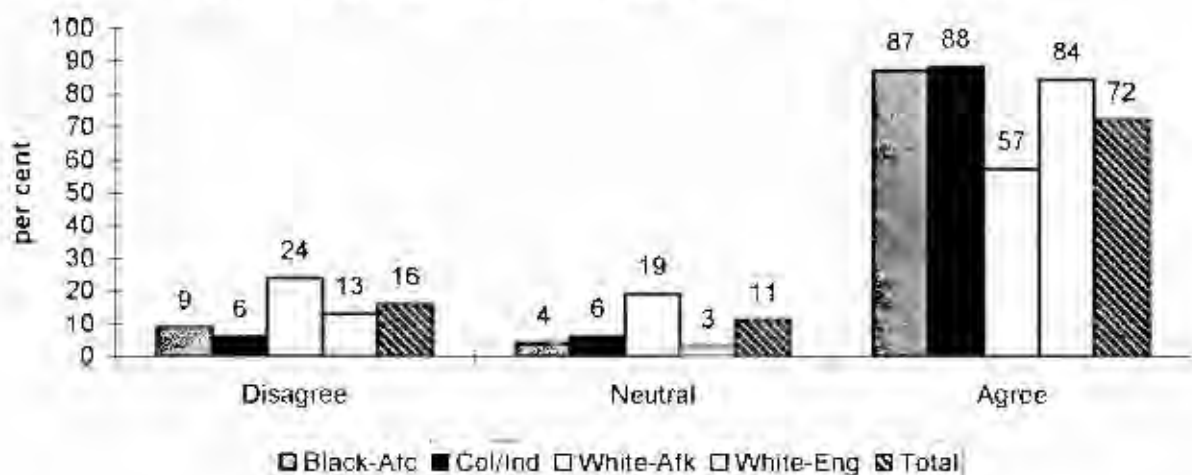
In order to gauge the views of educators, students and supervisors regarding the priority equity in welfare should have, responses to the following statement were requested.

Item 10: An important priority within a new welfare dispensation for South Africa should be affirmative action towards the creation and expansion of resources and services for disadvantaged (ie. Black, Coloured and Indian) communities.

It is worth noting here that this formulation implicitly assumes the ability of the state to 'create and expand' such resources and services rather than only redistribute them within a fixed welfare budget. This has since proved to have been an optimistic assumption'. However for some respondents the phrase 'affirmative action' carried the negative implication that the identified or target group(s) are 'affirmed', or favoured, at the expense of another/others. This issue is, as will become evident below, a key one for many respondents.

A. Closed responses of social work educators

Figure 7.1: Social work educators' responses to Item 10



The majority of educators supported the creation and expansion of welfare resources and services to disadvantaged population groups as an important priority (see Figure 7.1 above). As is

Chapter 7: Welfare and social work resource issues

evident, high rates of agreement are recorded by all race/ethnic groups except the White-Afk group whose agreement rate is significantly lower and a quarter of whom disagree and a fifth are neutral with regard to *Item 10*²

B. Comments by social work educators

Of the total of 135 educators 81 percent recorded written comments which are discussed within the following categories:

1. Full support for welfare equity

Educators in this category provided comments that unambiguously supported, through either reiteration or elaboration, the view that the creation and expansion of resources and services for disadvantaged groups should be an important priority within a new welfare dispensation:

There are deliberately generated disparities which must be redressed if justice is to be done and needs are to be met.

High majorities of Black-Afc and Col/Ind educators³ commented in this vein but, by contrast, just over a third of White-Eng and only a quarter of White-Afk educators comments endorsed *Item 10* without qualification.

2. Qualified support for welfare equity

The educators here struck a cautionary note, or expressed a particular reservation, which qualified their agreement with *Item 10*. Comments ranged over a wide number of issues from a concern for the needs of disadvantaged whites,

Would it not also be important that affirmative action would also include the white population? In view of the developing disastrous economic situation,

to a concern that the standard and quality of current services should not be compromised,

Provided that 'affirmative' action does not mean 'more but of a lesser quality' service?

as well as scepticism as to whether the necessary funds will be available without a substantial increase in welfare expenditure. There were also a few comments around the theme of dependency and the negative effects on self-motivation and the work ethic of a traditional welfare policy based simply on resource or service provision.

Chapter 7: Welfare and social work resource issues

In terms of identified needs, level of readiness and motivation of people to also do something about the situation themselves. Self-motivation must be stimulated⁸.

The need for change in attitudes to welfare and empowerment was also mentioned by two educators, for example⁹:

Whilst imbalances should be addressed, I am sceptical about the kind of 'affirmative action' that leads to dependency. The inability of most 'recently' poor whites (the new poor) to deal with their poverty is a result of a negative affirmative action that allowed many of these people to believe that they had a right to entitlements which other 'racial' groups did not receive.

Proportionately more White-Eng educators expressed qualified agreement with *Item 10* than did other race/ethnic groups.

3. Resistance to welfare resource redistribution and/or expansion

The comments here followed either a neutral or a disagree response and then set out their reservations or concerns regarding the intent of *Item 10*. While the reasons set out in the comments bore many similarities to the qualifications discussed under the second category above, they tended to be couched in more emphatic terms. There were two identifiable themes that emerged from these commentaries.

One of these centred around a negative response to the concept of 'affirmative action' (translated as '*voorkeuraksie*' in Afrikaans). The White-Afk educators in this subgroup expressed fears and concerns that affirmative action would lead to 'reverse racism' and that it therefore merely represented a different form of discrimination, for example:

'Affirmative action' is a two-edged sword and can result in 'Apartheid in reverse'¹⁰.

The second and related theme was a specific concern with the exclusion of the white population group from the wording of *Item 10* and most comments (from mainly White-Afk educators) were explicit in pointing out the existence of disadvantaged whites whose needs should not be ignored:

It must be the same. Many whites are also underprivileged. You must just go and look¹¹.

⁸ In terme van geïdentifiseerde behoeftes gereedheidsvlak en motivering van mense om self ook iets aan die saak te doen. Selfmotivering moet gestimuleer word.

⁹ 'Affirmative action' is 'n tweesydende swaard en kan ontband in 'Apartheid in reverse'.

¹¹ Dit moet dieselfde wees. Baie blankes is ook baie minderbevoorregtes. U moet gerus gaan kyk.

Chapter 7: Welfare and social work resource issues

The balance of educators in this category expressed their discomfort with *Item 10*. Most hinted at or implied that they had similar concerns as those raised above:

A lone Black-Afc educator recorded disagreement but explained that integration of welfare resources and services was a priority rather than expansion within a segregated system as there was the risk that inequalities would be perpetuated.

C. Closed responses of social work students

In the questionnaires to social work students and fieldwork supervisors the words 'affirmative action towards' were removed from the statement so that *Item 10* read as follows:

Item 10: An important priority within a new welfare dispensation for South Africa should be the creation and expansion of resources and services for disadvantaged (ie, Black, 'Coloured' and Indian) communities.

This was done mainly because piloting had suggested that this was an emotive concept which could distract some respondents from the main thrust of the statement.⁵

There was a very high overall agreement (91 per cent) with *Item 10* by social work students (see Table 7.2 in Appendix M). Only Black-Afc students recorded low but significant disagreement (10 per cent). This was almost identical to the pattern of responses from Black-Afc educators (Table 7.1 above). In sharp contrast to responses by white social work educators however, not a single white student in this Western Cape sample recorded any disagreement with the statement in *Item 10*.

D. Comments by social work students

Just under two-thirds of student respondents recorded comments here and these are discussed within the following categories:

1. Unconditional support for welfare equity

Most students here expressed unconditional support for welfare equity through comments that were reiterative of the content of *Item 10*. High majorities of Black-Afc, Coloured and White-Eng students showed such support while only just over half of White-Afk students did so.

Chapter 7: Welfare and social work resource issues

2. Qualified support for welfare equity

These students indicated through their comments that their agreement with *Item 10* was qualified by particular concerns regarding the achievement of welfare equity, such as:

But not at the expense of the white communities as this will place them where the others were

and:

Yes decidedly, but strongly preventive. Use of rehabilitative sources must also enjoy attention^d

Almost a quarter of White-Afk and White-Ling students expressed such reservations while only low proportions of Col/Ind and Black-Afc students did so

3. Reservations regarding welfare equity

Those students who recorded either a neutral or disagree response expanded on their reasons for having such reservations in two main ways. Firstly there were the familiar concerns regarding the white poor (expressed by white students):

There are also whites who can be classified as underprivileged and provision must also be made for them^e

Most interesting is the response profile from the Black-Afc group a fifth of whom recorded disagreement and a comment in explanation or elaboration thereof. All 4 of these students provided comments which asserted a strong 'non-racial' stance in that they opposed any distinction on the grounds of race or ethnic groups and advocated integrated services that should operate on the basis of need and level of deprivation or disadvantage only, for example:

Should be the creation and expansion of resources and services for the benefit of all deprived South Africans irrespective of race, colour or creed.

E. Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

A very high majority (96 percent) of fieldwork supervisors agreed with *Item 10* with only one White supervisor scoring a neutral response and no supervisors recording any disagreement (see **Table 7.3 in Appendix M**)

^d Ja beslis, maar sterk voorkomend. Gebrek aan rehabilitasie bronne moet ook aandag geniet.

^e Daar is ook blankes wat as minderbevoorreg geklassifiseer kan word en moet daar ook vir hulle voorsiening gemaak word.

Chapter 7: Welfare and social work resource issues

F. Comments by fieldwork supervisors

Less than half of the fieldwork supervisors recorded comments and most of these supervisors gave their unconditional support to the need for the expansion of welfare services to previously disadvantaged groups. Of the remaining three supervisors, two (both White) expressed reservations that this should not be to the detriment or disadvantage of whites requiring welfare services. The other (Black-Ind) supervisor qualified his/her agreement with the observation that such expansion of welfare services to disadvantaged groups should not perpetuate separatism but should be empowering and developmental in approach.

III. Representivity of staff and students in social work education

As was discussed in Chapter 2, white social work personnel, both in the field and in higher education, were massively over-represented and black personnel severely under-represented at the time of the survey in 1993 (see **Table 2.2** in Chapter 2). While the proportion of student social workers registered for social work degrees at the time was less racially skewed, a similar overall pattern prevailed in this sector.

I therefore regarded it as very important to address the issue of representivity directly and to relate this to the respondents own social work context. Social work educators were therefore asked the following question:

Item 23a: Is it important that teaching staff in local social work departments should reflect the cultural, ethnic and racial diversity of the South African population?

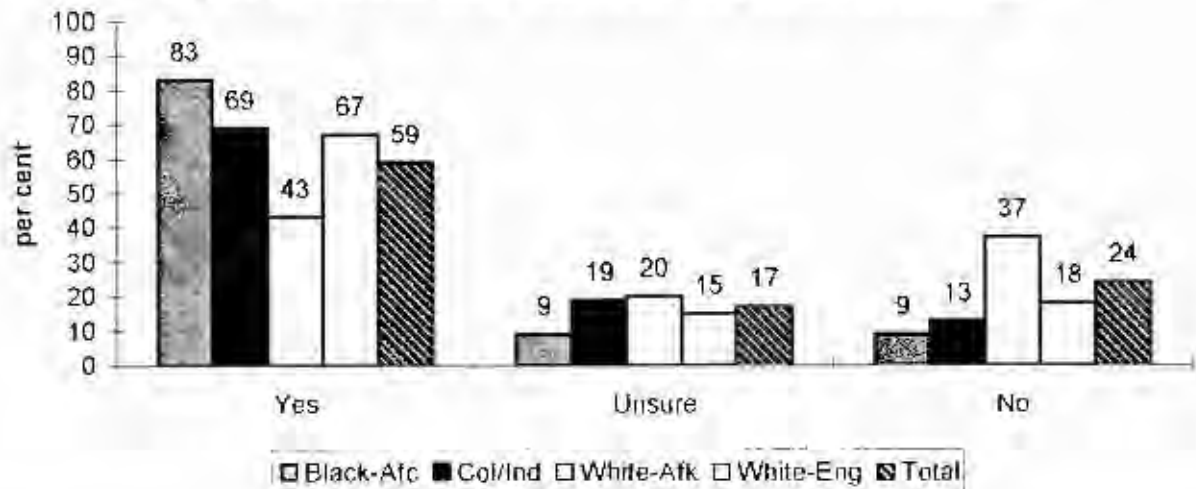
Although entirely unintended, and not picked up by either myself (or the two translators who worked on the Afrikaans version) during the piloting of the questionnaire, a few respondents interpreted this question as asking whether social work educators should, through the content of what they teach, ensure that students are made aware of the full cultural, ethnic and racial diversity of the country and in this sense 'reflect' such diversity. This ambiguity unfortunately resulted in some respondents (see discussion below) not addressing the representivity question.

Chapter 7: Welfare and social work resource issues

A. Closed responses of social work educators

In overall terms just under 60 percent of all social work educators felt that, as a group, they should be representative of the broad population of the country, while a quarter felt this was not important and under a fifth were unsure on this issue (see **Figure 7.4** below)

Figure 7.4: Social work educators' responses to Item 23a



Black-Afc educators record an emphatic endorsement of representivity with two-thirds of Col/Ind and White-Eng educators feeling similarly. Less than half of White-Afk educators record their support for, and over a third are opposed to, representivity amongst social work educators. Interestingly, apart from Black-Afc educators, around a fifth of other ethnic/race groups are unsure on this issue (see **Appendix M** for detail).

B. Comments by social work educators

Just over two-thirds of educators provided comments which are discussed within the following categories:

i. Positive support for teaching staff representivity

A third of educator respondents who positively supported representivity amongst social work educator staff in their closed responses went on to elaborate in their commentary why they did so. A high majority of Black-Afc educator comments fell into this category while just less than half of the Col-Ind and White-Eng and only a handful of the White-Afk comments did so. Three main themes were identifiable.

Chapter 7: Welfare and social work resource issues

Firstly, most of these educators were of the view that such representivity was justifiable on educational grounds. Many educators referred to the need for students to have appropriate role models or, alternatively, the importance of being able to demonstrate a diverse staff working co-operatively and so helping to foster tolerance and mutual respect.

Faculty often become/act role models for students, hence the necessity of culturally, racially and ethnically diverse faculty staff

Another sub-category of educators framed their support in terms of employment equity - that is, the benefits of a move towards representivity for under-represented educators themselves. And a third sub-category of educators supported staffing representivity as it represented a logical and consistent 'fit' between the diversity of the student population and the staff. Some referred to the importance of 'practising what we preach'. The balance of educators gave diverse and more generalised reasons for their support most of which tended to reiterate the content of *Item 23a*.

2. Conditional support for teaching staff representivity

Educators in this category (all White-Afk or White-Eng) responded positively to *Item 23a* but recorded reasons as to why their response was conditional. They were typically concerned that individual merit and ability to do the job should still apply, for example:

Providing they are selected on academic merit, and reflect an equal gender and ethnic distribution

Some educators expressed fears regarding the maintenance of 'standards'. Four educators (all White-Afk respondents in HWI-Afk settings) felt that there should be a correspondence between the diversity of the student body in a particular institution and its staff. Given the strongly ethnic nature of the HWI-Afk sector at the time, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that what was implied here was the continuance of a separatist and 'ethnic' institutional culture.

The comments of a further eight respondents in this category were either unclear as to their meaning, or they implied an interpretation of the question that had to do with the diversity content of the teaching rather than of the staff themselves (see discussion above)⁸

3. Unsure or ambivalent regarding teaching staff representivity

These educators (mostly White-Afk and White-Eng respondents) followed their 'Not sure' response with a variety of reasons as to why they were unable to commit themselves for or against staff representivity. The reasons given were a mix of those in category 2 above or in

Chapter 7: Welfare and social work resource issues

category 4 below. One educator questioned the precise meaning of *Item 23*, and so explicitly picked up on the ambiguity discussed above

4. Opposition to teaching staff representivity

These educators (mostly White-Afk but all groups were represented) followed a 'No' response to this item with commentary expressing two main themes. The predominant theme was that merit, and not race, colour or ethnicity, should be the criterion for appointments to teaching posts, for example:

No, not necessarily. Suitability for the post is rather more important¹.

The second theme (articulated by White-Afk educators only) was that representivity could not be applied across the board but that the particular characteristics of each institution had to be taken into account – two respondents referred to the importance of 'die eie karakter'², formed by culture and language, of their institutions:

All training environments have a distinctive character and the lecturing staff must reflect this².

The balance of educators here variously reinforced their opposition to representivity with two of these respondents recording comments that implied that a good teacher, regardless of colour/ethnicity/race, should be able to teach for and across diversity.

C. Closed responses of social work students

For the student questionnaire the wording of *Item 23a* was slightly altered, for purposes of simplicity and brevity and read as follows:

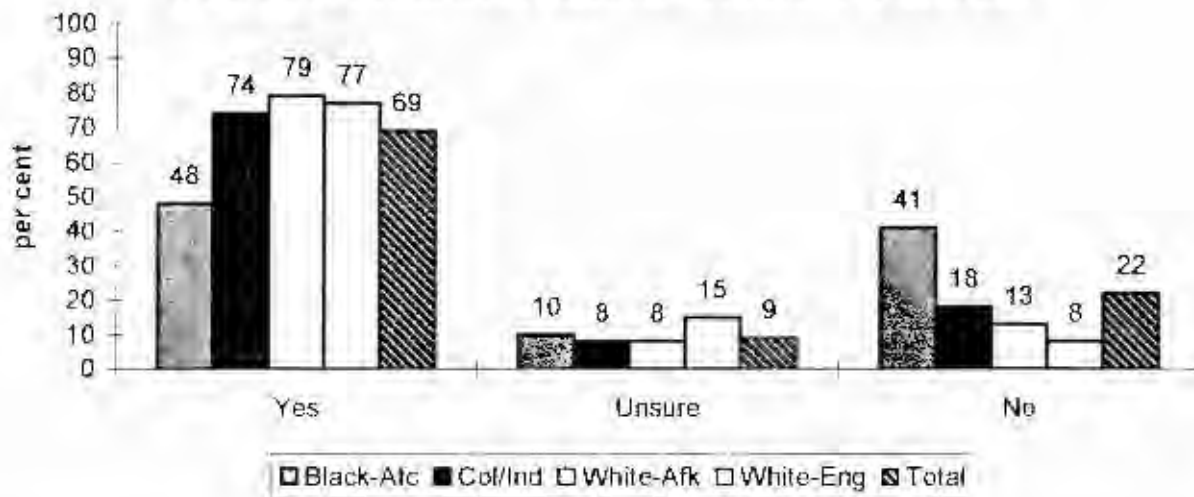
Item 23a: *Should the teaching staff in local social work departments reflect the cultural, ethnic and racial diversity of the South African population?*

Over two-thirds of social work student respondents felt that social work teaching staff should be representative of the wider population with just over a fifth answering in the negative and the rest were unsure.

¹ Nee nie noodwendig nie. Geskiktheid van die pos is eerder belangriker.

² Alle opleiding [omgewings] het 'n eie karakter en die dosente personeel moet dit reflekteer.

Figure 7.5: Social work students' responses to Item 23a



It is surprising, in terms of ethnic/race group trends reported up to this point, that the White-Afr, White-Eng and Col-Afr student groups together respond most positively to this item. Unexpectedly, less than half of Black-Afr students appeared to support educator representivity while a high proportion recorded their opposition. Whether this result was due to a different reading of *Item 23a* than the one intended, and is therefore a methodological problem, or whether it was due to unexpected positions taken on the representivity issue, will become apparent in the discussion of comments below.

D. Comments by social work students

Slightly more than half of social work students recorded comments and these are discussed within the following categories:

1. Positive support for teaching staff representivity

The students commenting in this category (from all race/ethnic groups) followed a positive response to *Item 23a* with an elaborative comment or reason. There were three identifiable sub-categories. Three students felt that representivity was important for educational reasons in that this would have a positive effect on students. Another three supported employment equity and redress for staff. The balance of students provided a straightforward restatement of *Item 23a* or elaborative comment.

Chapter 7: Welfare and social work resource issues

2. Conditional support for teaching staff representivity

The students here (mostly White-Eng and White-Afk) followed their positive endorsement of the need for staff representivity with comments that expressed a reservation or set a condition to that agreement. Most of these concerned the need to ensure that only persons qualified for the job were appointed and that academic 'standards' were maintained.

However, not just for the sake of diversity, they should be adequately appropriate and qualified.

3. Uncertainty as to the interpretation of *Item 23a*

The largest group here was of those students who recorded a positive 'Yes' to *Item 23a* but followed it with a comment that threw into doubt exactly what they were agreeing with. Nearly half of the comments gave an indication that respondents had interpreted the question in *Item 23a* in the alternative way referred to earlier, i.e. that the teaching staff in social work departments should 'reflect' ethnic/cultural/racial diversity through the content of their teaching, for example.

The cultural and ethnic diversity, since it is that which makes us different not the colour of our skin. But not in a blatant manner

Other comments made fairly general, sometimes vague, statements that gave no clear clue as to how these students had interpreted *Item 23a*. It therefore cannot be assumed that these comments were addressing the representivity issue¹⁰

4. Undecided or ambivalent responses

These students followed a 'Not sure' response with a comment giving reasons for their caution, for example

They could, but too much emphasis on differences only separates people further - selection procedures should be based on suitability and not culture or ethnicity

Another student's comment indicated she/he may have interpreted the item in the alternative sense referred to above

5. Opposition to teaching staff representivity

The students here all answered 'No' to this item and then supplied reasons for their disagreement. Half of the comments gave the clear impression that these students had read the item in the alternative sense discussed above and it is unclear from other comments to which interpretation students were responding. The balance of (two) comments (both from the HWI-Afk institution)

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clearly address the representivity issue and assert the need to place qualifications and ability as selection criteria for staff appointments above any other:

Lecturers represent their own academic abilities etc not a specific race or gender^b.

There is doubt therefore as to whether the majority of responses in this category actually addressed the representivity issue as intended¹¹.

E. Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

In order to address the representivity issue with fieldwork supervisors in the same way as was done with educators and students, the item was altered to refer to the staff profile in social work agencies themselves. Despite the fact that other considerations may have influenced agency staff's responses, I felt the issue would be best addressed by situating it within these respondents own practice settings¹².

Item 23b: Is it important that social work staff in local social work agencies should reflect the cultural, ethnic and racial diversity of the South African population?

Three-quarters of fieldwork supervisors felt it important that agency staff should reflect the diversity of the wider population with only one supervisor answering in the negative and five preferring not to commit themselves on this issue (see **Figure 7.6** in **Appendix M**). There were no significant differences between Black-Inc and White supervisors.

F. Comments by fieldwork supervisors

Half of the supervisors followed their closed response with comments which are discussed within the following categories

1. Positive support for agency staff representivity

Fieldwork teachers here either reiterated or elaborated on their support for staff representivity. Three supervisors (all White) supported such representivity for service delivery reasons and the benefit to clients and programmes through more effective or complete service was highlighted, for example:

They would then be able to effectively serve the entire community

^b Dosente verteenwoordig hul eie akademiese vermoëns ens. nie 'n spesifieke ras of geslag.

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One supervisor linked the issue to a necessary affirmative action process occurring within his/her organisation. The only fieldwork supervisor (Black-Inc) to record a 'No' response followed this with a comment that indicated he had interpreted the question in the second sense of 'reflecting diversity' as discussed for the educator and student respondent groups above but he added that staff should reflect the ratios of the population groups in South Africa.

2. Qualified support for agency staff representivity

Two (White) supervisors had scored 'Yes' on this item but qualified this in their comments. One fieldworker's agreement was subject to 'practicability' and the other laid the stress on broader social work effectiveness as a priority over representivity.

3. Undecided responses

These supervisors had recorded 'Not sure' closed responses and asserted ability, training and/or work experience as primary criteria for staff appointments:

Social work staff should be chosen for their ability to do their particular job not because they are seen to belong to a certain 'cultural, ethnic or racial' group.

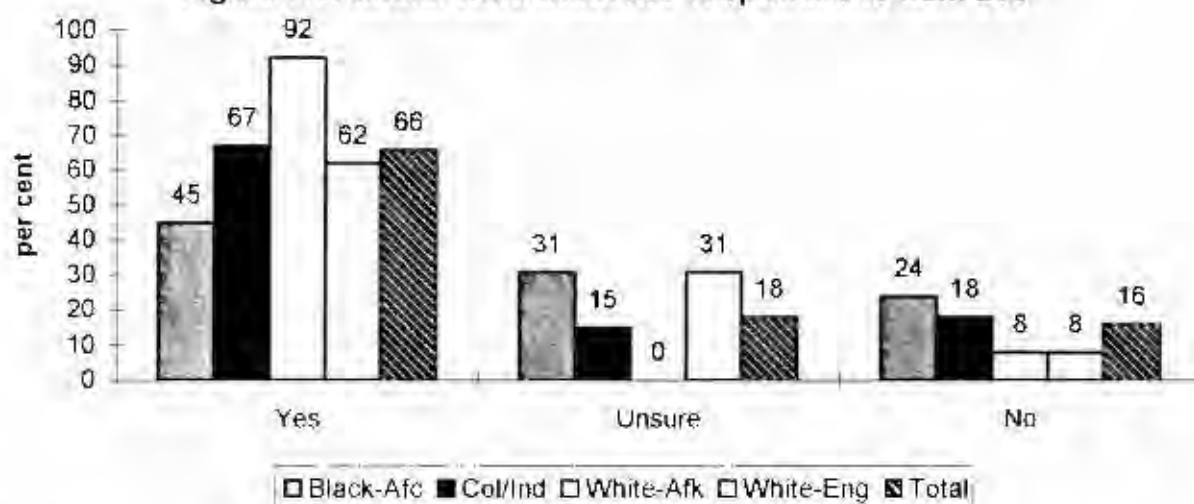
G. Closed responses of social work students

In order to ensure that all respondents addressed representivity as a matter of direct concern within the social work context, student respondents were asked an additional question that related to the cultural/ethnic/racial composition of the student body studying within local social work departments.

Item 23c: Should the the student body in local social work departments reflect the cultural, ethnic and racial diversity of the South African population?

As is evident in the discussion below, this question was unfortunately subject to the same ambiguity of interpretation as *Items 23a* and *23b* above due to the alternative readings of the word 'reflect'

Figure 7.7: Social work students' responses to Item 23c



Two-thirds of social work students appeared to support the notion that the student body in social work departments should reflect the diversity of the wider population with low proportions recording negative and unsure responses (see **Figure 7.7** above). Somewhat unexpectedly, White-Afk students scored a high agreement and Black-Afc students a relatively low positive response with the other groups midway in-between. Overall these responses show a very similar trend to the student responses to *Item 23a* above and, as the analysis of written comments below demonstrates, the major reason for the direction of this trend (with the apparent lack of support for representivity by Black-Afc students) lies in the ambiguity of the item rather than the intended content.

H. Comments by social work students

Over half of students provided comments which are discussed in the following categories.

1. Positive support for student body representivity

Over a third of student comments straightforwardly endorsed the content of *Item 23c*. Half of these explicitly identified the positive learning and/or effects, in terms of tolerance and understanding across cultural/ethnic/racial diversity, that could flow from such student representivity:

Yes, this could only encourage acceptance and do away with prejudice and discrimination.

The balance of respondents made mostly reiterative comments

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2. Cautious or unclear support for student body representivity

The students here expressed a caution or reservation that qualified their agreement or pointed to practical constraints that made representivity ideal but difficult to implement, for example

If it is possible. There should not be discrimination in selection.

It appeared that some students who had responded positively to this item had understood 'reflect' in the alternative sense discussed above. For others it was not possible to tell from their comments which sense they had understood. It is significant that the majority of these respondents were Black-Afc and White-Afk students (see discussion below).

3. Undecided responses

Students here followed a 'Not sure' closed response with a comment that either explained their reservation or indicated that they had understood *Item 23c* in the alternative sense (see category 2 above). Most of these comments (all by Black-Afc students) tended to make explicit their discomfort with any further emphasis on diversity or differences than already existed.

4. Apparent opposition to student body representivity

This group of students all responded in the negative to *Item 23c* and almost all comments indicated that the alternative sense of 'reflect' had been understood. Most students felt that the effect of the student body purposively attempting to 'reflect' cultural, ethnic and racial diversity would be to perpetuate, promote or encourage separatism, division or discrimination and many stressed a non-racial focus on commonalities:

They should incorporate all races and do all things on non racial basis.

IV. Affirmative action in social work departments

Having addressed the issue of equity in social work resources in the specific form of whether cultural, racial/ethnic representivity of social work staff in educational and field contexts is a desirable goal, and for what reasons, I thought it important to raise the further key issue of how such a goal should be attained. I put this in the form of a question to respondents regarding the implementation of affirmative action programmes. Although strategies to achieve representivity of personnel in the workplace are also known by various terms ('equal opportunity', 'corrective action', or 'positive discrimination' for example) I decided to use the term affirmative action for

¹ Indien dit moontlik is Daar behoort nie gediskrimineer te word by keuring nie.

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two main reasons. Firstly, it is a term that was commonly used in South Africa at the time and would likely be familiar to most respondents partly through the fairly extensive local use of North American literature in which the term is common. Secondly, the term clearly implies action focused positively in favour of designated groups. Such a direct and hopefully unambiguous conceptualisation was, I felt, most likely to actively engage respondents and so stimulate full responses.

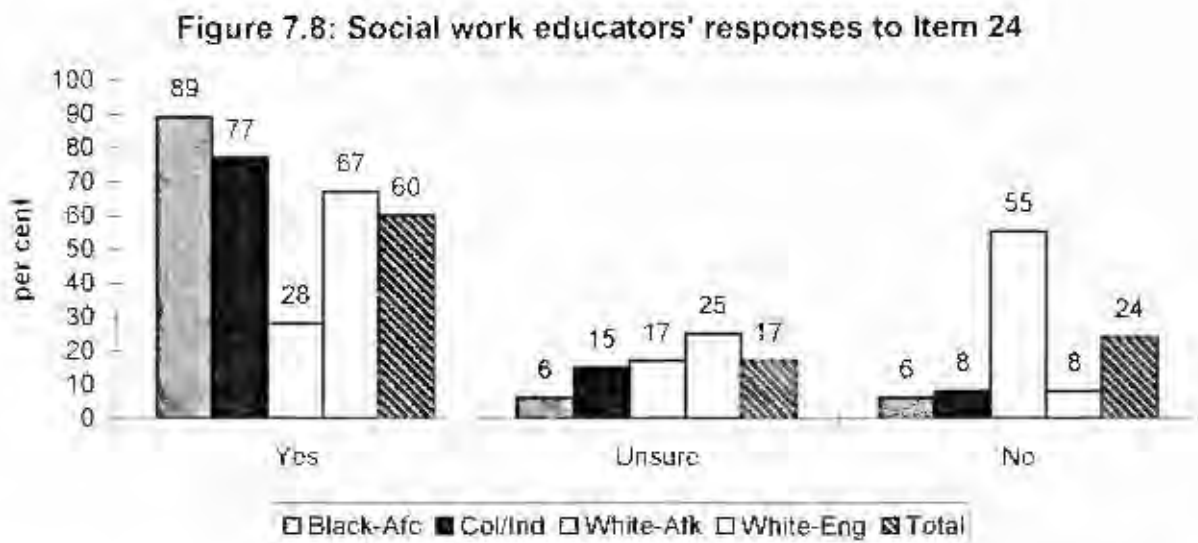
At the time of this study full staff representivity across all population groups did not exist in any one of the social work departments in any tertiary institution in South Africa or the TBVC (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) 'homelands' as they then were. In 1993, the most diverse department, in a HWT-Eng institution, had staff members from the Black-Afc, Coloured and White (English-speaking) groups but with the latter in the majority. Most of the HBI departments had a majority of Black-Afc staff with one or two White, but no Coloured or Indian, educators. This situation has begun to improve more recently but progress is uneven and in fact in my own context it has worsened due to resignations of Black-Afc staff and the various obstacles in the way of recruiting and retaining black staff⁷.

There was at the time, therefore, a great deal of progress that needed to be made if representivity was to be achieved. As argued by many authors on the topic (see Katz & Taylor, 1988), the establishment of a clear goal-directed programme towards achieving employment equity is a necessary step towards achieving meaningful representivity. In order to address this issue, those educators and fieldwork supervisors who in response to *Item 23*, had indicated their support for representivity of staff in either the social work educational or practice settings were asked the question:

Item 24: If you answered "Yes" to Item 23[a or b] above do you think that affirmative action programmes for the recruitment, appointment and training of staff from disadvantaged (ie, Black, 'Coloured' and Indian persons) backgrounds should be instituted in order to achieve such representative diversity?

A. Closed responses of social work educators

A total of 84 educators chose to respond to *Item 24* even though only 78 educators had answered 'Yes' to *Item 23a*¹⁴. A majority of educators supported affirmative action with a quarter opposing such programmes and almost a fifth remaining unsure (see **Figure 7.8** below)



There was a clear race/ethnic split on this issue with a very high proportion of Black-Afc and Col/Ind educators supporting such programmes while a majority of White-Afk educators were opposed to such action. The White-Eng group showed the greatest degree of ambivalence on the issue¹⁵.

B. Comments by social work educators

Of those educators who responded to *Item 24*, two-thirds provided comments and these were categorised as follows:

1. Unqualified support for affirmative action

These respondents supported affirmative action programmes with comments that either restated the need for affirmative action or added further justification, such as:

This is already overdue, considering the fact that the white universities have for some time now been admitting non-white social work students whose cultural backgrounds they have no inkling of.

Most Black-Afc respondents were represented in this category while only a quarter or less of the other ethnic/race groups gave such unqualified support¹⁶.

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2. Qualified support for affirmative action

These comments supported affirmative action programmes but qualified that response in some way. Most of these educators (all Col/Ind, White-Eng or White-Afk) were concerned to point out that merit, or competence or qualifications for the job should also be considered as criteria within the wider operation of affirmative action programmes, for example:

Provided the potential for development professionally and academically is present.

The balance of comments indicated other qualificatory reasons as to why such programmes should not operate in an unfettered way.

3. Discomfort with affirmative action

The comments here provided various reasons as to why the issue of affirmative was problematic. Some White-Eng and White-Afk educators felt that merit or qualifications should be the priority while others (of all race/ethnic groups) gave a variety of reasons for their discomfort with the notion of affirmative action, for example:

Affirmative action is a concept which I have not thoroughly come to terms with as it does have negative consequences.

4. Opposition to affirmative action

These educators (almost all White-Afk) supplied comments explaining why they opposed affirmative action programmes in respect of personnel in social work education. Some educators referred to the primacy of merit and qualifications as opposed to a selection influenced by ethnic/race group membership. A further two educators proposed that a 'colour-blind' or non-racial approach was needed while the balance of educators gave a range of reasons for their opposition to the affirmative action proposal, for example:

There are just as many underprivileged whites. Equality implies no preferential treatment.

C. Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

While the wording of *Item 24* here was the same as that for educators, the staff referred to were social workers employed in social work agencies.

¹ Daar is net soveel minderbevoorregte blankes. Gelykheid impliseer nie voorkeure nie.

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Even though 17 fieldwork supervisors had answered 'Yes' to *Item 23b*, a total of 21 respondents chose to respond to *Item 24*⁷. Almost three-quarters of fieldwork supervisors agreed with some form of affirmative action programme, a fifth remained unsure and 10 percent actively opposed such action. There was a degree of race/ethnic difference with only one Black-Ind supervisor recording his/her opposition to such programmes but 4 White fieldwork supervisors prevaricated on the issue⁸.

D. Comments by fieldwork supervisors

A high 81 percent of fieldwork supervisors of those who responded to *Item 24* provided comments which are discussed within the following categories:

1. Support for affirmative action

Five respondents indicated their unqualified support of affirmative action programmes as outlined in *Item 24*. Another seven fieldwork supervisors qualified their support with most (White) supervisors indicating that merit or qualifications for the job were also important.

Yes, as long as the recruitment is based on individuals' personal skills and potential, otherwise the process becomes a farce.

2. Discomfort with affirmative action

Three (White) fieldwork supervisors expanded on their 'Not sure' responses with comments giving specific reasons for this uncertainty. Two of these had to do with concerns regarding tokenism and adequate ability for the job.

3. Opposition to affirmative action

Two respondents followed their negative responses to *Item 24* with comments justifying their opposition to affirmative action programmes, for example:

All social workers should be equipped throughout their training with sufficient knowledge and skills to deal with all people.

V. Summary and concluding comments

Even though nearly two-thirds of all educators supported the expansion of *welfare resources and services to disadvantaged groups*, there were clear differences in the overall attitudes of black and white educators towards this issue. Large majority of Black-Afc and Col/Ind educators indicated unconditional support for the statement both in the proportion of 'strong' agreements recorded and in the tone of their comments. On the other hand responses from white educators were more conditional and there were some clear differences between White-Afk and White-Eng educators. A high majority of White-Eng educators supported the need for redress of welfare resources but tended to qualify this agreement. White-Afk educators had a much lower rate of overall agreement than the latter and in addition two-thirds of that was 'weak' agreement. Well over a third of White-Afk educators expressed strong reservations regarding this proposed expansion of welfare services. Qualificatory comments and reservations included concerns regarding the maintaining the standards and quality of services; fears of 'reverse racism' and the need to include provision for the underprivileged white population; the need to avoid creating dependency; and a focus on prevention. Some Black-Afc respondents regarded the integration of services for all population groups to be a priority over expanding segregated services.

Western Cape social work students were very positive towards the expansion of welfare resources to historically disadvantaged groups. Both White-Afrik and White-Eng students were significantly more positive on this issue than were their national social work educator counterparts. While responses from fieldwork supervisors were overwhelmingly positive on this issue, a small minority expressed similar reservations to those enumerated by just over half of educators and a quarter of students.

Despite the overall support for ethnic and racial *representivity of social work teaching and agency staff* by most respondents, there were clear response differences between the race/ethnic groups, especially in the case of educators. While substantial majorities of Black-Afc, Col/Ind and White-Eng educators were strongly positive, less than half of White-Afk educators were in favour of such representivity. White, and especially Afrikaans speaking, educators exhibited an anxiety around merit, qualifications and 'standards'. A few White-Afk educators made a case for the

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retention argued of 'ethnic' tertiary institutions – which, in their own case, would be for HWI-Afk institutions to retain at least their Afrikaans, if not their white, character.

What also emerged was the dual purpose that improved racial and cultural representivity of staff was seen to fulfill. On the one hand, here was the pedagogical purpose which focused on the positive influence of the modelling of tolerance of diversity and multicultural/racial co-operation on social work students. On the other hand, was the equity issue relating to the opening up of employment opportunities in tertiary institutions for social work educators from previously disadvantaged population groups.

While the student respondents were apparently more positive regarding the need for staff representivity than were their educator counterparts, the reliability of these responses are suspect due to the ambiguity of *Items 23a* and *23c* as construed by a significant proportion of this group²⁹. There was generally very strong support amongst fieldwork supervisors for the principle of ethnic and racial representivity of agency staff. As discussed above, allowing for the one unintended reading of *Item 23b*, there was no opposition from this group although just over a fifth expressed some caution, mainly in terms of competing priorities, with regard to representivity as a goal.

The pattern of responses from educators in respect of the use of *affirmative action programmes* to achieve staff representivity was very similar to their responses to the staff representivity issue in *Item 23a* above – that is, positive support from the majority of educators, especially from Black-Afc and Col/Ind educators, but with qualified support from White-Eng, and very low support and substantial opposition from White-Afk, educators respectively. Three-quarters of fieldwork supervisors supported affirmative action in relation to staff in social work agencies with some expressing reservations relating to the need for adequate ability for the job and the avoidance of tokenism.

It was not entirely unexpected that individuals from white ethnic/race groups, who are most likely to perceive or experience affirmative action as impacting negatively on their own, or their group's, current or future employment opportunities, would show weaker support for such action than those black groups most likely to benefit from such action. However, while a degree of

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anxiety and concern around how such programmes are implemented would seem reasonable and justified, the high level of opposition, and consequently the low level of commitment to equity, from White-Afk educators in particular is disturbing. This, it should be remembered, was in the context of the considerable historical advantages (sometimes known as 'affirmative action' for whites) that this group previously enjoyed in relation to employment in social work positions.

In the following chapter I now move to an exploration of particular diversity issues related to the organisation and functioning of welfare services - in particular: attitudes towards integrated versus separate services; 'culture-sensitive' versus 'universal' services; and the matching of, and communication between, social workers and clients/communities with whom they work

Notes to Chapter 7

- 1 This formulation did allow respondents to imagine that new welfare resources for disadvantaged groups would be 'added on' to those current at the time. The harsher reality, certainly for the relatively advantaged groups of redistribution within a fixed overall welfare budget, was not necessarily implied even though, as the results show, some respondents chose to address this possibility.
- 2 This pattern of response is not unexpected. Less predictable was the disagreement recorded by 1 Col/Ind and 2 Black-Afr respondents. However from close inspection of the actual questionnaires it is apparent that, when read in the context of these respondents' answers to related items, two of these responses are almost certainly scoring errors. Both respondents both, for example, support representivity and affirmative action in their answers to *Items 23* and *24* and the general tenor of their other answers and comments would indicate that they had intended to record an 'agree' response. It could be argued that such errors are likely to have also been made by other respondents and that by giving such close attention to respondent results that do not appear to 'fit' with a predicted pattern I am introducing bias into the analysis. Therefore, despite the strong likelihood of response error here, I have let the closed responses as recorded stand.
- 3 Here we have an indication of the sort of concerns that have since the time of this survey become central to the new welfare policy as it has been developed since the advent of the 1994 ANC government. Although the self-help tradition has a long and respected history in many societies, elements of it are vulnerable to appropriation by right wing social policy makers who tend to stress the responsibility of the poor or disadvantaged for their situations and to advocate the 'bootstraps' solution.
- 4 While most of these comments were made by White-Afr educators, 2 were from the White-Eng group and 1 each from the Black-Afr and Col/Ind groups. It is notable that the latter two respondents recorded a neutral rather than a disagree scale score with the Black-Afr educator stating that the basic needs of individuals should be the guiding principle for welfare provision. The Col/Ind educator offered a more 'radical' critique of aspects of affirmative action in the USA (as paternalistic and a form of 'lingering colonialism') based on discussions with black American colleagues.
- 5 As is evident above, the concern regarding the emotive content was partly borne out by the responses from some educators. The discussion below will therefore have to take into account that this wording change may mean that comparisons between the educator and student/fieldwork supervisor groups have to be more cautiously made than otherwise would have been the case.
- 6 The absence of the emotive 'affirmative action' phrase in this version of *Item 10* may of course account for this difference.
Although there are persons who work in social work agencies and NGOs who are not registered as social workers, social work personnel as defined here means those professionally qualified persons registered as social workers with the statutory SA Council for Social Work as it was then known.
- 7 While this ambiguity regarding *Item 23a* is unfortunate, it has not had a major impact on the overall response by educators. If we extrapolate to the one-third of those educators who did not submit written comments, and assume a similar proportional misunderstanding of the intention of the question, then, at the most, another 4 responses may be regarded as unreliable.
- 8 While this Afrikaans term literally means 'own or distinctive character' the word 'eie' has strong connotations of 'natural' and 'familiar'. This links with another respondent who commented that the process of appointing staff to ensure representivity should not be 'unnatural' but that departments should appoint 'who they need'.
- 9 If this uncertainty factor, caused by the ambiguity of *Item 23a*, is extrapolated to the whole sample, then probably up to a third of total student responses may be unreliable in this sense.
- 10 Taking into account the pattern of student comments to this item, between one-third and a half of social work students, depending on how one reads the unclear responses, may have understood the meaning of 'reflect' in the unintended sense and not, therefore, have been responding to the representivity issue. It is very noticeable that up to 80 percent of Black-Afr and 60 percent of Col/Ind students may have used this alternative

interpretation compared to a third of White-Afk and no White-Eng students. It seems therefore that first language English speaking (white) students understood *Item 23a* in the intended sense while English second language (including to a lesser extent Afrikaans speaking students) were more likely to understand the item in this alternative sense. I suspect that my intended use of 'reflect' to mean 'be representative of', apart from being potentially ambiguous depending on the context within which it used, is characteristic of a particular middle/upper class English usage and therefore its intended meaning is not as readily accessible to other English speakers. This may well be an example of unintended cultural and linguistic bias.

For example, practical issues such as language and communication in relation to specific local communities may have influenced practitioners' responses more than they would educators'. Nevertheless the question as to whether representivity is desirable or important in all social work settings remains the key issue.

In the department in which I worked at the time of the survey, three Black-Afc staff members left to take up more senior government or administrative posts. In addition very few applications from qualified and experienced black persons for vacancies were received. Subsequently more purposeful strategies for the recruitment and development of black staff have been instituted.

Three of these 'Yes' respondents made no response to *Item 24* while 9 educators who had recorded a response other than a 'Yes' to *Item 23a*, and therefore had not, in terms of the questionnaire requirements, 'qualified' to answer *Item 24*, responded regardless. It is noteworthy though that 6 of these 9 respondents used this opportunity to record their opposition to affirmative action programmes and therefore overall responses are slightly weighted towards the negative.

The group differences on this issue become even more stark if we recalculate the number of respondents who support affirmative action in the context of *Item 24* as a proportion of all educator respondents. Here 70 percent of Black-Afc and 63 percent of all Col/Ind educator respondents support such programmes while only a very low 13 percent of all White-Afk respondents do so. White-Eng educators are nearly equally split between support (48 percent) and either opposition or uncertainty (52 percent).

While the overall difference between the Black-Afc and the other race/ethnic groups is large, it is at least noteworthy that there were a handful of individuals in *all* groups that were willing to give unqualified endorsement.

As two these 'extra' responses were supportive of affirmative action programmes, the effect of their inclusion in the results is not significantly distortive of the overall response trend.

This group difference is highlighted when calculating the numbers of respondents answering in the affirmative as a proportion of all fieldwork supervisor respondents ($n=23$). Eighty-three percent of all Black-Ind supervisors supported affirmative action programmes in the context of *Item 24* while a considerably lower 59 percent of White supervisors did so.

A possible link to second language readers of the questionnaire, which was provided only in English and Afrikaans, and a particular class or register-specific English usage, was identified above. A further question is whether a similar ambiguity of meaning is present in the Afrikaans translation of 'reflect' (i.e. 'reflekteer') in which case Afrikaans speakers' responses may also have been affected. It might also be asked why this would not have equally applied to Afrikaans speaking educators. As indicated in the analysis of educators' responses some few possible incidences were identified - however *Item 23a* in the educators questionnaire, unlike in the student questionnaire, was immediately followed with *Item 24* which, as is evident from its framing, addresses affirmative action as a strategy for achieving the staff representivity referred to in *Item 23a*. Even if, therefore, the alternative meaning of 'reflect' had been imputed by a respondent initially, their reading of *Item 24* would have immediately affirmed the intended 'representivity' meaning. Student respondents did not experience this clarifying step in completing the questionnaire.

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Chapter 8

Social work service delivery: organisation and communication

1. Introduction

The development of state welfare services, initially for the white population group almost exclusively, and later within strictly segregated and unequally funded structures of service delivery, was reviewed in Chapter 2. From 1948, under the apartheid policy of the Nationalist government, separate welfare services were enforced through legislation supported by government funding and underpinned by ideological notions of the primacy of racial and ethnic/cultural differences. The separation of all state welfare (and most other) services was never simply a matter of either administrative or geographical convenience nor, despite government rhetoric, an attempt to render culturally appropriate services to ethnic/cultural groups. The primary purpose of welfare service segregation was clearly ideological and political - to assist the white minority government in creating and maintaining racial and ethnic boundaries, hierarchies and inequities in the service of holding on to political and economic power.

As referred to in Chapter 4, there are several examples in contemporary democratic and multicultural societies of community-specific welfare services that have sought to improve service delivery and effectiveness through the development of cultural, religious or issue-specific sensitivity and relevance. However such services have generally arisen in a context in which the principle of equity has been accepted (even if not achieved), and in which such services were most often the result of expressed preferences or demands from the cultural/ community group themselves, rather than being imposed. These groups have typically been minority ethnic groups, often of low socio-economic status, within majority white societies (e.g. the USA and the UK) and group-based social and political action has been necessary for the achievement of improved services and access to resources. Addressing the issue of group-specific welfare services in the South African context prior to the 1994 election of a democratic government clearly had very different meanings and ramifications from those in these other countries.

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Despite this, I have taken the view that in a post-apartheid state wherein issues of redress and equity are receiving priority attention, choices as regards ethnic/cultural appropriateness and/or sensitivity of welfare services still have to be made. While accurate information regarding specific cultural practices and beliefs can be important in particular cases or services, probably the most urgent 'cultural' issue, as argued in Chapter 4, has to do with adequate communication between client and/or community and social worker through that primary tool of social work, language. The need of clients and service users to be heard and understood is central to any effective involvement in direct social work assistance or broader social development and the implications for the training and deployment of social workers are considerable. Language proficiency, and to a lesser extent 'cultural competency' in terms of knowledge and sensitivity, remain important skills that service users have a legitimate right to expect from service agencies that offer assistance via state-funded resources.

In the survey I wished to look forward to the restructuring of social services that seemed, even in 1993, to be almost inevitable in the post-election period, and to tap the attitudes of respondents as to the preferred modes of welfare service delivery that would meet the needs of all South Africans. I therefore sought to address a number of organisational and service delivery issues that, from local experience, as well as the available literature, I felt were relevant. These included, firstly, the issue of segregated and/or separate services for different 'national' or ethnic groups - specifically whether integration of these services should take place and, if so, whether this should be done with a 'universal' or 'culture-sensitive' emphasis. Secondly, the issue of whether the 'matching' of social worker and social work service user by ethnicity, culture or race is promotive of service effectiveness. And lastly, the issue of to what extent adequate communication between service providers and users is a problem in social work practice and how much importance is attributed to social workers being proficient in the local languages spoken by those service users.

II. Organisation of welfare services

At the time of the survey, even though the strong expectation was that integration of all social services into single state departments would be part of a new political dispensation, separate welfare services were still being administered for the four 'population groups' as defined in apartheid South African law. Without using either the actual, or proposed, welfare structures as

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models, I wished to lay out the broad options for future service structuring in ideal-type terms and attempted to do this in the three statements as set out below. The first option reflected a version of the status quo in which separate services for different 'national'¹² and/or ethnic groups would be maintained:

***Item 9a:** Separate social work services for each of the different national and/or ethnic groups are the best way of providing for the welfare needs of all South Africans.*

The second option envisaged unified, integrated welfare services based around 'universal' needs and 'blind' to race, ethnicity or culture, and therefore, within a South African context, implying a significant move toward equity:

***Item 9b:** Integrated social work services, delivered irrespective of race, ethnicity or culture, are the best way of providing for the welfare needs of all South Africans.*

The third option also envisaged a unified, integrated welfare structure (that also implied equity of services) but one which made allowance for context-specific adaptation to ensure sensitivity to cultural/ethnic differences and racial experience' where indicated:

***Item 9c:** Integrated social work services, adapted to ensure sensitivity towards ethnic, racial and/or cultural characteristics and experiences, are the best way of providing for the welfare needs of all South Africans.*

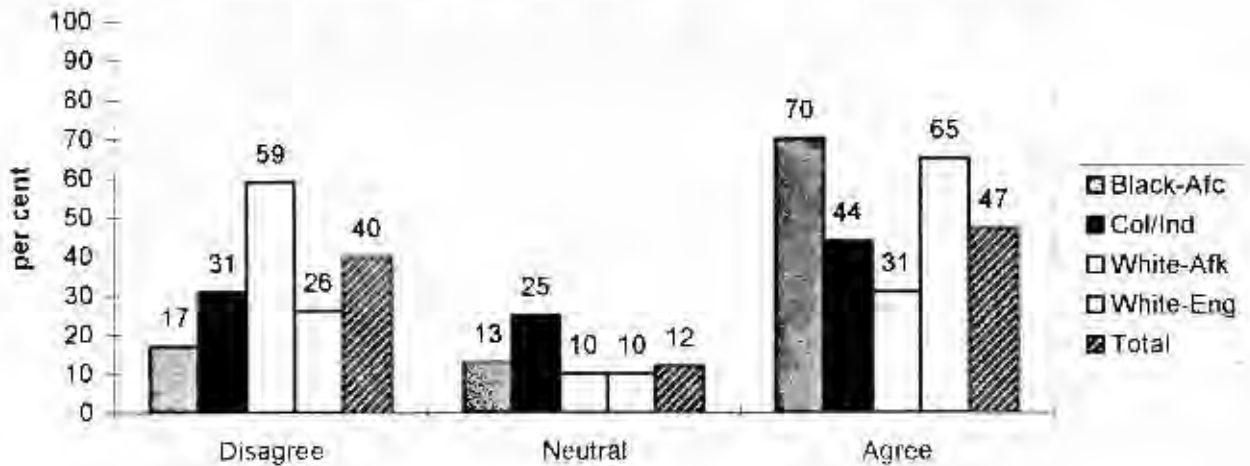
A. Closed responses of social work educators

An overwhelming majority of educators rejected the option of welfare services continuing to be delivered separately along 'national' and/or ethnic lines (see **Figure 8.1a** in **Appendix N**). The only support for such a segregated option came from 5 White-Afk educators, 3 of whom also agreed with *Item 9c* (i.e. integrated but 'culture-sensitive' services) and one Black-Afk educator who also agreed with *Item 9c*.

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Responses by educators to *Item 9b* (Figure 8.1b below) were more varied with almost equal numbers agreeing or disagreeing with the statement. The race/ethnic group breakdown reveals some sharp differences however with fairly large majorities of Black-Afc and White-Eng educators supporting 'universal' and 'culture-blind' integrated social work services on the one hand, while the majority of White-Afk educators disagree with such service structuring on the other.

Figure 8.1b: Social work educators' responses to Item 9b



There was broad agreement with *Item 9c*, which proposed integrated but context-sensitive welfare services with nearly 90 per cent of all educators in agreement. However a significant minority (23 per cent) of the Black-Afc group either disagreed or were neutral.

Given that the second two options (*Items 9b* and *9c*) did not correspond to any actual welfare service structures within the country at the time, some room for different interpretations clearly exists. The comments by respondents provide a clearer picture of how educators understood these and a more nuanced feel of their concerns.

B. Comments by social work educators

As *Items 9a-c* were intended to provide respondents with three inter-related options for welfare service delivery, only one space for comments was provided. Seventy-nine per cent ($n=107$) of respondents provided comments and these were grouped into the following categories:

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1. Integrated services (including 'culture-sensitivity' for most)

As would be expected from the scale score results reflected above, the majority of educators who provided comments disagreed with *Item 9a* and agreed with *Item 9c*. Within this majority most commentary was reiterative of the content of *Item 9c* and rephrased agreement with a service delivery that was integrated under one welfare department, yet at the same time took cognisance of cultural, ethnic and experiential differences. A typical comment here was:

Welfare services should be integrated and meet the needs of all South African's on an equal basis, yet be sensitive to cultural characteristics and experiences, especially to the experiences of apartheid to those disadvantaged people of SA.

Some of these respondents gave specific examples of the kind of adaptation needed:

Integrated services are essential but in some way need to be adapted e.g., Xhosa speaking, women's issues, i.e. gender specific services.

One educator, who was obviously aware of some cultural diversity developments in other countries, sought to point out the particular historical context within which this issue has to be understood:

I am aware that in the UK and USA there is a strong move towards separate services for minority groups. However at this point in SA's development, it is necessary to integrate services to do away with the structure of inequality of the apartheid regime before greater service is paid to differences.

In a similar vein, a small number of educators (mostly Black-Afr and Col/Ind) stressed the provision of equal resources at the same time as a sensitivity towards particular cultural and 'race' issues. Three educators, in agreement with *Item 9c*, pointed out the dangers of stereotyping and over-generalising within a 'culture-sensitive' approach. On the other hand another small group of educators (almost all White-Afr) had scored either a disagree or neutral score in relation to *Item 9b* (i.e. the 'universalist' integrated option) and emphasised that the integrated 'culture-sensitive' option should adequately provide for 'unique' individual and cultural differences, for example:

There ought not be a distinction in the kind of services but the worldview and uniqueness of the client must be given due attention in order to provide for the distinctiveness of every group according to their unique needs⁹.

⁹ Daar behoort nie 'n onderskeiding in die aard v[an] dienste te wees nie maar die leefwêreld en uniekheid v[an] die klient moet nog in ag geneem word om te voorsien in diesoortigheid v[an] elke groep volgens unieke behoeftes.

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Interestingly only two educators (both Col/Ind respondents from a HWI-Eng context) pointed to the danger, within the 'universalist' integrated services option, of professional social workers themselves imposing their own racist, cultural and/or class values on clients or communities.

[Item] 9b the diversity in perceptions and experience are not acknowledged and in practice mean the domination of the social worker's culture which also implies class/racial domination.

As previously discussed in Chapter 4, this is a key theme in the international literature dealing with issues of race and culture in social work (and other social and health) services and it is telling that so few local educators showed evidence of much familiarity with that literature.

2. Integrated, generic services

A second small group (n=10) of educators (from all race/ethnic groups) agreed with *Item 9b* that integrated, 'universalist' welfare services that paid no attention to race, culture or ethnicity were the preferred option and combined this with either a 'neutral' or 'disagree' score for *Item 9c* i.e. the integrated 'culture-sensitive' option. A few of these educators clarified that they saw the *Item 9b* option as the ideal and the *Item 9c* option as transitional only.

[Item] 9b should be a long term goal but [Item] 9c may have to be used in relation to past experiences of groups other than white under apartheid. In the shorter term, to redress unjust imbalances.

Others in this category expressed their feeling that need and/or development, and not culture or ethnicity, should be the primary factor in the delivery of welfare services and two respondents warned of the dangers of any continuing emphasis on differences between people:

It's an insult to give different services for different people.

3. Separate, 'unique' services

The smallest category of educators recording comments (n=4, all White-Afk and 3 from one HWI-Afk institution) agreed with the segregated option outlined in *Item 9a* and disagreed with the 'universalist' option of *Item 9b*. They indicated that the 'culture-sensitive' option was only a second preference:

If possible 9a should be the ideal - more understanding less resistance - faster progress. 9c could serve as an alternative and this is evidently the direction in which we are moving. Ethnically speaking groups have

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certain preferences and priorities and we will certainly be moving backwards if we through a massive equalisation we treat everyone alike without taking into account their uniqueness⁶

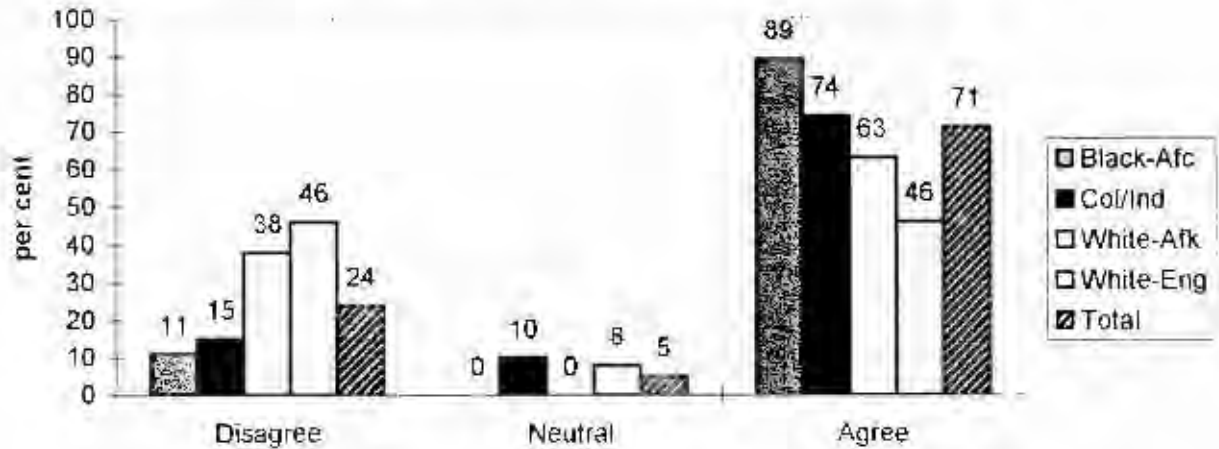
C. Closed responses of social work students

As for the educators, the vast majority of all student respondents reject the option of continued separation of welfare services (*Item 9a*) with only very small numbers of all race/ethnic groups ($n=6$) either agreeing or remaining neutral (see **Figure 8.2a** in **Appendix N**). Of the latter, 4 students also recorded an 'agree' score in respect the integrated but 'culture-sensitive' option (*Item 9c*). An interesting, if subtle, difference here is that the strength of disagreement by White-Afk and White-Eng students is significantly 'weaker' than that of their educators counterparts. Although it is not possible to be sure given the available data here, this may well have to do with the need for most educators to distance themselves from the tainted association of separate services with apartheid⁷.

The overall agreement by students with the 'universalist' integrated option as set out in *Item 9b* is fairly high (71 per cent) with Black-Afe students in particular registering overwhelming endorsement. In opposing contrasts to their educator counterparts, nearly two-thirds of White-Afk students and less than half of White-Eng students agree with this option.

⁶ As dit moontlik sou wees sou [Item] 9a die ideaal wees - meer begrip minder weerstand - vinniger vordering. As alternatief sou [Item] 9c kan deug en dit is waarskynlik die rigting waarin beweging word. Etnies gesproke het groepe eger sekere voorkeure en prioriteite en sal ons seker agteruitbeweeg as ons met in groot gelykmaking almal eenders wil behandel sonder inagneming van uniekheid.

Figure 8.2b: Social work students' responses to Item 9b



As for the educator respondents, a very high majority of all students agreed with the option of integrated yet ‘culture-sensitive’ services as set out in *Item 9c*. However over a quarter (27 per cent) of Black-Afc students, in similar vein to their educator counterparts, either disagree or are neutral towards this option.

D. Comments by social work students

Just over half (53 per cent) of student respondents recorded comments in respect of *Items 9a-c* within the following categories:

1. Integrated services a priority

The majority of students commenting here disagreed with the continued separation of services (*Item 9a*) and agreed with the integrated but ‘culture-sensitive’ services (*Item 9c*) but also recorded their agreement with the integrated ‘universalist’ services option (*Item 9b*). There was thus strong support for integration *per se* as a priority with sensitivity to differences as a further refinement. As one student put it:

A need for social work services should be the focus of service delivery. Social work should not discriminate, but model its values of equality and non-racialism to the fullest degree. Services should be upgraded and equal for all race groups and delivered with sensitivity when a need is indicated.

Another student expressed a more concrete challenge to be overcome in the achievement of such ideals.

As a person I'll be willing to work in Soweto, but not speaking Xhosa is a reality.

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It is noteworthy that three quarters of this subgroup of students were either Black-Afc or Col/Ind.

A smaller group of students (from all race/ethnic categories but with proportionately more white students) disagreed with the 'universalist' approach of *Item 9b* and tended to express comments which asserted the importance of attending to differences:

People should be given services which will respect, value and understand their culture.

2. Integrated, generic services

Only three students (all Black-Afc) commenting here had disagreed with the two options outlined in *Items 9a* and *9c* and agreed with the integrated 'universalist' approach of *Item 9b*. One of these students emphasised the need for generic services, while another pointed to the fight against racism as being a priority. The third warned of the risk that 'culture-sensitive' services could be exploited to render unequal services.

3. Separate group-specific services

Three students providing comments here had agreed with the separate services option (*Item 9a*) and disagreed with the integrated 'universalist' option (*Item 9b*). Two of the students also agreed with the 'culture-sensitive' option (*Item 9c*) while the third (Black-Afc) student did not respond to *Item 9c*. All three students' comments (the other 2 being Col/Ind and White-Afk) were in similar vein as the following:

Every race group should be respected ... [indecipherable] - e.g. [the] black population group which has its own ethnic values and norms⁴.

E. Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

The overall trend of responses was very similar to that of the educator and student respondents with very large majorities disagreeing with the separate services option (*Item 9a*), and agreeing with the integrated but 'culture-sensitive' option (*Item 9c*). The response pattern in terms of the integrated 'universalist' option (*Item 9b*) was closer to that of the student respondents in that just over one-third either recorded a disagree or neutral scale score (see **Figures 8.3a-c** in **Appendix**

⁴ Elke rassegroep behoort gerespekteer te word ... [indecipherable] - by swart bevolkingsgroep wat hul eie etniese waardes en norme het.

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N) There were no obvious differences between the Black-Ind and White response trends on any of the three items.

I. Comments by fieldwork supervisors

Only just over a third of fieldwork supervisors recorded comments which were categorised as follows:

1. Integrated services

Seven supervisors recorded their disagreement with the separate services option (*Item 9a*) and agreed with the integrated 'culture-sensitive' option (*Item 9c*). Four of these supervisors also agreed with the integrated 'universalist' option and the following comment typifies this affirmation of the positives in both options:

[Agree with Item]9b referring to quality of services and resources and [agree with Item]9c referring to sensitivity and appropriateness of services

The other three respondents either disagreed with or were neutral towards *Item 9b* yet noted the importance of addressing aspects of both options:

Basic principles can be applied universally but there needs to be sensitivity to differences

2. Separate services

One (White) supervisor, who had agreed with the separate and with the integrated context-sensitive options but disagreed with the 'universalist' option, commented as follows:

Client to have the opportunity of being assisted by his own ethnic group - where sensitive [sic] matters.

This respondent had also indicated that the ideal service structure was that of a range of individual workers from all ethnic groups working within an inclusive 'umbrella' organisation.

III. 'Matching' of social workers and clients/communities

Within the segregated welfare service delivery structures of the apartheid state it was almost the rule that individual clients or communities were served by front-line workers of the same population group (i.e. 'race') if not of the same ethnic or home language background. Exceptions were where social workers of the official White population group worked directly with Black, Coloured or Indian service users. Examples of black social workers serving white clients or communities were very rare and were officially frowned upon. Given the white dominance of the

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social work profession it was also commonplace for white social workers to act as supervisors and senior managers of black social workers in black welfare departments⁶.

In this situation the necessity, or even the opportunity, for social workers to work 'cross-culturally' (or, more accurately, across the population group boundaries) was very limited and certainly few, if any, social work training institutions were preparing future social workers to be 'culturally competent' in the positive sense. In the more liberally-minded training institutions and welfare agencies the 'progressive' focus was typically on extending the reach of the existing generic services towards disadvantaged mainly black communities. In the latter context a focus on positively accommodating cultural or ethnic difference through emphasising 'matching' of social worker and client and/or community by race and/or culture was typically seen as collusion with official segregationist policy.

At the same time however, outside of South Africa the issue of 'matching' service providers and users has been addressed as a practice with the potential to improve service delivery. As discussed in Chapter 4, this issue has been commonly raised within the social work literature that deals with multicultural and anti-discriminatory practice in the United States and the United Kingdom. The context in these countries, and therefore the salience of this issue, was however distinctively different as the focus involved a move from generic 'universalist' services, informed by white, Western models of social work service delivery, towards creating more appropriate services that better met the needs of marginalised ethnic and other minority groups. One of the options explored was that of ethnic-specific services, often staffed by members of the particular ethnic minority. Such services typically being provided either within voluntary sector, community-specific agencies or as specialist services within mainstream state or local authority social service departments. These options inevitably involve a degree of 'matching' of service providers and users of the same or similar ethnic, racial or religious backgrounds. While there are a multiplicity of views on this issue (see review in Chapter 4), the overall research-based consensus would appear to support the view that, on balance, the negative aspects of 'matching' outweigh the positive.

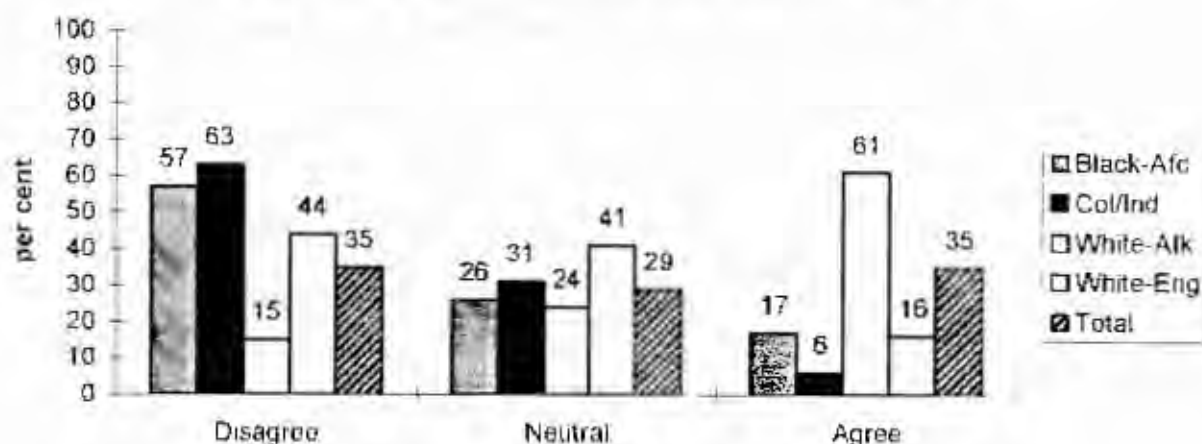
As set out below, *Item 11* sought to elicit the views of respondents as regards this issue⁷.

Item 11: Direct social work services are most effective when social workers on the one hand and clients communities on the other are matched according to similar ethnic, racial and/or cultural characteristics?

A. Closed responses of social work educators

Although educator responses were fairly evenly split across the three categories (see **Figure 8.4** below), when the responses were broken down by ethnic/race group some clear differences emerged. The sharpest contrast was that between White-Afk respondents, of whom two-thirds agreed with *Item 11* while the majority of Black-Afc and Col/Ind educators registered their disagreement. The White-Eng group was the most ambivalent and undecided on this issue.

Figure 8.4: Social work educators' responses to Item 11



B. Comments by social work educators

A fairly high majority of educators (72 per cent) chose to record comments which are categorised as follows:

1. Opposition to matching

Just over a third of those educators who recorded comments had disagreed that matching social workers to service users improved the effectiveness of social work services. These respondents were representative of all ethnic/race groups but with the fewest from the White-Afk group. About half of these educators were concerned that matching perpetuated differences:

Requires hard work when not the case but this would only entrench differences and maintain the status quo.

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A smaller subgroup expressed the view that matching should be unnecessary as skilled social workers should be able to work across differences of culture and ethnicity. As one educator confidently asserted:

All social workers are able to work in any race group. Social work skills are transferable in any situation and the values of social work should enable social workers to work with all people.

Other comments here pointed to the need to allow clients some degree of self-determination and choice as to the ethnicity and/or race of worker, and the importance of facilitating conditions in which empathy across differences is possible. The issue of the competency of social workers in the languages of service users was conspicuous by its absence and was mentioned by only one educator:

While language is important for communication to facilitate service delivery, attitude is more important. Paternalism or stereotyping should be guarded against by all social workers.

2. Ambivalence towards matching

Just less than a third of educators providing comments (from across all ethnic/race groups but with the highest proportion from the White-Eng group) remained neutral in response to *Item 11*. Most of these respondents commented on the advantages or disadvantages, or both, of matching and raised a number of aspects including that of competency and training,

The above appears logical but a good practitioner can overcome obstacles of difference between him/herself and the client.

the need for flexibility and the issue of language:

Is right, yet not right. Are advantages to social worker understanding group s/he is serving yet inflexible matching could perpetrate racial stereotyping. Language is perhaps more important.

and an acknowledgement of matching as not the main priority in current circumstances.

Interesting question which must be pursued under normalised circumstances⁸.

A few respondents stressed the need for training, skills and positive attitudes in order to overcome the challenges of working across cultural differences.

⁸ Interessante vraag wat onder genormaliseerde omstandigheden nagevolg moet word.

3. Matching preferred

The balance of those educators (half of which were White-Afk) providing comments agreed with the matching of service providers and users. Most felt that such a practice was preferable because it resulted in better understanding between social workers and clients.

Yes, because every group surely has its own values and norms. I ought to have a better understanding of my own.^a

Others felt similarly strongly and appeared to assert matching as normal and even essential.

This is still a prerequisite^b

and,

Speaks for itself! Language, values, approach and so on.^c

Yet other respondents were less certain and on balance felt that the advantages of improved effectiveness led them to support matching as a preferred option rather than an imperative.

Generally more effective but should not eliminate social workers being trained to work with and understand different groups

and,

Can contribute towards more sensitivity and understanding for each other's experiences and values^d

It is interesting to note that a few educators from both the first two categories made recourse to research backing, both for and against a policy of 'matching', for their views on this topic. In view of the mixed research results in this area (see Kadushin, 1990) this is hardly surprising.

C. Closed responses of social work students

In a similar pattern to that of educators, these responses are spread fairly evenly between disagreement, neutrality and agreement with the proposition that 'matching' of social work service providers and users along ethnic, racial and/or cultural lines is promotive of service effectiveness (see Figure 8.5 in Appendix N). The group-specific trends are also similar to those of educators with some minor differences (for example, responses from Col/Ind students are more evenly spread than those of their educator counterparts).

^a Ja, want elke groep het seker ook sy eie waardes en norme. Ek behoort seker 'n beter begrip vir my eie te he.

^b Dit is tog 'n voorvereiste.

^c Van selfsprekend! Taal, waardes, denking ens.

^d Kan bydra tot meer sensitiviteit en begrip vir mekaar se belewenisse en waardes.

D. Comments by social work students

Nearly two-thirds (64 per cent) of student respondents commented here and these were categorised as follows.

I. Discomfort with matching

Comments here followed respondents' disagreement with matching of service providers and users and three further subgroups were distinguishable. The first group (mainly Black-Afr and Col/Ind and a few White-Eng students) showed a 'strong' disagreement with matching based on concerns that this would promote continued separation, stereotyping and/or encourage ethnicity or even the continuation of apartheid. The second subgroup (mainly Black-Afr and Col/Ind and a few White-Afr students) tended to voice a 'weaker' disagreement and while acknowledging the existence of differences and obstacles felt these could and should be overcome.

You need not be of the same race to effectively be able to help people

and:

Not necessarily. Understanding is important and therefore sound knowledge is necessary. People do not necessarily have to stand in the same positions.⁹

The third subgroup (of all ethnic/race categories) tended to claim that social work skills and values are applicable across all client groups and stressed the responsibility of professional training for preparing social workers to function in multicultural and multiracial settings. One student's comment raised a number of general concerns regarding matching:

A social worker's competence is dependent on a range of factors and often ethnic, race, culture etc., is irrelevant. Making it relevant is again separatist and will feed prejudices, stereotypes and misunderstanding in our society. Where culture is relevant e.g. language, then considerations must be taken into account so that the client gets the best service. Barriers can be eradicated with contact but also increased with judgements and misunderstanding, so discretion must be used to discriminate when culture is relevant and when it is not.

⁹ Nie noodwendig nie. Begrip is belangrik en daarvoor is deeglike kennis nodig. Mense hoef nie noodwendig in dieselfde posisies te staan nie.

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2. Ambivalence towards matching

Respondents' comments here followed an undecided or equivocal rating regarding the issue of matching. Most comments here (from all ethnic/race groups except the White-Afk) pointed to the difficulties and challenges involved in multicultural-cultural, multi-lingual practice settings:

Not necessarily, depending on social worker's ability or skills. Does have its advantages though.

or

Not necessarily. It seems this way because cross-cultural interventions usually have not been sensitive to differences.

Where specific examples of 'differences' were given it was language, or communication more generally, that was named as an issue to be addressed. Three respondents (all Col/Ind) identified the need for proper communication in the language of the client/user as an acceptable reason for matching, for example:

Sometimes this is advantageous e.g. because of the diversity of languages it might be difficult for a worker who doesn't speak a client's particular language to communicate effectively with the client.

Interestingly the comments of a minority of students in this category (all Black-Afc or Col/Ind) appeared to be in conflict with their neutral scale score on this item as they clearly felt that matching should not be necessary - for example:

This has been influenced by the apartheid system in South Africa. All social workers black or white should be able to understand and tolerate any culture.

And even more emphatically:

We should start a process to do away with a black and white culture: the state ideological apparatus should be utilise[d] to promote reconciliation.

3. Support for 'matching'

Respondents commenting here agreed with the matching of social workers and their clients and/or client groups. The largest subgroup (predominantly Col/Ind and White-Afk but also two Black-Afc students) indicated their strong support for this practice through comments such as the following:

These people will be able to identify with them and genuinely be empathetic.

And:

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In such a case there will be better understanding between social worker and community⁸

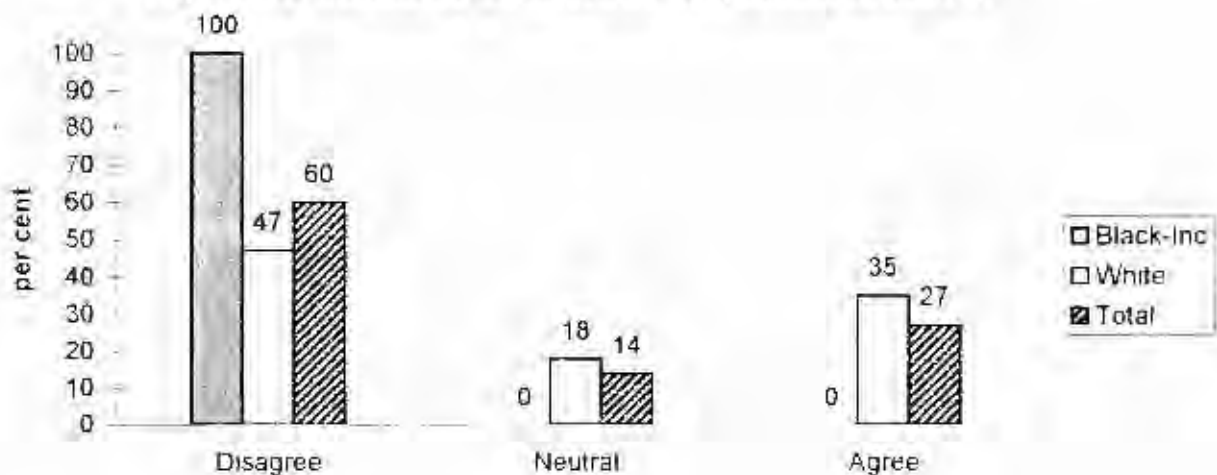
The balance of comments (from all ethnic/race groups) expressed 'weaker' agreement with matching and most students here felt that it should not be rigidly or exclusively used:

However, it does not mean that cross-cultural social work is not effective. It is the worker's priority to be sensitive to these issues.

E. Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

The score responses from fieldwork supervisors to *Item 11* (see **Figure 8.6** below) show a clear preference for rejecting matching of service providers and users as an option in contrast to the responses of educators and students. This is due mainly to the emphatic disagreement registered by all the Black-Inc group of supervisors⁹. It is also striking that White fieldwork supervisors (the majority of whom are White-Eng) were significantly more supportive, as well as less equivocal, of matching as a practice than were White-Eng educators or students.

Figure 8.6: Fieldwork supervisors' responses to Item 11



F. Comments by fieldwork supervisors

This item elicited a fairly high degree of interest from fieldwork supervisors in that 70 per cent of the total sample recorded comments. These are discussed in the following categories:

⁸ In so 'n geval sal daar beter begrip wees tussen m[aatskaplike] w[erker] en gemeenskap

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1. Clear disagreement with matching

Respondents here (both Black-Inc and White) indicated why they disagreed with matching as a practice. Generally the comments emphasised the importance of working across differences but also recognised the challenges, particularly that of language, involved. A few supervisors focused on the role of training and learning, the latter often *in situ* rather than classroom-based, in ensuring that social workers have the necessary skills to work cross-culturally:

Social work training and orientation should prepare people for work in communities. Nature of training should change to include more community-based learning.

One supervisor, obviously familiar with the challenges presented by practical difficulties, wrote of how the *absence* of such skills could, paradoxically, be empowering for user communities:

Not necessarily, there can be great empowerment of communities by the inabilities of the social worker/community worker. e.g. I've worked in a Xhosa speaking community: being English speaking, for 2 years. The community is basically in control and made to discuss and make decisions themselves¹⁰

The firmest response came from a supervisor who commented,

That encourages separatist thinking and no-one really learns to be responsible. Always someone to blame.

2. Ambivalence towards matching

Three (White) fieldwork supervisors expressed their ambivalence towards matching as an organisational policy seeing it as useful or necessary in some circumstances but also acknowledging the need for cross-cultural and/or language skills to be acquired by social workers, for example:

I'm in two minds about this - can be important sometimes - but can be overstated - 'unmatched' situations obviously require more work and awareness which is possible.

3. Support for matching

Of the four (White) respondents here who supported matching, two indicated an almost reluctant acceptance that some matching is inevitable at the present time but also looked forward to more 'culture-sensitive' and skilled social workers reducing the need for this in the future. A third supervisor was less optimistic as to how far training could overcome differences:

It is extremely difficult to render an appropriate service where one does not have a full understanding of the culture and training/education is different cultural practices don't give a full understanding.

G. Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors to Item 19c

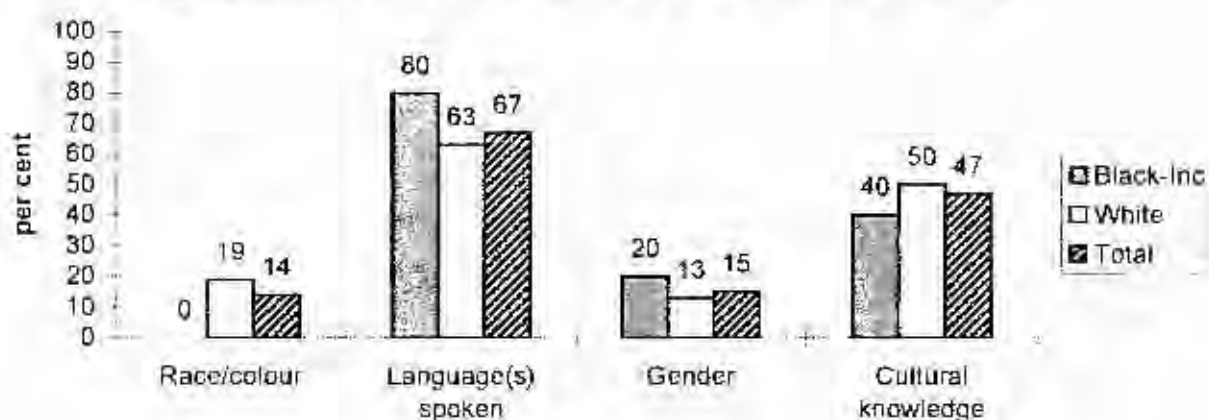
Apart from eliciting the views of the key participants in the social work education process on this issue, I was also interested in actual practice in those social work agencies and organisations in which social work students were placed for their practical training¹¹. Fieldwork supervisors were therefore asked the following question:

Item 19c: Does your agency/organisation attempt, where possible, to 'match' students with the clients/communities they will work with according to any of the following characteristics? Race/colour; Language skills; Gender; Cultural knowledge; Other.

In the absence of explicit policy in this regard, it would be expected that responses to this question would depend on who one asks - particularly around loaded issues such as matching¹². Despite this, I felt that these fieldwork supervisors would provide a useful indication of current practice and policy in the field without necessarily accurately reflecting the general policy and practice even within the sample of 20 organisations surveyed.

Figure 8.7 below records the proportion of supervisors who checked each of the four characteristics specified (see Tables 8.7a to d in Appendix I for detailed results)

Figure 8.7: Fieldwork Supervisors' responses to Item 19c



The prime reason given by fieldwork supervisors for the matching students and clients/communities in fieldwork placements is clearly that of language skills (two-thirds of respondents) followed by cultural knowledge (nearly half). Notably no Black-Inc supervisors

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reported any matching by race/colour whereas three White supervisors did so. Given the small number of Black-Inc respondents in this sample the differences in responses between the two 'colour' groups are insignificant and in addition the Black-Inc respondents here, with one exception, are from different organisations to their White colleagues.

The two supervisors who responded in the 'other' category (both White) identified 'sexual orientation' (in an agency dealing with sexuality and gay/lesbian issues) as well as the personal characteristics of students as reasons to match students and clients.

II. Comments by fieldwork supervisors to Item 19c

Seventy per cent of fieldwork supervisors recorded comments here. Three supervisors, all of whom did not record gender as a matching characteristic, noted that at times, and in relation to specific needs, client preferences or types of work, gender matching was carried out. Other supervisors emphasised that no matching was attempted either because of the small size of the agency or because they felt that sensitivity to, and knowledge of, different cultural groups was part of the learning process.

Language was mentioned by another three respondents as an issue. One supervisor indicated that the agency attempted to provide interpreters when a different language was an obstacle to communication and resorted to matching only if this was not possible. Another respondent felt that despite attempts to deliver a non-racial service, the ability of the worker to speak the language of the client was important. The third (White) supervisor commented that

Students have often played vital roles in assisting social workers as a result of 'same-language' placement.

The implication here, in an agency whose social workers at that time were predominantly white, is that black African students assisted agency social workers in situations where the latter could not speak the client's language (typically Xhosa or another African language). The use of social work students as interpreters, rather than as practitioners-in-training, is a contentious issue and is clearly open to abuse by the agency¹³

One supervisor indicated that careful matching was done in terms of the personal characteristics and the growth and learning needs of the students together with the needs of particular clients or client groups. Two others focused on the needs of the student and one commented:

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The student should not be exposed to an excessive, negative cultural shock to his/her growth.

IV. Communication and language proficiency

It is evident from the concerns that have been expressed in the earlier sections of this chapter around the structuring and organisation of social work services that the issue of adequate communication between service providers and users is a central one. While there is room for contention as to what extent cultural knowledge and sensitivity is useful or important in social worker-client interaction, it is difficult to avoid the fundamental question of whether the client can actually be heard and understood even on the most basic level of information sharing or gathering. And, typically, the communication problem in the South African welfare context is not that of minority groups or immigrants speaking strange or unusual languages, but of the lack of capacity of many social work organisation personnel to speak indigenous languages that are spoken by the large majority of the population.

This issue, and the available solutions, has been reviewed in Chapter 4 where I argued that the availability of appropriate linguistic competencies within social work service agencies was an issue that needed serious attention. Given that, in 1993, welfare was on the cusp of change with the strong likelihood, if not inevitability, that social work services would be integrated under a new dispensation, I wished to gauge the attitudes of respondents to the question of communication in social work settings. This was done, firstly, by asking the following question:

Item 14: In view of the diverse languages spoken in South Africa, communication between social workers and clients/communities speaking different languages is a significant problem.

Secondly, I wished to canvass the views of respondents as to whether, and how, language competency should be addressed in undergraduate social work training programmes (see *Item 22* below).

A. Closed responses of social work educators (Item 14)

A high proportion of educators (85 per cent) agreed that the linguistic diversity of South Africa creates problems for adequate communication between social workers and clients and/or

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communities (see **Figure 8.8** in **Appendix N** for detail). It is notable however that over a quarter of Black-Afc educators disagreed or were neutral with regard to this statement while on the other hand almost all Col/Ind and White-Eng educators agreed.

B. Comments by social work educators (Item 14)

Over two-thirds (71 per cent) of educators provided comments and these are discussed within the following categories:

1. A significant problem

Educators commenting here (from all race/ethnic groups) all agreed that language diversity in South Africa poses a significant problem for communication between social workers and clients. One educator summed up the problem as follows:

The majority of social workers in SA cannot speak an African language - while the majority of our clients are black.

while another respondent identified a reason why matching of social work student and clients was often resorted to:

This has been made very clear when supervising field practice and has often resulted in placing students in placements with their own community.

A (White-Afk) educator felt that the problem was also a subtle one that existed within a single language (Afrikaans) as it was spoken by people with different backgrounds:

Even Afrikaans speakers with different cultural backgrounds give different meanings to the same word and sometimes misunderstand each other^a

Some respondents proposed solutions to the problem in their comments. For some it was straightforward:

More white people must speak a black language^b

while other educators felt the solution to linguistic diversity was a resort to a common language of communication:

It is a problem which can be overcome through the use of one common official language like English while retaining the mother tongue.

^a Selfs Afrikaansprekendes met verskillende kultuuragtergronde tog verskillende betekenise aan dieselfde woord en verstaan mekaar soms verkeerd.

^b Meer wit mense moet 'n swart taal leer praat.

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A third educator combined these two solutions and suggested:

We will all have to be able to speak English and at least one black language

While there was almost no reference to how these linguistic competencies would be achieved, one educator proposed that social work training itself was a place to start:

Yes, although this is still a problem, working towards a solution through elementary courses taught at university while students are training will go a long way towards bridging this gap.

2. A challenge rather than a problem

Most of the few comments that followed neutral scores (almost all from Black-Afc and White-Afk respondents) acknowledged that language diversity presented social work with a challenge:

This is an obstacle, but (is) not unsurmountable^a.

A handful of respondents who disagreed that language diversity was a problem (mostly Black-Afc and White-Afk educators) acknowledged however that ways to overcome the communication gap were required and/or that increased competency in other languages was ideal:

No, there are always ways to overcome this, although it is a wonderful advantage to be able to speak the client's language^b.

Another (Black-Afc) educator echoed the view (see above) that a part of the problem was the unwillingness of white South Africans to learn African languages:

Whites are making it a problem. From my experiential viewpoint it is possible for one to know the languages of other people in the neighbourhood. E.g. whites are not prepared to learn African languages. This was intensified when the dept. of education declared English and Afrikaans as 'official' languages.

Another educator made a more contentious claim for the centrality of English and/or Afrikaans at the same time as minimising language as an obstacle:

This could be - in my experience black Africans wish to speak English and also many South Africans speak English and Afrikaans. Anyway, what is truly human can transcend barriers such as language. This is a limitation not a 'significant problem'.

^a Dit is 'n belemming, maar nie onoorkonkbaar nie.

^b Nee wat, daar is altyd maniere om dit te oorbrug, hoewel dit 'n wonderlik voordeel is om kliente se taal te kan praat.

C. Closed responses of social work students (Item 14)

Almost all social work students (92 per cent) felt strongly that linguistic diversity created a significant communication problem (see **Figure 8.9** in **Appendix N**). Very small proportions of students across all ethnic/race groups either disagreed or remained neutral with regard to this view.

D. Comments by social work students

More than half of the social work student respondents (57 per cent) provided comments which are discussed within the following categories:

I. The problem and some solutions

Most social work students here (from all ethnic/race groups) who agreed that communication between clients and social workers was a significant problem due to language diversity provided comments reiterative of *Item 14*. Some pointed to specific problems of either information gathering and assessment or empathy building that existed where language competencies differed between worker and client. A few (White-Afk) student respondents tended to locate the problem primarily within specific communities or rural areas (rather than with social work agencies themselves)¹:

Especially with regard to 'backward' black and brown communities where Afrikaans and English are not spoken^a.

and,

Especially in certain rural areas^b.

Other respondents either explicitly or implicitly proposed solutions to the situation and these tended to be in two groups. The first group felt that social workers should learn more languages and especially Black African languages.

I think that it is important that social workers especially have command of a third language, preferably a 'black language'^c.

^a Veral t.o.v. 'agtergebewe' swart en bruin gemeenskappe waar afr[ikaans] en eng[els] nie gepraat word nie.

^b Verbal op sekere plattelandse gebiede.

^c Ek dink dat dit NB is dat mnr veral 'n derde taal, verkiestlik 'n swart taal kan bemagtig.

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The second group saw the need to use English as a medium of communication in social work practice:

People should know one language, especially English for effective communication.

Clearly, given the demographic profile of social workers, such a solution puts the onus on clients who speak indigenous languages acquire competency in a common language. One student respondent saw a combination of the two options as the preferable solution:

English should be used as a means of communication, and the learning of a 3rd language should also be a priority.

Another student (a Col-Afk student from an historically black university) noted the contrast between the language of formal academic instruction on campus (English) and the indigenous language of client communities she/he worked with during practical training (Afrikaans)⁵:

For example, on campus English is made use of to a large extent and when talking to the client-system in practice it is on a much lower level (Afrikaans)⁶.

2. Minimising the problem

Two students supplied comments following their neutral rating of *Item 14*. One (Black-Afk) student felt that communication was not a major problem claiming that approximately 80 per cent of people could speak English. In line with similar comments by others in category 1, above, the other (White-Afk) student felt that communication was mainly a problem in 'Black areas' and not elsewhere. Of the three student respondents who disagreed with *Item 14* two felt that social workers should learn a few languages. The other felt that social workers should simply make use of available others as interpreters.

E. Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors (Item 14)

The same high proportion (85 per cent) of fieldwork supervisors as educators (see **Figure 8.10** in **Appendix N**) agreed that communication between social workers and clients due to language diversity is problematic. Interestingly however no fieldwork supervisor was neutral on this issue and a small proportion (15 per cent) disagreed with the statement in *Item 14*.

⁵ Bv. op kampus word 'n groot mate van Engels gebruik gemaak en wanneer met die kliëntsisteem gepraat word in praktyk is dit op 'n veel laer vlak (Afrikaans).

F. Comments by fieldwork supervisors (Item 14)

Less than half (43 per cent) of fieldwork supervisors offered comments here with most of these agreeing that language diversity creates significant communication problems. Two supervisors felt that, although difficult, it is possible to achieve satisfactory communication. Two further supervisors identified the cause of the problem as the mismatch between the languages spoken by most social workers (i.e. Afrikaans and English) and the African languages spoken by the majority of social work clients while another suggested that the use of 'translators' was a solution.

Two respondents noted that it was the responsibility of social work practitioners to learn the languages of their clients with one suggesting that this should begin during social work training. The one supervisor who disagreed with *Item 14*, took the view that such communication problems were confined mainly to 'rural' areas.

G. Closed responses of social work educators (Item 22)

Social work students in training have different home language and second language competencies depending on their ethnic/cultural, regional, social class and educational backgrounds. Even though the majority of South African social work students would have had to learn both English and Afrikaans as school subjects, at least at a second language level, up to their final year of secondary schooling, their capacity to actually use one or both of these languages in a professional communication context would vary considerably. On the other hand most Coloured⁶ Indian and White students⁷, at least at the time of the survey in 1993, would not have had the option of learning an African language as a school subject and therefore it would have been rare for any individual student from these groups to have any meaningful competence in such a language.

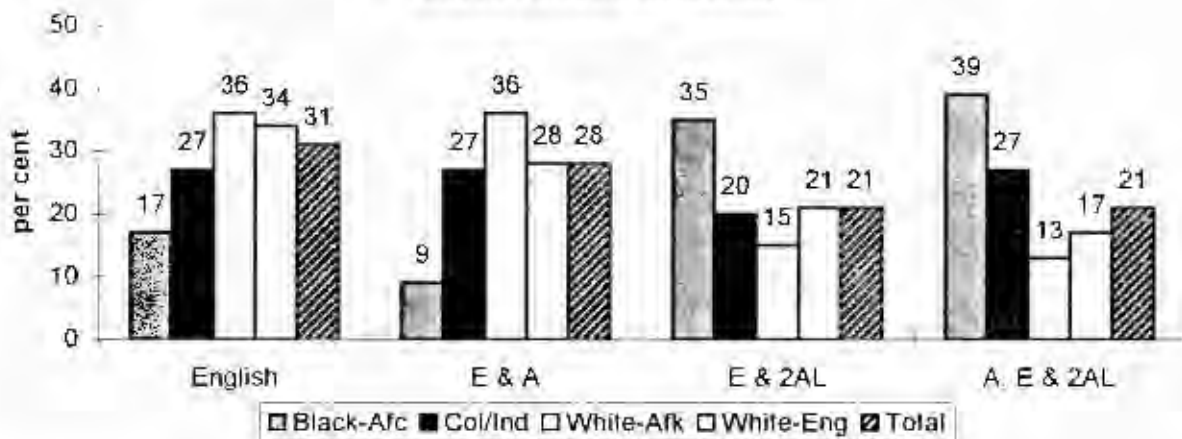
In view of this diversity, social work educators were asked the following question:

Item 22: In what languages, other than their home language, do you think social work students should have a basic proficiency by the end of their undergraduate training?

Respondents were asked to list these languages under population group (i.e. Black, Coloured, Indian and White) headings (see *Item 22* of the questionnaire in *Appendix B* for the full layout) While recognising that home or second/third language competencies are related to a variety of factors, I felt that population group categories would, at least in part, allow respondents to address the different language competencies they felt students from different backgrounds should acquire. The closed responses were grouped according to the language, or languages, in which respondents felt it necessary for social work students of different population group categories to acquire basic proficiency^a

Educators' responses in respect of Black African students grouped into four language competency options over and above their home language(s) which would typically include at least one African language.

Figure 8.11a: Social work educators' responses to Item 22 (Black African students)



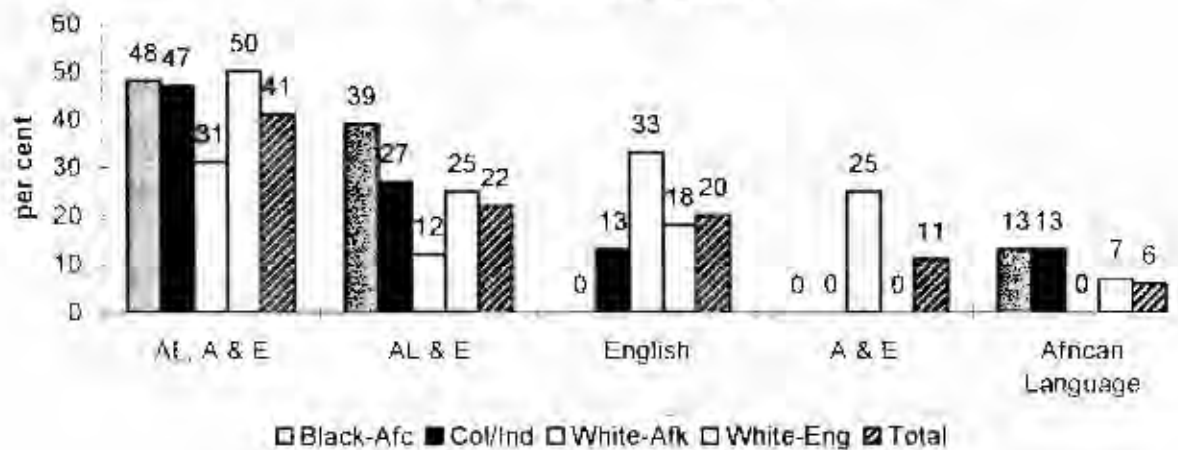
Substantial proportions of educators recorded preferences across all four of these language combinations with the largest proportions favouring English, or English and Afrikaans (Figure 8.11a above). A large majority of Black-Afc educators (84 per cent) clearly favour competency in a second African language as well as English or English and Afrikaans (39 per cent). On the other

^a The acronyms used in the figures are AL for African languages, E for English and A for Afrikaans, 2AL refers to a second African language (in the case of African students) and 2xAL refers to two African languages (in the case of Coloured/Indian and White students).

hand, the majority of White-Afk and White-Eng educators regard competency in the home African language (plus English, or English and Afrikaans) as sufficient for Black African students.

Interestingly, while basic proficiency in English is regarded as a universal requirement for black students by all respondents, only half of White-Afk educators include Afrikaans as a required competency for Black African social work graduates. Somewhat unexpectedly nearly half of Black-Afc educators include competency in Afrikaans as necessary for Black students.

Figure 8.11b: Social work educators' responses to Item 22 (Coloured students)



Educators' responses in respect of Coloured students are grouped into five language competency combinations (see Figure 8.11b above) with a clear preference for the Afrikaans, English and African language combination. As it can be reasonably assumed that Coloured students are generally competent speakers of both Afrikaans and English, the key issue here is whether proficiency in an African language is perceived to be a requirement. Over two-thirds of educators felt that this should be the case. While all Black-Afc, and high majorities of Col/Ind and White-Eng, educators indicated basic proficiency in an African language as important for Coloured students, less than half of White-Afk respondents did so.

The response profile in respect of Indian students (see Figure 8.11c in Appendix N) was almost identical to that for Coloured students with the majority of educators suggesting that Indian students should have a basic competency in an African language. The same sharp differences between White-Afk educators on the one hand, and Black-Afc, Col/Ind and White-Eng educators on the other, regarding this proficiency in an African language emerged.

The pattern of response as far as White students was generally very similar as that for Coloured and Indian students (see **Figure 8.11d** in **Appendix N**). Just under half of all educators indicated that basic proficiency in all three of English, Afrikaans and an African language should be a requirement for White students. Again very similar response differences between race/ethnic categories of educators are evident with all Black-Afr educators regarding knowledge of an African language as essential and only half of White-Afr educators doing so¹⁸.

H. Comments by social work educators (Item 22)

Nearly two-thirds of social work educators respondents (64 per cent) chose to record comments here. Given the wide spectrum of responses, it was difficult to group all the comments in distinct categories that do not overlap. The bulk of comments however are discussed within the following categories:

1. A multilingual ideal

Nearly a third of educators who provided comments had opted for social work students having multiple language proficiency and their subsequent commentary provided reasons for this inclusive approach on the issue. Most comments saw multilingualism as the ideal.

Language provides access to cultural understanding and ideally everyone should have a knowledge of as many languages as possible.

A few educators were specific that a triad of Afrikaans, English and an African language should be the norm:

Everyone in South Africa should be able to speak Afrikaans and English and at least one African language – must be taken at school and be compulsory¹⁹

While these or similar comments were made by educators from all race/ethnic groups, they were substantially higher from Black-Afr and Col/Ind groups.

Another subset of respondents (all Col/Ind, White-Afr and White-Eng educators) agreed that a degree of multilingual proficiency was required but felt that the region of the country in which the student social worker practised should determine which specific languages should be learnt.

¹⁸ Almal in SA behoort Afr. en Eng. te kan praat en ten minste een Afrika taal – moet al op skool geneem word – afgedwing word.

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However none of these respondents tackled the consequential issue of how the future workplace of current students would be anticipated and they therefore, by implication, tended to shift the responsibility for the teaching of such regional languages to the agency or organisation.

2. English as a South African *lingua franca*

The next largest response category was of those respondents who saw English as a 'universal' language that actually or potentially provided a *lingua franca* for the peoples of South Africa. A large subgroup (mainly White-Afk respondents) justified this view either in terms of the international status of English, or the local acceptability of English to most South Africans:

Acceptable to most. English is also already the second language in all schools. Will be easier. There are too many black dialects and Afrikaans is too limited⁵.

One Black-AfC respondent went further and saw English as exerting a unifying function:

It is advantageous to know more than one language. However English should be regarded as a basic language which will serve as a unifying force.

Yet others considered this option preferable in terms of being realistic:

We must not be unrealistic in training. Everyone can strive towards one homogeneous language, which is probably English⁶.

Another significant subgroup (a quarter of Black-AfC and a third of White-Eng educators) took the view that while English should be the basic universal language acquired it was also important to encourage proficiency in at least one African language:

English is essential. An African language will assist with entry into cultural linguistics which demonstrates sensitivity to thinking and behaviour.

3. Afrikaans and English as national languages

The next largest category consisted of those educators (all White-Afk) who regarded proficiency in both Afrikaans and English as essential, scoring these two languages almost exclusively for all students. Most of these educators added that expectations that an African language, or languages, be also acquired were either impractical or unnecessary. African languages, from this point of

⁵ Aanvaarbaar vir meeste, is [Engels] ook reeds 2de taal in alle skole. Sal makliker wees. Daar is te veel swart dialekte en Afrikaans is te beperk.

⁶ Ons moet nie onrealisties in opleiding word nie. Almal kan streef na een homogene taal, wat waarskynlik Engels is.

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view, were seen as 'nice-to-have' additions to linguistic competence but as too numerous, or ethnically-specific, to be included in the university-based training of social workers, for example:

The necessity of knowing an African language should be pointed out during training but in my opinion there should be no compulsion placed on this. (Which one should then be chosen?)⁹

or,

Afrikaans and English are the country's acknowledged mediums of instruction (national languages) and training cannot make provision for a multiplicity of other ethnic languages¹⁰.

A theme here is the privileging of English and Afrikaans as established national or official languages over African languages that are seen as too regional and group specific to carry national status, thus perpetuating their marginal status.

4. Priority to African languages

A small but significant category consisted of predominantly Black-Afr respondents (plus one Col/Ind and White-Eng each) felt that, in view of historical neglect and/or new political and demographic realities, African languages should receive priority amongst new languages to be learnt by student social workers:

Many social cases in social work agencies are mainly Black clients. Our colleagues (Indians, Coloureds and Whites) SHOULD understand African languages.

The comment of the White-Eng educator is in similar vein but appears to take competence in English rather for granted:

I guess someone needs to be able to work in Afrikaans but if [a] new language should be learnt it should be African.

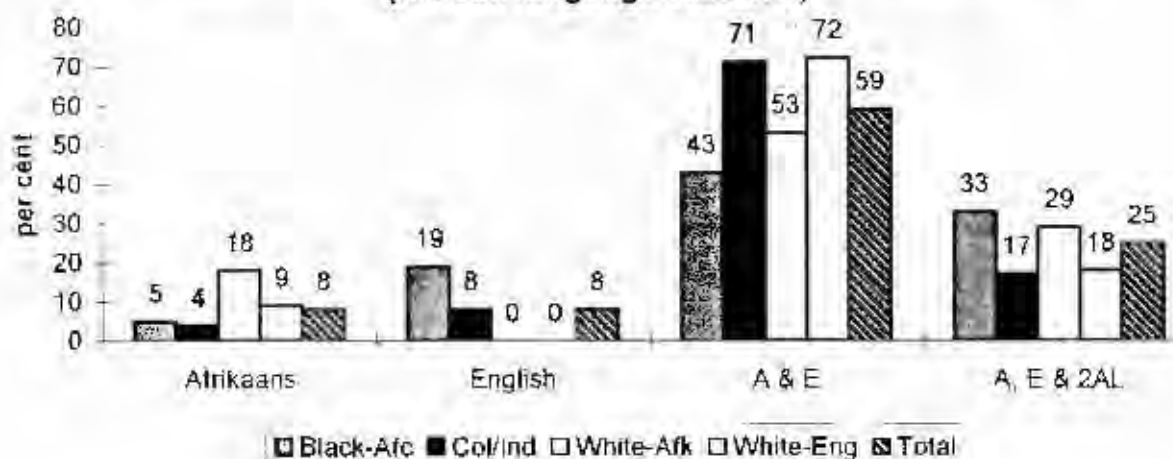
1. Closed responses of social work students (Item 22)

In the student and fieldwork supervisor questionnaires the format of Item 22 was adjusted so that respondents were asked to specify the language(s) in which social work students should acquire basic proficiency according to home language categories (an African language, Afrikaans or English) rather than population group¹¹:

⁹ Die noodsaaklikheid van kennis van 'n Afrika-taal behoort tydens opleiding aangedui te word maar ek is van mening dat daar geen verpligting opgele behoort te word nie. (Watter een moet dan so gekies word?).

¹⁰ Afrikaans en Engels is die land se erkende voertale (landstaal) en die opleiding kan nie voorsiening maak vir 'n veelheid van ander etniese tale nie.

Figure 8.12a: Social work students' responses to Item 22 (African language students)



Social work students' responses (see **Figure 8.12a** above) differed from of social work educators in that very low proportions of student respondents opted for either English or Afrikaans only as additional language competencies for African language students. The major language groupings chosen were a combination of Afrikaans and English, followed by this combination plus an second African language. The fact that Afrikaans shows up with such a high language preference (92 per cent) of all student respondents (as against the 49 per cent of educators), most likely reflects the Western Cape base of the student sample.

In respect of the language competencies desirable for social work students whose home language is Afrikaans (see **Figure 8.12b** in **Appendix N**), nearly two-thirds of all student respondents opted for basic proficiency in English and one African language. Most of the remainder of respondents opted instead for proficiency in English and two African languages²⁷ with very small numbers indicating a preference for English or an African language only. Surprisingly, proportionately more White-Afk students (39 per cent) than any other group opted for additional competency in English and two African languages while only a relatively low proportion (17 per cent) of White-Eng students (who might be expected to be more 'liberal' and inclusive in orientation) did so.

Most student respondents felt that English-speaking social work students should have basic proficiency in Afrikaans and an African language while most of the balance felt that proficiency in both Afrikaans and two African languages was desirable (see **Figure 8.12c** in **Appendix N**).

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Interestingly, and in contrast to all other race/ethnic groups, nearly half of Black-Afe respondents felt that English-speaking students should gain proficiency in Afrikaans and two, rather than one, African languages²⁷

J. Comments by social work students (Item 22)

Comments were provided by just over half of social work students and they divide into the following categories

1. A multilingual ideal

The majority of student respondents providing comments saw an inclusive multilingual proficiency as the preferred option. There was a clear recognition by most that this meant asserting the importance of learning indigenous African languages:

The majority of clients are black, [therefore] we will have to learn their language."

and,

An African language is as important as English/Afrikaans in S.A. and it encourages sensitivity to those you serve.

A significant number of comments in this category, either explicitly or by implication, pointed out that given the number of indigenous South African languages the selection of which were to be learnt should be determined by regional factors

2. English as a South African *lingua franca*

A much smaller group of respondents (all either Black-Afe or Col/Ind students) expressed the view that the importance of English, as a South African *lingua franca* and/or as an essential medium of communication between groups with different home languages, would increase:

In the democratic South Africa, English will be the medium of communication.

and,

In the new South Africa we are fighting for non-racism but the medium language [sic] is English, everybody must be able to express himself in English.

From this point of view English appears to have positive connotations with democracy and a relatively 'neutral' means of communication which is reinforced by its international acceptability.

²⁷ Die meerderheid klemme is swart, ons sal hulle taal moet aanleer.

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as distinct from it being 'owned' by any local ethnic or linguistic grouping. Interestingly there was negligible support for this perspective from either social work educator or student English speakers and it has most support from respondents whose home language is indigenously South African (i.e. African languages and Afrikaans). There is also some anecdotal evidence of a degree of controversy surrounding this issue amongst black South Africans indicating that this issue is far from settled²².

K. Language proficiency policies and practices in social work education

It is useful to place the views of respondents in the context of educational practice at the time. The separate follow-up survey of the Heads of Social Work Departments in tertiary institutions addressed this issue by asking the following question (see **Appendix E**).

Does your Department require social work students to gain proficiency in any language other than the medium of instruction of the Department?

As either English or Afrikaans (or both in dual-medium institutions²³) were the only two languages of instruction in all local institutions, a proficiency requirement could effectively apply to either Afrikaans (in HWI-Eng and HBI institutions) or English (in HWI-Afrik institutions) or an African language in any institution.

Of the eighteen (86 per cent) Heads of Department (HOD's) who responded to the questionnaire, only four, all HOD's of Social Work in HWI-Afrik institutions, asserted that they had such a language proficiency requirement. Two of these were for proficiency in English, one was for 'any language of the student's choice' and the fourth requirement was for 'any third language' which implied a language other than Afrikaans or English but no detail was given. The HOD of an HWI-Eng department stressed that, while no formal language requirement existed, black students were encouraged to gain proficiency in English and white students to learn an African language²⁴.

The HOD's were also asked if they anticipated any changes in their language requirement policy over the following five years. Three HOD's, all from HWI-Eng departments, answered affirmatively and indicated that either discussion was taking place, or plans being made, around the introduction of a course of instruction in an African language for social work students. One

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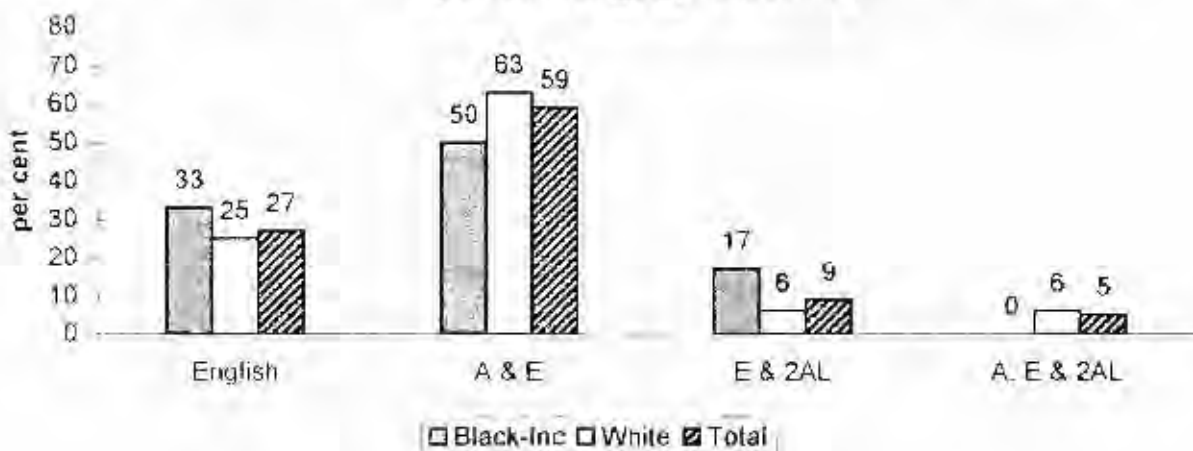
HOD from an HWI-Afk department and one from an HBI department indicated that the possibility existed that language requirements would be considered. All the other HOD's (n=13) indicated that no immediate changes in their current policy were anticipated.

It is striking, although hardly surprising, that no Social Work Department required even basic conversational proficiency in any African language. In addition, requirements for Afrikaans and English proficiency are not standard practice in most social work departments who would appear either to assume such competency (based on students' secondary education) or depend on social work agencies/work experience to provide this²⁷.

L. Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors (Item 22)

With respect to social work students whose home language is an African language, a high proportion of fieldwork supervisors regard basic proficiency in Afrikaans and English as sufficient while just over a quarter opt for additional proficiency in English only (see Figure 8.13a below). Support for Afrikaans by the Black-Inc supervisors tends to be consistently lower (and conversely the support for English higher) than that shown by the White supervisors.

Figure 8.13a: Fieldwork Supervisors' responses to Item 22 (African language students)



In respect of Afrikaans-speaking students (see Figure 8.13b in Appendix N) three-quarters of the supervisors felt that proficiency in both English and an African language is adequate with the balance split evenly between requiring English and two African languages and English only. Black-Inc supervisors showed a relatively lower level of support for the English and an African

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language combination and relatively higher support for English plus two African languages than do White supervisors.

With regard to English-speaking social work students, a large majority of fieldwork supervisors indicate that basic proficiency in Afrikaans and an African language is desirable (see **Figure 8.13c** in **Appendix N**). The balance of responses are fairly evenly spread between the remaining options. In contrast to White supervisors, a significant proportion (a quarter) of the Black-Inc group regard the addition of one African language as adequate for English-speaking students.

M. Comments by fieldwork supervisors (Item 22)

Over a half of fieldwork supervisors provided comments and these fell into two groups similar to those for social work students:

1. A multilingual ideal

The majority of fieldwork supervisors' comments indicated support for a multilingual and inclusive approach to language proficiency for social work students. Almost without exception fieldwork supervisors indicated the need to adapt this to the region in which the student would work:

Depends on where they live and study - Afrikaans is important in Cape Town but may not be in e.g. Natal. Would qualify these answers according to area.

It is not surprising that social work practitioners with experience in the field would be very aware of the specificity of language usage both locally and nationally.

2. English as a South African *lingua franca*

The remaining three comments by fieldwork supervisors focused on the key role of English as a means of communication between all linguistic groups, but did so within the multilingual ideal above:

We need to seek a common language and English seems to be it - other than that I believe every South African should be proficient in English, Afrikaans and an African language.

This recurrent theme of English as either actually, or potentially, a 'neutral' and common language was again expressed by non-English speakers (one Black-Inc and one White-Afk respondent).

N. Language proficiency and social work practice in the Western Cape

As part of the follow up fieldwork supervisor survey, directors or heads of the fieldwork agencies in which these staff worked were requested for information on language proficiency policy within their own agency. They were asked the following (see **Question 8** in **Appendix F**):

Language policy. Does your agency organisation have any specific language policies regarding either official language(s) of the agency or those languages required to be spoken by social work staff? (In particular do you provide in-service language training for staff wishing needing to speak an African language?)

Nineteen directors/heads (86 per cent of all respondents) provided comment here. There was little sense of any clear language policy being in place in the majority of agencies and most respondents tended to give descriptions of current practice. No agency felt they had an 'official' language or languages that served as an agency medium of communication, but a few noted that in practice English and/or Afrikaans was used predominantly for internal agency communication. About half of the agency heads felt that the predominant Western Cape languages (Afrikaans, English and Xhosa) were needed to be spoken by at least someone in the agency, while four agencies felt that staff competency in Afrikaans and English was sufficient.

Five agency heads commented that staff who could not speak an African language were encouraged to learn Xhosa and that voluntary conversation classes were either offered internally or that staff were assisted in enrolling for an externally run course. Two further agencies were proposing to run, or provide access to, such classes within the next year or two. It was quite clear from the responses that no agency compelled staff to attend language courses - however the one university-based agency, which was largely staffed by psychology and social work student interns, noted that as from 1998 all student interns would have to have basic proficiency in an African language²⁴

It was evident that, compared to social work education departments, at least some social work agencies were at least beginning to address the language issue and a few are making efforts to equip staff with skills in the greatest area of language deficit - the inability of non-African social work staff to communicate, even at a basic level, in an African language. In this respect, the more

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detailed response of one head should be noted here. She/he felt strongly that basic conversational skills were insufficient in a context in which detailed and in-depth communication in the language of the client was needed (sexual abuse and trauma cases in a children's hospital) and that African language teaching needed to start at secondary school level rather than at university or in-agency. This head also pointed out that the use of interpreters was far from ideal in these settings and that there was therefore an urgent need to recruit and retain Xhosa-speaking social workers.

V. Summary and concluding comments

On the issue of the *organisation of social work services*, the vast majority of social work educators, students and fieldwork supervisors were opposed to the continuance of separate services for 'national'/ethnic groups (the policy still in place at the time) and strongly supported a vision of such services being fully integrated. However almost all respondents indicated a preference for such services also being sensitive to issues of culture, ethnicity and race. However substantial proportions, nearly a half in the case of educators and two-thirds in the case of students and supervisors, simultaneously supported integrated 'generic' services that did not focus specifically on issues of culture and race.

Numerically small but nevertheless significant minorities of respondents (from all race/ethnic groups) preferred the 'universal' integrated option rather than the 'culture-sensitive' integrated option and some expressed misgivings regarding what they saw as apartheid resonances with any approach that institutionalised 'differences'. An even smaller minority of respondents (mostly White-Afk educators) favoured the continuation of separate services for 'national' and/or ethnic groups. In the commentary there was sparse evidence of educators having much familiarity with the international literature dealing with social and cultural diversity issues.

The responses from respondents regarding the *matching of social workers and clients/communities* were fairly evenly split between agreement, disagreement and neutrality indicating a high degree of ambivalence or uncertainty by those involved in social work education. Once again however, clear differences between the race/ethnic groups emerged with, generally speaking, the majority of Black-Afk and Col/Ind respondents opposing matching, the majority of White-Afk respondents supporting matching and White-Eng respondents more undecided or ambivalent on the issue.

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Those who opposed matching tended to express fears that attempts to match social workers and clients, even for positive culture or language-sensitive reasons, would merely perpetuate the separatist and discriminatory status quo that existed in social work services at the time. Respondents who supported the practice of matching did so in view of the benefits to be gained from the sharing of both common cultural values/norms and languages which, it was felt, would improve empathy and understanding between client and worker. Others felt matching was often a practical necessity for even basic communication and rapport to be established. Those who were more undecided tended to express their ambivalence by identifying both positive and negative aspects similar to those discussed above. Fieldwork supervisors gave indications that they tended to match students on fieldwork placement with clients or communities firstly by language skills, and then by cultural knowledge. Matching by gender was also considered in particular areas of work.

There was clearly strong support from all respondents for the view that *communication* between social workers and clients speaking different languages is a significant problem in South Africa. A not insignificant quarter of Black-Afe educators either disagreed or were neutral on this issue however. The two main solutions to this problem that began to emerge here (and came out more fully in the next item - see below) were firstly, the need for non-black African social workers to learn indigenous African languages and secondly, the potential, which some felt was already a reality, for English to be common language of communication for all South Africans.

With respect to the issue of *language proficiency* for undergraduate social work students there was clearly general support from the majority of survey respondents, at least in principle, for a multilingual proficiency for students from all population and linguistic groups. There are however distinct response patterns, firstly, as to which languages should form part of such multilingualism, secondly, the priority and importance to be given to each language, and thirdly, whether there should be a regional emphasis. I have attempted to summarise these overall patterns through focusing on how respondents viewed the relative importance of each language or language group.

There was clear majority support from all respondent groups for **English** as a language in which all social work students should have basic competency. As has been noted above, English was

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viewed by many as a common language of communication that, quite apart from its own group or ethnic association, has a relatively neutral and truly national status as a 'world' language. Most respondents therefore accepted the dominance of English in many spheres of communication and appeared to endorse its continuing high and/or generic status. Interestingly, a significant subgroup of White-Afk educators fell into this category and were more likely than their colleagues to opt for English as a language of competence at the partial expense of Afrikaans (this trend must be seen in the context of the relatively low priority given by this group to African languages - see below).

As regards **African languages**, two main response patterns were apparent. High majorities of Col/Ind, White-Eng and Black-Afc (100 per cent for educators) educator respondents, and all race/ethnic groups of student and fieldwork supervisor respondents, felt that Coloured, Indian and White social work students should have basic competency in an African language. On the other hand, less than half of White-Afk educator respondents took such a position which effectively means that more than a half of these educators felt that Coloured, Indian and White students need competence in Afrikaans and English only. There is therefore a significant gulf between the views of White-Afk educators, on the one hand, and White-Afk students and the rest of the respondents, on the other, as to this issue. It is noteworthy that a high three-quarters of Black-Afc educators felt that Black-Afc students should acquire basic proficiency in a second African language in addition to their home language while only one-third of Black-Afc student respondents felt similarly.

With respect to social work students' competence in **Afrikaans**, the response pattern was remarkably uniform for all race/ethnic educator respondent groups. Around a half of all race/ethnic educator groups felt that all social work students should have basic proficiency in Afrikaans. Much larger majorities of student and fieldwork supervisor respondents however felt that it was important for Black-Afc and all English-speaking students to have proficiency in Afrikaans. As noted previously the latter result is largely explained by the (Western Cape) regional nature of these two respondent groups. Overall very few of the educator respondents specifically mentioned the influence of regional differences on which languages should receive priority in the training of social workers while student and fieldwork supervisor respondents were far more likely to do so.

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Despite the strong support for non-Black-Afric students to have proficiency in an African language registered above, social work educational institutions were doing virtually nothing at the time to equip social work students with such linguistic proficiency. While a handful of departments in tertiary institutions required students to have proficiency in either English or an 'other' language of the students' choice, no department had any specific requirement as regards proficiency in an African language. Although still inadequate in terms of communication needs, more was being done by social work agencies in the Cape Town area to assist their staff to gain at least some proficiency in Xhosa, the predominant local African language. Whether agencies in other areas of the country were making similar efforts or not it seems social work education at the time was, in effect, passing on this language problem, and the task of addressing it, to agencies for them to deal with once social work graduates were in employment.

I now turn to the area of educational practice and more specifically to the views of social work respondents, and educators in particular, as to how issues of culture and race should be addressed in the social work curriculum in order that students are prepared for practice in a post-apartheid welfare system.

Notes to Chapter 8

- 1 As pointed out in Chapter 4, language and culture are closely intertwined and an adequate cultural understanding is partly dependent on knowledge of the language of a particular group just as the proper learning of a language involves an understanding of its cultural content.
- 2 In terms of separate development (ie apartheid) policy the different population or ethnic groups were seen as actual or potential "nations" who would ultimately be accommodated in their own politically and economically separate "homelands" within a balkanised South Africa. I have used this term here deliberately in order to indicate a continuation of the pre-1994 status quo.
- 3 The intention here was to describe a service model that was both sensitive to cultural issues but also took into account the differential experiences of different 'race'/population groups within South Africa up that point. This was intended to allow for consideration of the experience of racism, discrimination and oppression, for example. I have used the shorthand of 'culture-sensitive' to refer to this model in subsequent discussion.
- 4 See Tables 8.1a and 8.2a in Appendix J and the discussion under *Item 9a-c* in Appendix N for details.
- 5 For instance, the relatively strong rejection by White educators of the separate services option could well be related to the different relationship educators and students have to the welfare structures and services of the apartheid era. The separate services option, and the explicit framing of it in terms of 'national' or ethnic groups, is clearly, and intentionally, redolent of the 'separate development' policies and practices of the previous Afrikaner Nationalist government. The 'strong' disagreement of educators may therefore signal an attempt at distancing from this apartheid past (and in 1993 still very much the de facto status quo) in terms of the inevitable association, in terms of often very close working relationships, that many social work educators had with apartheid era welfare services. Social work students, who have come to the study of social work in the post-1990 era (i.e. the era of Mandela's release and the phase during which negotiations towards a democratic dispensation were occurring), do not have the same need to personally distance from the status quo. They, never having been part of the old order, therefore approach such issues with a relatively clean slate both morally and experientially.
- 6 In the case of the Black 'homeland' welfare departments even this practice was phased out in the process of creating uniformly racially segregated government departments in line with the policy of separate development.
- 7 It should be noted that 'matching' is usually construed in cultural or ethnic terms rather than according to race or colour and I would point out that I am not implying that these are synonymous. However I included a reference to 'racial characteristics' (whatever that may mean) precisely because race and culture are often conflated in the South African context and I wished to evaluate responses, through the written comments, partly according to whether any such distinction was made.
- 8 It should be noted that the wording of Item 11 differs slightly for student and fieldwork supervisor respondents in that for the latter two groups the words 'Direct', 'on the one hand' and 'on the other' were omitted. The purpose was to simplify and shorten the statement without changing the meaning in any substantive way.
- 9 It should be noted again here, as set out in Chapter 5, that the Black-Inc group is unfortunately a numerically small one (n=6) within the group of 23 fieldwork supervisors and therefore not as representative as other race/ethnic groups in this survey.
- 10 The apparent paradox in this last sentence is worth noting as it provides a possible illustration of how very different discourses and practice methodologies can co-exist and interpenetrate one another. Here the apparently progressive and developmental thrust of this fieldwork supervisor's comment is, I would argue, to some extent subverted by the paternalistic attitude indicated by the use of the verb 'made' as in 'the community is ... made to discuss and make decisions'.
- 11 Normal practice in undergraduate social work practice programmes would be for the social work student to be allocated either a small number of individual clients, or a group, or a modest project within one

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community setting for the duration of a 12 week or longer part-time practicum i.e. the selection of clients or community project is highly specific and intentional and therefore the factors included here under 'matching' characteristics are inevitably part of the decision-making as to who the student will work with.

This in fact turned out to be the case for the 3 'pairs' of fieldwork supervisors who were from the same organisation. In agency A, for example, both supervisors agreed that students were matched by cultural knowledge but only one supervisor reported 'matching' by race/colour and language(s) spoken as well. In agency B, both supervisors agreed that 'matching' by language(s) spoken was carried out but one supervisor felt that cultural knowledge also played a part. Both supervisors in agency C agreed that matching by language(s) spoken was carried out but only one supervisor felt gender was taken into account while his/her colleague felt that cultural knowledge was the second factor considered.

I do not wish to be overly critical on this issue. The temptation to use the African language skills of students in agencies where there are few African social workers is clearly great. In addition social work agencies are not paid for their work in training students and there is often a *quid pro quo* in terms of the assistance that students can render to the agency. However there are a number of issues concerning the dynamics of professional training and the use of stand-in untrained interpreters that are raised here. An example of the latter, involving the use of non-professional staff as interpreters in psychiatric settings, is given by Swartz (1998).

This conception of South Africa as separable into distinct areas of colour or race, while partly true in terms of what apartheid policy achieved through physical removals, 'resettlement' and infirm control, grossly simplifies the reality of population group distribution even by 1993. More to the point here, the comment situates the problem within black communities as an inability to speak English or Afrikaans rather than within social work agencies whose service providers are unable to communicate in African languages.

The respondent, wittingly or not, points to the related problem of a professional discourse, encoded in the language of the educated middle classes, that is removed from that of user communities and mirrors the distance between social work theory and ideals and the realities of practice.

In the Coloured communities of the Western Cape, Afrikaans tends to be the predominant first home language of the majority with English more the preferred language of the middle and professional classes. However basic competence in both languages, together with a propensity to switch between the two at will, is the norm. This pattern is similar, with variations, in the smaller Coloured communities in other areas.

While the majority of white South Africans are either predominantly English or Afrikaans both linguistically and culturally, the boundaries between the two groups have always been permeable and there are, increasingly so, a significant proportion of bi-lingual and bi-cultural White families created either through marriage, co-habitation, schooling and/or neighbourhood interaction. Although the two monolingual groups would have basic competence other group's home language through the school system, Afrikaans-speaking Whites tend to have higher competence in English than the other way around.

An interesting, if fairly minor, issue to note here is that in respect of both Coloured and White students White-Afk educators scored higher than other respondent groups in the 'English only' category of language proficiency. Put another way, nearly a third of White-Afk educators did not feel it important that English-speaking Coloured and White students have basic proficiency in Afrikaans but did feel proficiency in English was important for Afrikaans-speaking Coloured and White students.

This change was made following a preliminary assessment of the responses to the educators' questionnaires which confirmed that this categorisation would elicit the data I sought in a more appropriate way in that language competencies, rather than the 'race', or population group of the reference group (social work students), would be the central focus. Language options were not supplied but respondents were asked to list their preferences against the students by home language categories (see Questions 11 and 12 in the students' and fieldwork supervisors' questionnaires in Appendices C and D respectively).

It should be noted here that because of the different way in which responses to this question were presented to student respondents, they had the option of indicating that social work students should be proficient in more than one African language. Thus the label '2+AL' in the fourth categories in Figures 8.12b and 8.12c indicates that two African languages were recorded. Although social work educators could also indicate a second African language by using the open 'Other' option, only one or two respondents chose to do this.

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- 21 The preferences of White-Afk students show an unexpected trend that appears to make heavier linguistic demands on themselves than on other white students. Only 13 per cent of White-Afk student respondents felt that English-speaking students should have proficiency in Afrikaans and two African languages, whereas a high 39 per cent of this group felt that Afrikaans-speaking students (their own category) should have proficiency in English and two African languages.
- 22 An illustration of the sharp divide on this issue was given on the letters page of a local newspaper while I was writing this chapter by two black (African) correspondents one of whom argued strongly an Africanist viewpoint deploring the practice by many Africans of 'ap[ing] everything English-speakers say or do' and making English their everyday means of communication so allowing their own indigenous languages to fall into disuse and (Cape Times, 8 March 1999). The other writer, with just as much passion, argued the case for the wholesale adoption of English - 'If I had the power, I would encourage our people to learn and use English with every means at my disposal' - with use of 'valued' indigenous languages restricted mainly to the home or local community. This writer goes on to describe how his/her mastery of English has 'liberated [me] from the linguistic prison in which so many of my fellow South Africans are still trapped.' (Cape Times, 16 March 1999).
- 23 As described in Chapter 5, the historically white (HWI) sector has been divided into the Afrikaans and English medium subgroups with not only distinct language of instruction policies but very different cultural and political climates as well. However some of the social work departments in HWI-Afk institutions recorded in the survey that they teach partially in English at times particularly at a postgraduate level. Within the historically black (HBI) sector, all institutions created for black African tertiary education, and the one created to serve the Indian population group, use English as their medium of instruction. The two institutions created to serve the Coloured population group, used Afrikaans exclusively in the one case (this institution has since been closed) and a dual Afrikaans/English medium in the other.
- 24 This is similar to my own experience in another HWI-Eng social work department where White students were encouraged to take an introductory Xhosa course but because of timetabling problems this was not always possible. The course itself was also seen as too 'academic' and not functional enough for professional communication needs. There was much discussion of running a dedicated conversational Xhosa class for social work students (and for staff) but to date no further progress in this regard has been made to my knowledge.
- 25 An example is the HWI-Eng social work department in the Western Cape whose Black African students, many of whom know little if any Afrikaans, are required to carry out their practical work training in a region in which Afrikaans is the predominant language of most social work clients and communities. Just as in the case of White students who cannot communicate with Black African clients, agencies and the university is thus most often forced to 'match' students and clients by language proficiency (and therefore to some extent by race and culture) except, in rare instances, where interpreter services may be available.
- 26 This has since been implemented by the Psychology Department of the university concerned and the entry in the Faculty Handbook specifies as an entry requirement to professional training "basic proficiency in any indigenous language (other than Afrikaans) used predominantly in the geographical area in which they [applicants] hope to practise." (Faculty of Humanities Handbook 9(b), 1999).

Chapter 9

Preparing social workers for practice in post-apartheid South Africa: addressing culture and race in the social work curriculum

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Notes

Chapter 9

Preparing social workers for practice in post-apartheid South Africa: addressing culture and race in the social work curriculum

I. Introduction

One of the key areas I wished to focus on in this study was that of attitudes and perceptions around issues of race and culture in the social work curriculum. The reviews in Chapters 3 and 4 have identified some of the key issues facing social work education in addressing issues of culture and race as set out in both the international and local literature. Particular references to writing in this regard included: contemporary debates as to how best to structure and deliver such content within the wider social work curriculum; the relative priority that should be given to content around race and culture within the curriculum; models for the teaching of transcultural, anti-racist and/or anti-oppressive social work practice; and debates around the need for a more appropriate and 'indigenous' social work theory and methodology for use in the South African context. This chapter presents and discusses the responses of survey participants to these specific issues.

II. Incorporating issues of culture and race into the social work curriculum

Curriculum construction is a discipline in itself with its own extensive literature. While in previous writing I have sought to address some curriculum aspects relevant to teaching around issues of race and culture in local social work practice (Mackintosh, 1991), it was not the intention in this study to pursue these issues in any great detail. Rather, as part of the wider survey, I wished to gain an overview of how social work educators perceived four particular aspects relating to the inclusion of such issues into an undergraduate social work curriculum appropriate for a post-apartheid South Africa.

Firstly, I wished to address the matter of structure, that is, in what course format should such issues should be introduced into the curriculum. As discussed in Chapter 4, there has been a debate in the social work literature on this issue. While some authors have argued for separate courses so that specific and detailed focus can be given without the issues being 'watered down'

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within a generic course, the dominant view of specialists in the area has been that such content (together with related issues of gender, disability and sexual orientation etc.) should be fully integrated into the mainstream social work curriculum in a thoroughgoing way.

Secondly, I wanted to gauge opinion as to the specific content around race and culture that should be included in the curriculum. Again there are a variety of views on what knowledge, values and skills, constructed through different possible political and ideological understandings, should be included, or receive priority, within the curriculum (see review in Chapter 4). And, thirdly, there is the issue of what teaching/learning methods (theoretical and cognitive versus practical and experiential) should be used in addressing knowledge and skills in this area. There is a body of literature which advocates that experiential learning is the most appropriate teaching method here. However there is also support for the view that such learning needs to be underpinned by clear theoretical understandings and analyses of the dynamics of ethnicity and racism for example (see Chapter 4).

Lastly, I wished to assess the relative importance given by educators to issues of race and culture in social work practice within the broader context of the demands on the social work curriculum. The degree of priority educators gave to such content, as well as a brief discussion of other areas of the curriculum educators felt were particularly important for practice in a changing South Africa, are the topics addressed in the latter part of this section².

A. Responses of social work educators

1. Curriculum structure

In respect of curriculum structure social work educators were asked the following question:

***Item 21a:** How do you think that issues concerning race, culture and ethnicity as they relate to social work theory and practice ought to be addressed in the social work curriculum as regards structure?*

As part of existing courses

In a separate course or courses

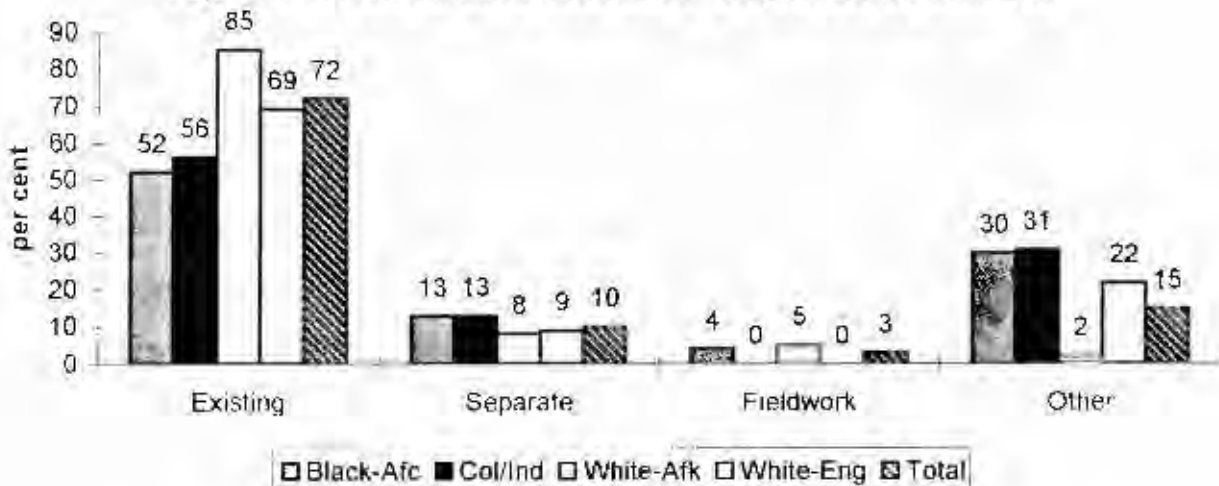
As part of fieldwork practice only

By other means.

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The majority of all (especially White-Afk) educators felt that such content should be a part of existing courses (see **Figure 9.15** below). Most of the Black-Afc, Col/Ind and White-Eng educators who opted for 'by other means' indicated that these issues should be addressed in both existing and separate courses.

Figure 9.15: Social work educators' responses to Item 21a



As the literature review in Chapter 4 indicated, the inclusion of content around issues of race and culture can range between a token, *ad hoc* addition to existing courses, at the one end of the spectrum, and a thoroughgoing integration of these, and other, diversity issues into the curriculum (including practical training) at the other end. The 'token' approach (see **Appendix C**) is typical of social work departments who take mainstream, status quo positions and profess 'equal treatment' or 'colour blind' policies. As the additional data provided by the heads of social work education departments indicates (see section V below), most local social work curricula, at the time of the survey, appeared to have resembled the 'token' approach. However the support shown, by a minority of mainly Black-Afc, Col/Ind and White-Eng educators, for a combination of both separate and existing courses can be read as a preference for the fully integrated option recommended in the specialist literature.

2. Curriculum content

The second issue educators were asked to respond to was framed as follows.

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Item 21b: How do you think that issues concerning race, culture and ethnicity as they relate to social work theory and practice ought to be addressed in the social work curriculum as regards content?

Critical awareness of concepts of race/culture/ethnicity

Knowledge of different cultural/ethnic group

Reduction of cultural/ethnic stereotypes

Dynamics of racism/discrimination/oppression

Practical strategies for anti-racist practice

Generic skills for working transculturally

Other content (please specify below)

The six knowledge and skill areas were based on the literature review in Chapter 4 and my experience of teaching in these areas. Respondents were asked to place these areas in rank order of preference. There are various ways in which the responses to such a rank ordering could be analysed but as I was mainly interested in which content areas were seen as having priority, I have counted only the respondents' first three preferences. **Figure 9.16** (see **Appendix O**) summarises these top three preferences expressed as percentages³. There were insufficient 'other content' responses to create a further category for comparative analysis.

Generally speaking support across all the content areas was fairly evenly spread. Three content areas were preferred by equal proportions of all educator respondents. These were, 'Critical awareness of concepts of race, culture and ethnicity', 'Knowledge of different cultural/ethnic groups', and 'Generic skills for working transculturally' which all received endorsement by 21 per cent of educators. The next two content areas, 'Reduction of cultural/ethnic stereotypes' and 'Dynamics of racism/ discrimination/oppression', were both selected by 13 per cent of respondents while the sixth content area, 'Practical strategies for anti-racist practice', was selected by only 10 per cent of educators.

In terms of the race/ethnic breakdown, there was a relatively even spread of preferences across the content areas for Black-Afc, Col/Ind and White-Eng educators where the largest differential between content areas was an average 9 percentage points. There was no strong pattern of preferences across these educator groups except that 'Reduction of cultural/ethnic stereotypes'

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and 'Practical strategies for anti-racist practice' tended to be fairly consistently rated at lower levels than the other four areas. However the content area of 'Dynamics of racism/discrimination/oppression' was relatively highly rated by all three of these educator groups.

The response pattern of the White-Afk educator group is strikingly different to that of the other race/ethnic groups however. This group shows a clear preference for those content areas concerned mainly with cultural and/or ethnic issues (24 to 26 per cent), with a contrastingly low preference for the two content areas that are explicitly concerned with racism, discrimination and oppression and anti-racist practice (4 and 8 per cent). This gives a high average differential of 19 percentage points between the preferred 'soft' cultural/ethnic areas and the less popular 'hard' racism and discrimination/oppression areas¹.

3. Teaching/learning methods

The third issue concerned teaching/learning methods and educators were asked:

Item 21c: How do you think that issues concerning race, culture and ethnicity as they relate to social work theory and practice ought to be addressed in the social work curriculum as regards method?

Emphasis on cognitive learning (e.g., lectures & readings)

Emphasis on affective learning (e.g., experiential exercises)

Emphasis on a combination of cognitive & affective learning

(Other methods (please specify))

Educators were asked to indicate only one of these four options. There was overwhelming support (90 per cent) for a combined approach, in which cognitive and affective learning is integrated, from all educators irrespective of race/ethnic group. This was not unexpected from educational practitioners of an applied discipline such as social work which has traditionally placed a premium on the integration of theory and practice. There is therefore clear support from local educators for the emphasis placed by other social work authors (see the review in Chapter 4) on the special importance of experiential learning in this area of the curriculum.

4. Priority of issues of race and culture within the curriculum

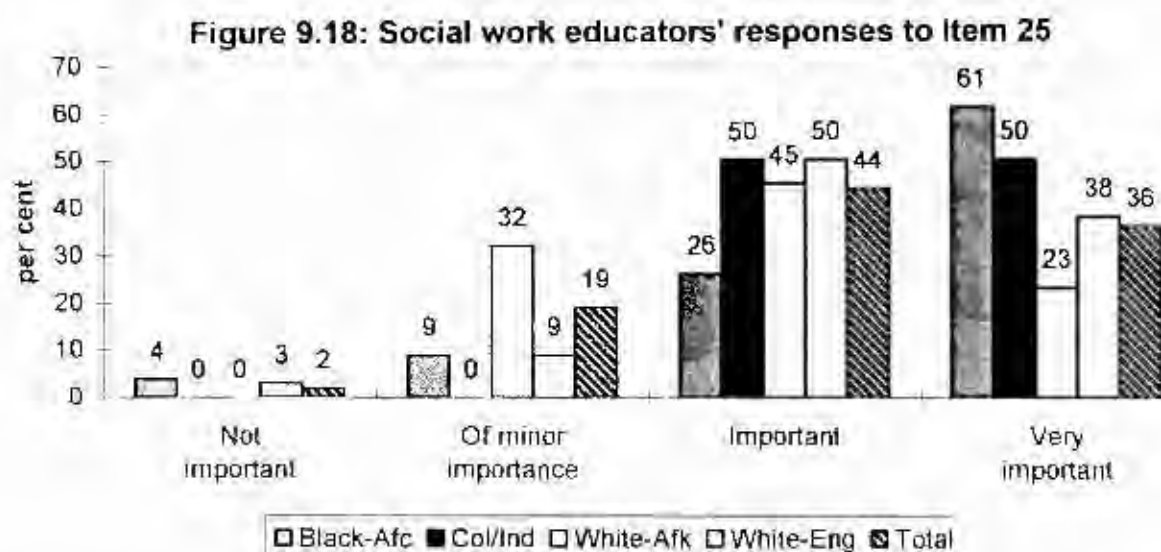
Here social work educators were asked, on a scale of 1 to

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5.

Item 25: In terms of overall priorities within the social work curriculum how would you rate the inclusion of content on issues of race and culture in social work practice?

These responses are summarised in **Figure 9.18** below



A large majority (80 per cent) of all educators rated the inclusion of content on issues of race and culture in social work practice as either 'important' or 'very important'. When viewed by race/ethnic group, only White-Afk educators score below this average (68 per cent) while the other three race/ethnic groups range between 87 and 100 per cent. The strength of agreement (i.e. the 'very important' responses) by the Black-Afc and Col/Ind groups was relatively high compared to that of White-Eng and White-Afk educators. What is particularly striking is the response pattern of White-Afk educators with almost a third rating the inclusion of content on race and culture within the curriculum as 'of minor importance'.

Written comments

Educators were invited to elaborate on their rating above but more particularly were requested to:

'... indicate what other areas of the curriculum you regard as having particular importance for social work practice in a changing South Africa.'

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As there were very few clarificatory comments and these did not add substantially to the closed responses, I focused primarily on an analysis of the areas of the social work curriculum educators felt were important in preparing students for social work practice in a post-apartheid welfare context. Over three-quarters (78 per cent, $n=105$) of educators provided such commentary and between them identified a total of 191 areas of the curriculum. The common areas that emerged from the analysis of these suggestions were grouped into broad categories (see *Item 25* in **Appendix O** for a more detailed outline of each category)

There were striking differences in the curriculum suggestions made by the HWI-AfK sector respondents (almost all White-AfK educators) on the one hand and the HBI and HWI-Eng sectors on the other. The majority of the HWI-AfK sector educators identified the need for a unitary social work curriculum that taught generic professional skills intended to be capable of addressing all social needs or problems in any particular community. A significant proportion of this group also emphasised the need to move to a greater emphasis on community work and/or development with poverty most commonly being identified as the major social problem needing to be addressed within the curriculum, as a major issue or social problem.

By contrast the responses of those educators working in the HBI, HWI-Eng and HBI-Col/Ind sectors (almost all of whom are Black-AfK, Col/Ind and White-Eng), while also endorsing a shift towards community intervention and a development focus, tended to be fuller and more detailed with a much greater diversity of suggestions as to a wide range of topics to be included in the curriculum. Such topics included human and intergroup relations, addressing inequality and basic needs, social policy and planning, gender issues, values and ethics, HIV/Aids and violence. A minority of educators from these sectors also identified a need for overarching diversity-based or empowerment models (see **Appendix O**).

III. Education for transcultural practice

As was identified in Chapter 4, one of the elements of a professional social work education that can assist in preparing students for practice in the socially and linguistically diverse South African practice context is what has been variously called cross-cultural, transcultural or multicultural practice. While the content of such training must obviously be appropriate to the national and/or regional context, there are also some generic issues and theoretical perspectives that, in my view,

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should be dealt with as part of such training. Such aspects include a theoretical grounding in critical sociological and psychological (and anthropological) perspectives around issues of culture, ethnicity and race. Some of these, in abbreviated form were listed in *Item 21b* (see section II above).

The more applied content within social work methodology teaching however deals with specific issues that need to be addressed by practitioners working across socio-cultural differences in different settings. The relevant sections of Chapter 4 have reviewed the central issues involved here and also introduced specific frameworks or models that have been developed for both social work education and practice purposes

I therefore wished to gauge the views of respondents as to whether transcultural social work education should be offered to social work students preparing for a changing social work context in which engagement with the cultural and social diversity of the full range of the South African population would likely become the norm. Respondents were asked to respond to the following statement:

Item 16: Social work education should equip students to practise transcultural social work (i.e., work with clients communities of different ethnic and/or cultural characteristics and experiences to themselves).

Of course no consensus as to the description of transcultural work can be assumed and I recognise that it may exclude particular elements of such a practice model that others may regard as essential or desirable. The intention was to purposely emphasise the cultural diversity aspects of practice along the lines of the 'culture-sensitive' approaches discussed in Chapter 4.

A. Closed responses of social work educators

As is apparent from **Figure 9.1** (see **Appendix O**), a high 92 per cent of all educators agreed that some form of transcultural education is necessary for social workers. A small number (10 per cent) of White-Afk educators remained neutral on the issue and, as a group, they also recorded a 'weaker' strength of agreement than other groups (see **Table 9.1** in **Appendix J**). The only

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group showing a significant but very small (10 per cent) disagreement were Black-AfC educators although their "strength" of agreement of was high relative to other groups.

Educators were also asked whether, if they agreed with the statement, they felt that this should apply mainly to any specific population group of students. The vast majority of respondents indicated that all students, regardless of population group, should learn to practise transcultural social work.

B. Comments of social work educators

Nearly two-thirds of educators chose to comment and these are discussed within the following three categories:

1. Positive support for transcultural social work

The majority of comments in this category were those that straightforwardly endorsed the proposition that social work education should equip students to practise transcultural social work and either simply stated agreement or reiterated the item in a slightly different form. Some made no reference to the second part of the item (asking if respondents felt this applied to any particular population groups):

That is the reality of future practice and we have to prepare our students.

Most of the comments in this category however made it additionally clear that such education should apply to all population groups of students equally:

Yes, because social workers of all race groups are not knowledgeable about the intricacies of one another's cultural characteristics and experiences.

A handful of educator respondents felt strongly that any implication that some population groups might be more in need of sensitisation to transcultural issues in social work practice was problematic and even promoted racism:

There are no groups that are more sensitive with regard to transcultural work. This differentiation between groups promotes racism.⁴

The point that all social work students should be involved in education for transcultural social work is fairly uncontroversial as well as being, in educational terms, clearly indicated. However,

⁴ Daar bestaan nie 'n groep wat meer sensitief is vir transkulturele werk nie. Hierdie ondersheid tussen groepe bevorder rassisme.

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given the historical lack of equal attention given to the different cultural orientations and practices, and the relative dominance of Western cultural influence both within South Africa and internationally, to imply that all South African students start with similar degrees of cultural knowledge and sensitivity is potentially more problematic.

2. Qualified support for transcultural social work

A small number of respondents, while scoring a broad agreement with this item, recorded comments that elaborated on their own particular concerns or views with regard to such training. One (Black-Afc) educator felt that equipping students for effective transcultural practice is not straightforward or necessarily open to all.

Only innovative social work practitioners can move towards this direction. There are very few of this cadre in S[outh] Africa.

Another (White-Afk) respondent shared a similar concern and suggested a longer term process with a differential focus on generic and specialist skills at undergraduate and postgraduate levels respectively:

- South Africa is a multiracial country. At undergraduate level students can be sensitised to work with people - and then also with people of different cultures and then at postgraduate level they can specialise in working with specific groups or communities.^a

3. Reservations: issues of choice versus compulsion and cultural 'matching'

The smallest category (just over 10 per cent of all responses) consisted of those (all but one) White-Afk educators who either disagreed that social work education should attempt to equip students with transcultural skills or who remained neutral on the issue. Two respondents took the view that training for transcultural work should be an option and not a part of core training.

Could students perhaps have a say as to whether they wish to do transcultural work?^b

Such views appear to imply that social work practice in the field would continue to be group-specific and therefore segregated and that worker and client/community would commonly be 'matched' by culture and/or ethnicity. One educator was explicit that such service delivery, as had

^a S[uid] Afrika is 'n veerkrassige land. Voorgraads kan studente sensitief gemaak word om met mense te werk - en dan ook mense van alle verskillende kulture en nagevoel kan dan gespesialiseer word om met spesifieke groepe of gemeenskappe te werk.

^b Sou studente dalk 'n inspraak kan hê of hulle transkulturele werk wil doen?

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been government policy up to the transition period beginning in 1990, was still the ideal even if not attainable in all contexts:

*Depends on service needs. The ideal is still that the social worker works with their own cultural and ethnic group.**

C. Closed responses of social work students

As **Figure 9.2** (see **Appendix O**) records, virtually all social work student respondents (98 per cent) agreed that social work education should equip students with skills in transcultural work.

D. Comments of social work students

Just over half of the student respondents provided comments following their closed responses and the following categories emerged:

1. Positive support for transcultural social work

The majority of written responses fairly straightforwardly endorsed the statement that social work students should receive training in transcultural social work. Some students (mostly White-Afk students from the HWI-Afk institution) did this on the basis of an acceptance of, rather than an enthusiasm for, the likely reality of desegregated welfare services in the new South Africa:

This [situation] is what we will be working with and for which you must be prepared.[†]

Others did so in the hope that such training would assist positively in a transformation process that sought to overcome the legacies of the past:

This will make social work a really helping profession across the colour line.

In this vein, a handful of student respondents articulated a more idealistic vision that such training would result in an improved and equitable service:

This will allow clients freedom to use any social work service available knowing fully well that he/she (client) receives unbiased and good service - will be understood.

* Afhangende van dienste-behoefte. Die ideaal is nog dat elke mjaatskaplike[er] werker met sy eie kultuur en etniese groep werk.

† Dis waarmee ons gaan werk en jy moet voorberei wees daarop.

2. Qualified support or special emphases

A smaller group of students, mostly White-Eng, Black-Afr and Col/Ind, provided comments qualifying their agreement here. A few respondents felt that there were other barriers, such as language skills and client attitudes (e.g. those of white clients towards black social workers), that would not necessarily be overcome by such training:

Yes, though it could pose a problem for the social workers in terms of language or clients who are conservative.

One student preferred to question the more conventional view of cultural difference as coinciding with group-based ethnic divides, proposing a more fine-grained conception of such differences through asking:

Is it possible to find a client who matches a social worker without any cross-cultural differences?

Another subset of responses in this category, the majority from HWI-Afr based students, wrote comments indicating that transcultural training was inadequately addressed within their current curriculum:

This is presently a major gap¹⁰

Another of this subgroup of student respondents went further and alluded to what they perceived as the predominant cultural orientation of their social work training:

Training is presently founded more upon the Western model - 1st World needs are addressed.¹¹

This is an issue that was addressed directly in *Item 18* discussed below.

3. Language as a barrier

The only student (Col/Ind and HBI-based) who scored a neutral rating on this item indicated that she was sceptical as to whether such training could overcome language barriers:

It is a good idea but maybe not for student practice. It will give students the experience, but maybe end goals cannot be reached due to lack of understanding the language.

¹⁰ Tans is dit 'n groot leerte.

¹¹ Opleiding is tans baie meer gerig op die Westerse model - 1[ste] Wêreld behoeftes word aangespreek.

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E. Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

All but one of the fieldwork supervisors (see **Figure 9.3** in **Appendix O**) who responded to this item agreed that social work education should equip students to practise transcultural social work.

F. Comments by fieldwork supervisors

Commentary was provided by twelve (52 per cent) of fieldwork supervisor respondents and these were categorised as follows.

1. Positive support for transcultural social work

The largest group of comments were those by fieldwork supervisors who indicated their straightforward agreement that social work students should receive training for transcultural practice and restated or endorsed this in various ways, for example:

A failure to be sensitive to these issues jeopardises the potential of practice.

2. Qualified support for transcultural social work

Four of the respondents added their own qualifying comments to their overall agreement with the statement. One (White) supervisor, perhaps sensitised by the apartheid use of ethnic difference, urged caution in the degree of emphasis laid on ethnic characteristics:

Yes, but not by emphasising ethnic characteristics above everything else.

Another (Black-Ind) supervisor, aware of previous apartheid welfare practice in which White social workers could work with all other cultural and racial groups if necessary but Black or Col/Ind social workers were not permitted to work with White clients, insisted that,

This should now be a two-way stream, instead of the "traditional" one-way previously used.

3. Sensitivity to clients

The one fieldwork supervisor who scored a neutral rating to this item did however agree that sensitivity to these issues as expressed by clients was important:

Students should be sensitive towards how important the ethnic and/or cultural characteristics may be to their clients.

IV. Education for anti-racist practice

As was apparent in the review in Chapter 4, there is not necessarily a hard distinction between transcultural and anti-racist social work practice even though the former has tended to precede the latter in terms of historical development. Both educational theory and practice have increasingly incorporated these two emphases as two inseparable aspects that are both essential in addressing central questions of socio-cultural differences as they manifest generally within society and specifically in the practice of social work. It is a central part of the assumptive position I take in this dissertation that any attempt to even begin to deal adequately with such differences has to address both issues of cultural knowledge, and the sensitivity and understanding flowing from this that can positively inform practice, as well as issues of power relations through which certain groups are relatively privileged, marginalised or oppressed with respect to their ability to access social, economic and other resources in a particular society.

Given the South African context of 1993, I felt it reasonable to assume that the general state of knowledge amongst social work educators, students and practitioners around the sort of inclusive anti-discriminatory and anti-oppressive models (that were just being synthesised from disparate lineages at the time) was such that it was preferable to clearly separate these two aspects in the questionnaire. This was particularly so because there was little evidence of attempts to develop anti-racist practice in South African social work literature up to the early 1990's. The notable exception here was the increasing expression of opposition to the segregationist and discriminatory welfare policy of the Nationalist government by social work writers (see Chapter 3 for examples of this work). However, as argued in Chapter 3, such writing tended to focus on macro-level policy and on arguments against 'own affairs' structures with very little analysis or discussion, at more micro levels, of either actual social work practice or specific strategies that could counter racial discrimination in the welfare sector. Given that the central priority for progressively minded social workers prior to this was the need for major political change which, it seemed, would have to precede meaningful welfare policy and practice change, this is perhaps hardly surprising.

I felt that it was important to specifically name an area of practice that addressed discrimination and inequality with respect to 'race'. *Item 17* was therefore intended to confront respondents

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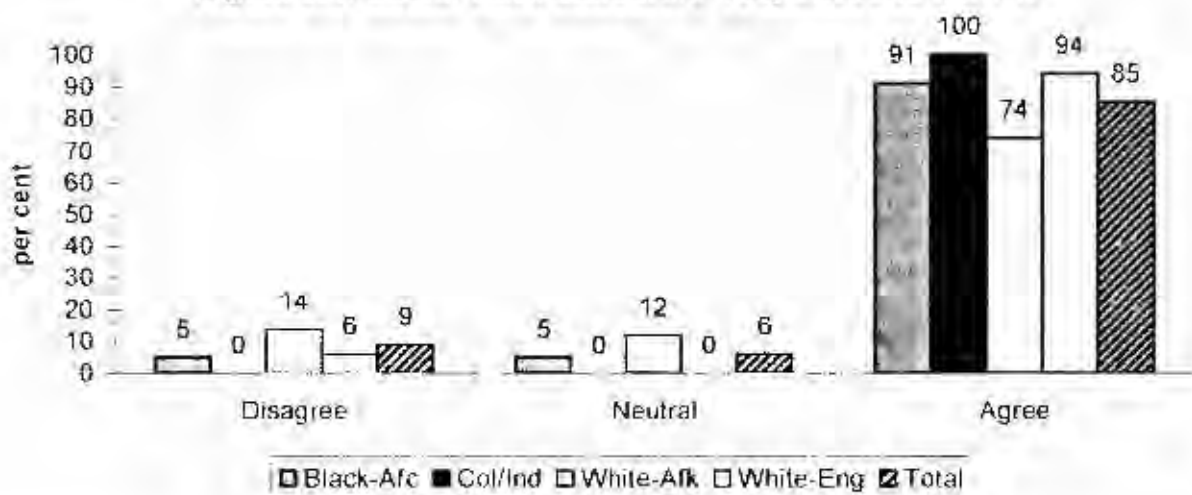
with this issue directly and ensure that it did not become subsumed within the more generalised and diffuse notion of transcultural practice

Item 17: Social work education should equip students to practise anti-racist social work (i.e. to actively combat racial discrimination in social work practice).

A. Closed responses of social work educators

A large majority of educators agreed with the proposition that student social workers should be educated to actively combat racial discrimination in social work practice (see **Figure 9.4** below). Although the overall percentage agreement was lower than that for the related *Item 16* above, the strength of agreement was considerably higher (see **Appendix O** for details). When broken down by race/ethnic group however, a clear difference between the White-Afk educator group and the other groups is clear with only three-quarters of the former group agreeing and roughly half each of the remainder disagreeing or remaining neutral. A single Black-Afc educator (however see note for discussion here³) and two White-Eng educators disagreed that students should receive anti-racist training

Figure 9.4: Social work educators' responses to Item 17



Almost all respondents who responded to the question of whether such training should apply to all students regardless of population group answered in the affirmative.

B. Comments by social work educators

Almost two-thirds of educators provided comments and these are discussed within the following broad categories:

1. General support for anti-racist practice with some qualifications

Comments in this category were those made by respondents who agreed that social work education should equip students to practise anti-racist social work. However these comments are most usefully discussed within four subgroups. Firstly there were those (just under a third of this category) who straightforwardly endorsed or reiterated the statement as it stood without elaboration.

A second and largest subcategory of comments provided comments that specifically referred to the second part of the statement in which respondents were asked to indicate if they felt that the need for such training applied to any particular population group(s). Many comments from educators across all race/ethnic groups referred to a universal capacity for racist or discriminatory attitudes and/or behaviour.

All human beings are capable of being racist at one time or another knowingly or unknowingly.

One White-Afk educator specifically defended white students, and by extension whites generally, as not solely capable of racism.

It is not only white students who can be racist. Others can also act in racist ways.⁹

A Black-Afc educator made mention of what he perceived as a problem of internalised racial attitudes of black/inferiority and white/superiority and the specific need for black students to be assisted to overcome such disabling beliefs:

Black students need to be equipped in rendering services to white clients although this will be difficult because of the inferiority complex (of student) and the superiority complex on the part of the client.

A third and smaller group of comments elaborated on their agreement in different ways. One Col/Ind educator clearly identified with the more radical anti-racist perspectives as expounded in the anti-racist literature:

⁹ Dis nie net wit studente wat rassisties kan optree nie. Ander tree ook rassisties op.

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On ethical, moral and humanitarian grounds. Should there be any other basis for practice? Racism is so entrenched in our practice that we do have to actively combat it. Not only in South Africa but internationally - a racist mentality is universal. Racism was legislated in SA but practised internationally.

A Black-Afk educator disliked the oppositional phrasing preferring a more positive, if idealistic, goal for such training:

I agree although 'anti-racist' sounds reactive rather than proactive. It is important that social work training should aim at promoting racial harmony.

The comments of the four White-Afk and two White-Eng educators in this subcategory sought to qualify their agreement in different ways, mostly referring to the universal and common needs and characteristics of all peoples. One White-Afk educator's comment recalled the segregated services issue previously discussed in Chapter 8:

To deliver services to different groups according to their values and needs does not mean this is race discrimination.*

The last subcategory of comments were concerned to view such practice as an integral part of the fundamental and universal values and principles of social work as a profession:

Social work is based on values of justice and equality. Racism means the power to exclude by political, economic and social means with the purpose of subjugation. Based upon [social]/work values, social workers have to be opposed to racism.

If this aspect is not emphasised then the principles of social work are not being being put into practice.[†]

This is or should be embodied in a code of ethics. Apart from this, respect for the dignity of all people is a basic requirement for all social workers or students of [social] w[ork].

It can often be unclear whether this reference back to the values and principles of social work as a universal body of theory and practice is a defensive move seeking, in ways that are naive and acontextual, to show that social work by definition cannot be discriminatory, or, alternatively, is intended to show just how sharp the disparity between social work ideals/values and actual practice is (this issue is taken up in more detail in the concluding chapter).

* Om vir verskillende groepe diens te lever volgens hulle waardes en behoeftes beteken nie rasse-diskriminasie nie.

† Indien hierdie aspek nie beklemtoon word nie word die beginsels van maatskaplike werk nie toegepas nie.

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2. Racism: a non-issue for social work?

Of the handful of respondents (all but one being White-Afk educators) who rated a neutral response to this item, some provided comments explaining their position. One such educator, with a degree of embitterment towards anti-government elements within social work (and using a rather unfortunate colour-suffused metaphor), took a strongly conservative view of social work activity revealing some^a:

Social work ought not, in my opinion, to be the place for political activity. In the new South Africa there is no racial discrimination - it seems however that some social workers are sorry that this is so as they do not any longer have anything with which to paint the government black.^a

Others preferred to downplay the importance of race or racism preferring that the issue should not receive special attention or action:

It must disappear on its own.^b

Other (mostly White-Afk) educators in this category disagreed with the statement and gave various reasons for this view:

It is not the task of a social worker to carry out specific actions with reference to racial discrimination.^c

while others felt that if social workers were correctly educated they would treat all people equally and discrimination would not occur. There was a common concern to de-emphasise the issue of race and to rather focus on cultural differences:

It is about people and not their colour - racial differences must not even be an issue - cultural differences, yes.^d

These educators, either wilfully or naively, clearly underestimated the extent and enduring legacy of racial discrimination in South Africa and tended to reduce the dynamics of racism and discrimination to the personal behaviour of individual social workers thus ignoring the massive institutionalised racial inequalities in the distribution of welfare resources existing at the time of this survey.

^a Maatskaplike werk behoort na my mening nie die plek te wees om politiek te bedryf nie. In die nuwe SA is daar nie rasse diskriminasie nie - dit lyk egter of sommige m[aa]tskaplike/werkers jammer is daaroor want nou gaan hulle nie meer iets hê om die regering swart te smeer.

^b Dit moet vanself verdwyn.

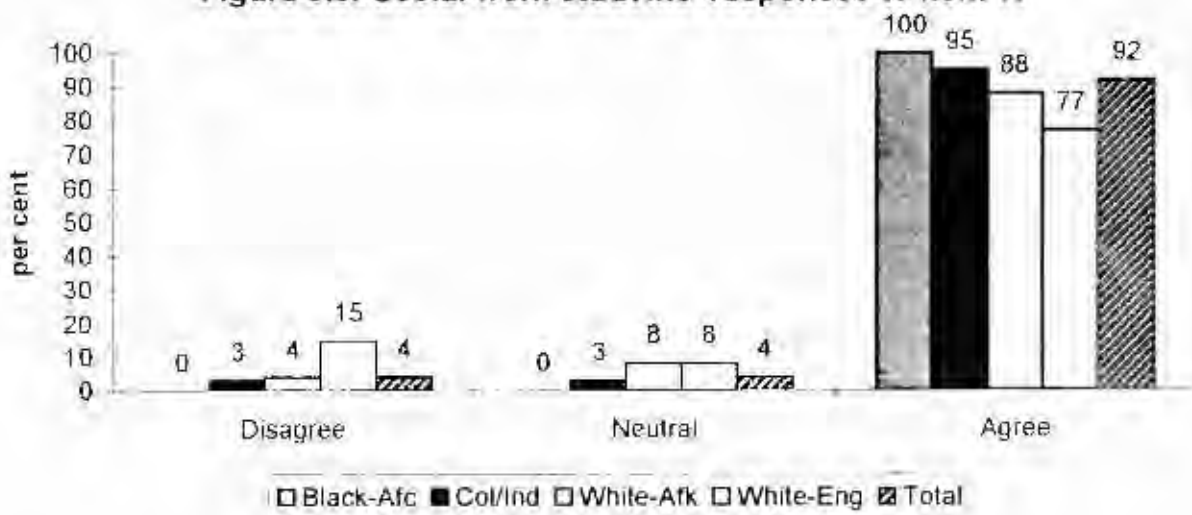
^c Dit is nie die taak van 'n m[aa]tskaplike w[erker] op spesifieke aksies in b.v. rasse-diskriminasies aan te voer nie.

^d Dit gaan om die mens nie sy kleur nie - rasseverskille moet nie eens 'n 'issue' wees nie - kultuurverskille wel.

C. Closed responses of social work students

A high majority of student respondents agreed with this item (see **Figure 9.5** below). The difference in responses between the race/ethnic groups is however interesting in that the highest percentage of student respondents disagreeing with, or remaining neutral towards, the statement that social work student should be equipped to practise anti-racist social work, were White-Eng students (23 per cent). Although the actual numbers are rather small (see **Table 9.5** in **Appendix J** for details) the trend is noticeably different to that within the educator respondent group and not in line with stereotypical expectations.

Figure 9.5: Social work students' responses to Item 17



D. Comments by social work students

Just over half of student respondents provided comments which are discussed below in the following categories:

1. General support for anti-racist practice with qualifications

These comments followed a closed response which indicated agreement that social work education should equip students to practise anti-racist social work. Two-thirds of these comments were straightforwardly reiterative and/or affirming in content:

There is no place anymore for this [racial discrimination] in South Africa.⁹

⁹ Daar bestaan nie meer plek daarvoor in Suid-Afrika.

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In so doing they will be in a position to work with all people in South Africa irrespective of race, colour or creed.

The other third of students in this category provided additional commentary that qualified or elaborated on their agreement with the item. One Black-Afc student felt that such training needed to be carried through into the practical field placements by ensuring that racial boundaries within existing agencies were crossed:

This could be done by placing a 'black' student in a 'white' agency and vice-versa.

This is clearly a crucial issue that is complicated by the related issue of language competencies and, as has been indicated previously (in Chapter 8), needs to be addressed. Another (Black-Afc) student at the obstacle of (racial?) tensions amongst students themselves needing attention even before social work practice is addressed:

If there is a division among the social work students they won't be able to face racism.

This comment raises the issue of the potential that exists to use the multiracial and multicultural social work student class itself as an experiential setting for working through both inter-racial and inter-cultural issues for both personal growth and professional training purposes.

One Col/Ind student reflected an anxiety felt by a few respondents around an activist anti-racist stance¹:

Although it is also important that social workers remain neutral.²

Another (White-Eng) student from the HWI-Afk institution felt that such training would not be easily implemented in her own institutional setting:

It would be difficult at this University, considering it is relatively conservative.

This does raise the important issue of both institutional commitment and ethos with regard to such training as they both are crucial if such training is to be effective.

2. 'Neutrality' on the basis of reservations

One (White-Eng) student, of the small number of Col/Ind and white student respondents who remained neutral in respect of anti-racist training, warned against unrealistic expectations here:

¹ Hoewel dit ook belangrik is dat maatskaplike werkers neutraal moet wees.

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A lot of racism is inbred and not meant to be harmful. The 'teacher' cannot be expected to 'change' many natural feelings of a racist type inbred in one's attitudes.

Such a pessimistic view of attitudinal change is a logical consequence of the student's deterministic construction of racist feelings and attitudes as fundamentally 'natural,' as opposed to 'socially acquired' or 'cultural', and is reflective of the sort of essentialist discourse discussed elsewhere in this dissertation. The student's further assertion that much racism is not intentionally harmful is an example of an 'individualistic' view of racism as primarily interpersonal and which discounts institutional and structural policies and practices⁸.

Another (White-Afk) student, in line with a similar view discussed in earlier chapters, felt that people should be seen as individuals rather than as members of this or that race group:

Yes and no. The focus should be on the individual with a need, not always on the individual as a member of a race group.⁹

While preferable in an ideal sense, such a view inevitably glosses over the very real discriminatory effects that a failure to positively address differences of group experience, socio-economic power, culture and language may have in the social work encounter.

3. Individual choice

Only two students who disagreed with this item provided commentary. One (White-Eng) student expressed some anxiety regarding anti-racist training:

Personal choice needs to be respected. Transcultural training develops understanding, anti-racial training may breed antagonism.

E. Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

Fieldwork supervisors showed a relatively high agreement (82 per cent) that social work education should equip students to practise anti-racist social work but this was slightly lower than the responses of educators. All other responses from this group were neutral. This pattern was common to both the White and Black-Ind race/ethnic groups.

⁹ Ja en nee. Die fokus moet die individu met 'n behoefte wees, nie altyd die individu as 'n lid van 'n rasgroep.

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F. Comments by fieldwork supervisors

Less than half of all fieldwork supervisors provided comments after their closed responses to this item and these have been categorised as follows:

1. Strong support for anti-racist practice

Three supervisor respondents more or less straightforwardly endorsed the statement that social work students should be trained in anti-racist practice while a further three supervisors (all White) provided comments that sought to emphasise the need for a strong advocacy and/or proactive stance

The profession must be proactive in destroying the legacy of apartheid.

Absolutely, without an advocacy component social work is just a service that upholds the status quo.

2. Sensitivity and awareness sufficient

The balance of four fieldwork supervisors had all taken a neutral position on education for anti-racist practice and sought in their comments to explain this. One (Black-Ind) respondent felt that

Racism is implicit in everyone. Education should sensitise students to theirs.

Another (White) supervisor took the view that

Awareness is important – not every social worker can become an activist.

This is again reflective of the view that sees the professional social worker as a relatively passive and socially neutral figure (see student responses above)

V. Local transcultural and anti-racist educational practice

As part of the wider purpose of this study, I wished to gain a sense of to what extent the main participants in social work education felt that the local curriculum was already addressing needs for transcultural and/or anti-racist practice. Respondents to the main survey were therefore asked a number of questions to gauge their views in this regard⁹. In the survey of social work departments in all tertiary institutions heads of department were requested to supply information as to the existence of relevant courses and/or material within their current undergraduate curricula that addressed transcultural and anti-racist social work practice. These results are referred to where relevant

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A. Responses of social work educators

1. The curriculum

Social work educators were asked the following question:

Item 19a: Does the undergraduate social work curriculum offered in your Department adequately prepare students for transcultural social work practice?

A very low 14 per cent answered with an unqualified 'yes' and just over a half of educators (53 per cent) felt that such preparation was 'not very adequate' (see **Figure 9.7** in **Appendix O**). Somewhat unexpectedly White-Afk educators (22 per cent) were most positive that their students were adequately prepared in this regard¹⁰ while Black-Afc (4 per cent) and White-Eng (6 per cent) educators were the least positive. On the other hand, Col/Ind educators (all of whom work in the HBI or HWI-Eng sectors) felt significantly more negative than other race/ethnic groups in respect of the ability of the departments within which they worked to prepare students for transcultural practice.

It should be noted that a quarter of Black-Afc educators (most of whom work in the HBI sector) recorded that their departments did not even attempt to prepare student for such work. One educator from the HBI sector commented that this was related to the fact that all their students were black Africans and typically went on to work in agencies or government welfare departments that historically served black African communities.

2. Personal knowledge and skills

Despite the generally low rating they gave to their departments in respect of preparation for transcultural practice, most educators had much more confidence in their own personal abilities to carry out such training as measured in their responses to the following question.

Item 20: Do you think that you have adequate knowledge and skills to help prepare social work students for effective transcultural social work practice?

Just below a half (42 per cent) of all educators felt that they had adequate knowledge and skills to help social work students prepare for effective transcultural practice (see **Figure 9.8** in **Appendix**

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O) Col/Ind (56 per cent) and White-Afk (48 per cent) educators were most positive and White-Eng (27 per cent) educators least positive in this regard. Approximately one-third of all race/ethnic groups felt that they did not have the requisite knowledge and skills. Interestingly, White-Eng (39 per cent) and Black-Afk (33 per cent) educators were significantly more uncertain as to their abilities than other groups.

Overall therefore White-Eng educators had least confidence in their abilities to teach transcultural skills and Col/Ind and White-Afk educators the most confidence. As identified in Chapter 4 language is an embodiment of culture and identity. Does the fact that English-speaking white South Africans are more likely to be effectively unilingual while Coloured and White-Afk persons are generally able to speak both Afrikaans and English have a bearing here? English's primacy as a preferred language of communication and education often results in home language English speakers having no immediate practical need to learn other languages (and therefore to engage with other cultures) which may result in this group being more culturally 'encapsulated'. On the other hand, bilingualism in Afrikaans and English only facilitates interaction with the linguistic and cultural subgroups within the relatively small, in national terms, White and Coloured population groups but not to the vast majority of African language speakers¹¹.

B. Responses of social work students

1. The curriculum

Student social workers (who were all students at the three Western Cape institutions¹²) were asked the following question:

***Item 19a:** Do you think that your social work education has adequately prepared you for transcultural and non-racist social work practice?*

Apart from the regional versus national difference between the respective respondent groups, the question itself is not strictly comparable to that asked of the social work educators as the latter did not include the 'non-racist practice' descriptor¹³. This should be borne in mind in the following discussion.

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Even allowing for the more inclusive question asked here, students rated their overall preparation for transcultural and non-racist social work practice slightly more positively than educationists did for transcultural education only (see **Figure 9.9** in **Appendix O** for detail). A relatively high proportion of Black-Afc students (38 per cent as against an overall average of 19 per cent) responded positively in this regard. The sharp difference between Black-Afc educators and students in this rating (4 and 38 per cent respectively) is possibly related to the fact that the two institutions from which the Black-Afc student respondents were drawn are relatively 'multicultural' in their staff and student bodies, and urban in setting, and therefore with good opportunities for interaction across race/ethnic boundaries outside the formal curriculum.

Nevertheless perhaps the most telling result here is that a high three-quarters of student respondents (74 per cent) felt that they were not very adequately prepared for transcultural, non-racist practice. All but one (96 per cent) of the White-Afk students, all studying at the HWI-Afk institution, felt this way. Referring back to the social work educator responses of this institution, two (out of nine) educators felt that their students were adequately prepared for transcultural practice, three felt that such preparation was not very adequate, while the remaining four gave 'other' responses.

In the departmental survey (see section D below), this social work department reported that both transcultural and anti-racist issues were covered as part of their general curriculum and they also had a requirement (the only department to do so) that students had to work with all population groups as part of their practical training. This pattern, though less marked and with some variation, is similar in the other two Western Cape institutions. There is therefore some evidence here that, despite the existence of departmental goals that aim to adequately prepare students for these very new practice areas, these are not being satisfactorily achieved.

C. Responses of fieldwork supervisors

1. The curriculum

Although they would not necessarily have direct knowledge of the curriculum content of the university social work departments for which they supervised students, fieldwork supervisors were asked the following question:

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***Item 19a:** Do you think that the social work curriculum taught in the university social work department(s) for whom you supervise adequately prepares students for transcultural social work practice?*

Just over one-third (35 per cent) of supervisors felt that this was generally the case, although White supervisors were twice as positive (40 per cent) in their answers as Black-Ind supervisors (20 per cent) (see Figure 9.10 in **Appendix O**). Almost a third (30 per cent) of supervisors felt that, in general, the students they supervised had received inadequate preparation for transcultural practice¹⁴.

As was clear from the responses to the agency survey, these fieldworkers supervised students almost wholly from the HWI-Eng and IIBI institutions respectively. Interestingly, only 27 per cent of educators (and 22 per cent of students) at the HWI-Eng institution, and 11 per cent of educators (and 27 per cent of students) at the IIBI institution, felt that their own departments adequately prepared students for transcultural social work practice with a high 56 per cent of educators (and 66 per cent of students) in both cases recording that such preparation was inadequate. Thus fieldwork supervisors, on the whole, were more positive with regard to the efficacy of students' training for transcultural practice than were the educators who actually taught the courses or the students who took the courses.

2. Fieldwork placements

Precisely because of the importance of opportunities for practical implementation of transcultural practice, fieldwork supervisors were then asked the following:

***Item 19b:** Does your agency organisation attempt to provide all social work students on placement with opportunities for transcultural practice?*

Nearly two-thirds of all supervisors answered in the affirmative with most of the other respondents indicating in their comments that it was agency or setting limitations (for example, availability of clients, language needs, or positioning within a specific homogeneous community), rather than policy, that prevented this from happening (See **Figure 9.11 in Appendix O**).

D. Responses of heads of social departments nationally

In order to gain a sense of what actual educational practice was within local social work departments responsible for training social workers, the heads of departments (HODs) were asked (see items 4 and 5 in questionnaire in **Appendix E**) whether content in respect of both transcultural and anti-racist social work practice was offered and, if so, if it was presented in a separate course or courses or whether it was included as part of an existing course or courses.

Table 9A: Transcultural social work: course offerings

	NO	YES		
		Both separate & existing courses	Existing courses only	Separate course only
HBI (6)	2	1	2	1
HWI-Aflc (7)	1	4	2	0
HWI-Eng (4)	0	3	1	0
DIST (1)	1	0	0	0
TOTAL (18)	4	8	5	1

As set out in **Table 9A** above, while four departments did not offer any teaching in this area at all, the majority (14) reported that their social work curriculum explicitly addressed transcultural social work practice either in existing courses (5), or in a separate course (1), or, most commonly, in both (8). A higher proportion of HBI sector (previously ‘ethnic’) institutions than in the other two main sectors did not offer any teaching in this area. Asked to provide the course title(s) of the separate courses offered, several HOD’s recorded the name of a generic year level course (e.g. SWK 1), or methodology course (e.g. Community Work) or even, in one case, an allied discipline (i.e. Sociology) course. It would appear therefore that many so-called ‘separate’ courses, and therefore probably the majority of teaching in this area, consisted at most of a specific section within a whole semester or year course. There is therefore room for serious doubt over the level of commitment to teaching for transcultural practice here and therefore how thoroughly social work students were actually prepared for such work.

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Table 9B: Anti-racist social work: course offerings

	NO	YES		
		Both separate & existing courses	Existing courses only	Separate course only
HBI (6)	3	0	3	0
HWI-Afk (7)	3	2	2	0
HWI-Eng (4)	0	2	1	1
DIST (1)	1	0	0	0
TOTAL (18)	7	4	6	1

With regard to anti-racist social work content, a higher proportion of institutions (7) reported that no such content was included in their curriculum while over half (11) claimed to explicitly address such content in their curriculum either, and most commonly, in existing courses (6), or in a separate course (1), or in both (4). Again indications from the comments made by HOD's were that most of this content, even in the so-called 'separate' courses, consisted of a section or topic within a larger course¹⁵. Two HOD's from HWI-Afk institutions not offering anti-racist social work content commented that no racial discrimination was allowed or tolerated within the department and 1 HOD from an HBI setting stated that, as there were 'no anti-racist problems' at the university, there was no place for such a policy. The HOD from the one DIST institution asserted that the department preferred not to talk in racist terms and regarded 'all people as human beings'.

Given the highly discriminatory nature of welfare services and the racialised history of the social work profession in South Africa, the fact that 40 per cent of the 18 social work education institutions who responded to the survey (out of a total of 21) did not include any content on combating racism in social work practice, is disturbing and evidence of a distinct lack of commitment to preparing social work students for practice in a post-apartheid dispensation. The responses from the majority of social work students from the three Western Cape institutions (see discussion above) to their experience of preparation for both transcultural and anti-racist practice, would appear to support such a conclusion.

As was identified in Chapter 4, a key indicator of commitment to multicultural and anti-discriminatory social work practice is the extent to which theoretical teaching around transcultural issues is carried through into the fieldwork placements. Of the 18 HOD's who responded to the question as to whether students were required to experience at least one

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placement in which they were expected to practise transcultural social work, only 1 replied in the affirmative. Some HOD's insisted that, while this was not a course requirement, most students either had this opportunity or that it was encouraged wherever possible. Other HOD's acknowledged that such a placement requirement may become necessary in the future. Overall the commitment in this area was extremely weak.

VI. Appropriateness of social work theory in the local context

As has been discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, an emerging theme in both local South African and developing world social work literature has been the issue of the relevance or appropriateness, in cultural and socio-economic terms, of Western or 'First World' social work models and methodologies. Some attention has been given to adapting social work practice and methodology to take into account the specific social and cultural practices of indigenous, non-Western clients and communities at the direct practice level. There has also however been a focus on the development of more theoretically adequate and indigenous models of social work practice that are better able to address the most urgent needs of people in developing countries.

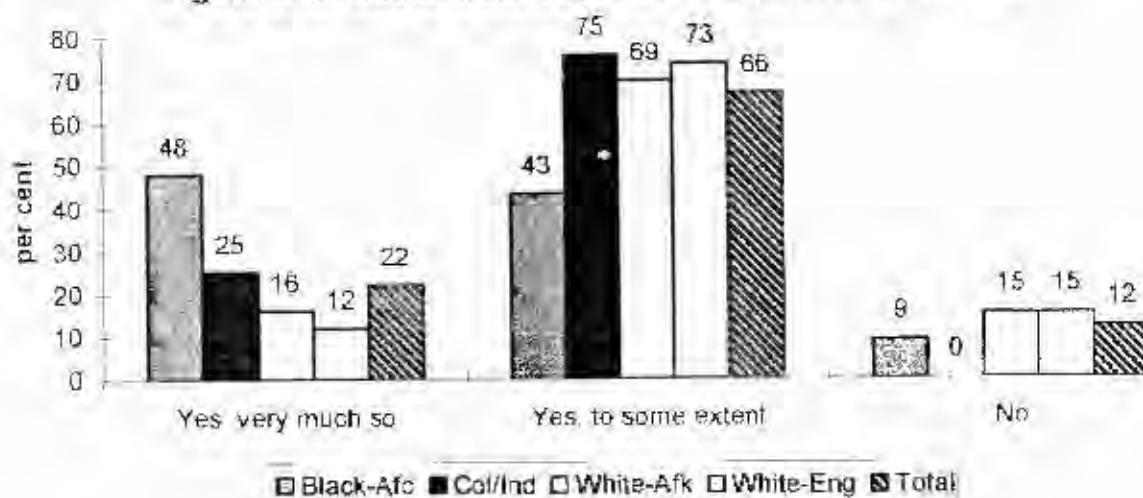
In order to address this issue as an aspect of the transformation of South African social work in the post-apartheid era, all survey participants were asked to respond to the following question.

***Item 18a:** Social work has been criticised by various critics in the developing world as being based on Western cultural assumptions and First World socio-economic conditions. American and British social work theory is therefore seen as not necessarily appropriate to the needs of most clients and communities in non-Western developing countries. Do you agree with this criticism as it applies to South Africa?*¹⁶

A. Closed responses of social work educators

As is evident from **Figure 9.12** below, a large majority of educators (88 per cent) agreed with the criticism as formulated in this item with three quarters of this majority giving 'weak' or qualified agreement and the remainder 'strong' agreement. While it was evident that black respondents, particularly Black-Afr educators, were more likely to give a 'strong' endorsement to the proposition than were white educators, there was a fairly high degree of consensus between the Col/Ind, White-Afr and White-Eng groups on this issue.

Figure 9.12: Social work educators' responses to Item 18



B. Comments specific to Item 18a

In respect of this item, educators had two separate opportunities to comment. Firstly, many educators chose to provide elaboratory commentary in respect of their closed response above. These comments, provided by just over half of educators, are discussed in the following categories:

1. Strong endorsement: from casework to indigenous development

Just under a fifth of respondents providing comments, had strongly endorsed the criticism as set out here. In general, educators tended to take the view that while the uncritical importing of Western and 'First World' theory and models was problematic, the criticism was not aimed at weaknesses in these theories so much as the need for South African social work to pay close attention to our own context and the specific human and welfare needs in the country. One (White-Afr) educator felt that the methods given prominence within the Western models have been applied in inappropriate ways locally:

A large defect is that South African social work is largely built on American and British models - also with regard to the development of methods, modules and theory. If social work's unique situation had been accurately assessed from the outset, casework methods would perhaps have been more strongly challenged by community development some time ago.⁴

⁴ 'n Groot leemte is dat SA m[aa]tskaplike werk grootliks op die Amerikaanse en Britse modelle gebou is - ook wat die ontwikkeling van die metodes, modules en teorie betref. Indien m[aa]tskaplike werk se unieke situasie van meet af aan verreken is, sou die gevallewerk metode dalk lankal reeds sterker deur gemeenskaps-ontwikkeling aangeval gewees het.

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This emphasis on a move from away from casework towards addressing developmental issues was supported by another (Black-Afc) educator:

Social work in SA should focus on the problems of under-development (mainly) and less those of psychological problems.

In addition several educators commented on the dearth of local literature:

We need to have indigenous literature that will best suit our needs.

An interesting comment by a lone (Col/Ind) educator, and one which, in my own experience, expresses a frustration experienced by many social work educators and students, relates to the commonly experienced gap between theory and practice.

Yes, and the result of inappropriate theories is that students begin to feel bad about their circumstances not matching the norm.

The lack of a strong and localised literature and practice, rooted in addressing local problems and challenges, that is clearly South African or African is clearly an important issue here.

2. Adaptation to 3rd/Developing World conditions

The bulk of comments (70 per cent) came from educators who had given a 'weak' endorsement of the criticism. Despite this, the comments were generally not that different from those in the first category above. The main view was that social work high-level theory and models are not in themselves 'the problem' but that, as the theory and value base of professional social work practice, they need to be adapted and contextualised to be of relevance to local South African needs and conditions. Some, as did this White-Eng educator, emphasised what they saw as the essential continuity of social work theory:

We must be careful not to 'throw the baby out with the bath water'. Certain processes are the same no matter what the context. Also one can learn from others' experiences.

Others, as this Col/Ind educator, stressed the degree of adaptation necessary:

Books mainly from the UK/USA, - therefore practising first world social work and dealing with third world problems. I try to adapt the existing texts to our own situation.

This latter comment also sounds a particular theme that recurs throughout a significant number of comments in all categories - that of the endorsement of a 'First World/Third World' dichotomy both externally, when comparing South Africa to the West, as well as internally when comparing population groups or communities. These social work educators, irrespective of race/ethnic

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groups, and as evident in the following comment by a Black-Afr respondent, were content to accept the use of these problematic terms, in fairly uncritical and sometimes confused or confusing ways²

Because its principles, which embrace value prescriptions of the western world, are not altogether appropriate to the manner of handling clients in third world countries. Taking culture into consideration, socio-economically the two worlds, first and third, in this country are not the same.

This division of peoples and conditions into two separate and mutually exclusive 'worlds', and the superior/inferior and advanced/backward assumptions often made within such constructions, is evident in this comment by a White-Afr educator:

Whites live in the 1st world and in 1st world socio-economic conditions. Must they now be treated in a 3rd world way? Must all the development that has been achieved come to nothing? NO. Keep 1st world standards AND develop 3rd world theory and techniques. Get [the] 3rd world up to [the] 1st world. Our struggle is not to become 3rd world!³

Critical awareness of the potential problems with such notions was very rare. However another (White-Afr) educator made use of these distinctions in a less rigid way referring to the unsatisfactory way that such terms attempt to draw firm boundaries around social and cultural realities that are actually far more nuanced and complex:

Dominant culture usually dominates for a long time. The reinterpretation of context-relevant aspects such as in my work is completely normal and is part of the evolution of the world. Not all black people are 3rd world any more however and are [taken up? influenced?] by Western attitudes etc. just as we in South Africa are influenced by the USA etc.⁴

One (White-Eng) educator qualified her agreement with the criticism by focusing on universal social and political values and using the less dualistic (though not entirely unproblematic) distinction of 'developed' and 'developing' countries:

... as John Dunn in his book *Modern Revolutions* suggests, 'Non-oppressive government is as close to an innate preference as is to be discovered among the diversity of human societies'. So Western values of the

² Blankes leef in 1ste wereld en 1ste wereld sosio-ekonomiese toestande. Moet hulle nou 3de wereld behandel word? Moet al die ontwikkeling wat bereik is tot nief gemaak word? NEE. Behou 1ste wereld standaard EN ontwikkel 3de wereld teorie en tegnieke. Kry 3de wereld so by 1ste wereld. Ons strewe is tog nie om 3de wereld te word nie!

³ Dominante kultuur oorheers gewoonlik vir 'n lang tyd. Die herinterpretasie van konteks relevante aspekte soos my werk is heel normaal en is tog deel van die ontwikkelingsgang van die wêreld. Nie alle swart mense is egter meer 3de wêreld nie en is [opgestuur?] deur Westerse denke etc. net soos ons in SA beïnvloed word deur USA etc.

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intrinsic worth of each human being and the importance of empowering people remain true even in developing countries and apply therefore to most clients and communities in any country.

The view that the particular needs of the majority of people in the South African context entails a reorientation of local social work towards a much greater emphasis on community and/or social development is much in evidence here. As previously discussed, such a reorientation can be conceived of as 'indigenisation'⁴¹ but, interestingly, the latter term was only used by two educators here.

3. Universality and continuity

Only a handful (12 per cent) of comments came from educators who felt that the criticism was not a valid one. These educators felt that drawing a sharp distinction between Western and local social work approaches was neither useful nor necessary and they emphasised the universal nature of social work while recognising the need for local adaptation. One (Black-Af) educator, for example, attributed considerable versatility to the generically skilled social work professional:

Skills in helping people, principles and techniques are adaptable everywhere! People experiencing problems have to be approached professionally irrespective of where they are.

Another (White-Af) educator pointed to the degree of theoretical overlap but also objected to the distinction between the West/developed and non-Western/developing countries:

There are also many overlaps. Developed countries are stigmatised by statements/assertions such as the one you make here. South Africa finds itself in a 'both and more' situation.⁴²

C. Comments specific to the educational use of social work literature

An additional request was made to educators as follows:

Please comment on this issue as it influences your own teaching - in particular your use of social work literature that you regard as appropriate in the South African context.

Two-thirds of educators provided comments and these, with particular attention paid to literature references, are discussed in the following broad categories:

⁴¹ Daar is ook baie ooreenkomste. Ontwikkelende lande word gestigmatiseer deur stellings soos die wat u hier maak. Suid Afrika bevind homself in 'n 'both and more' situasie.

1. Core literature emphasis

Most comments described what appeared to be a common teaching practice amongst South African educators at the time of the survey. This consisted of teaching the basic and 'universal' principles of social work practice and/or the so-called 'core' methodologies of social work (variously labelled but covering work with individuals, families, groups and communities as well as community development) but with the additional use of local practice examples and/or references to local social work writing and/or research.

Most of these educators explicitly acknowledged that the bulk of the 'core' literature was British or American in origin but either emphasised the need for adaptation or stressed that this theory was to be critically assessed for selective use within South African conditions. A number of internationally well-known (mainly North American) authors were mentioned. This practice was fairly evenly spread across all four of the race/ethnic groups. Notably, Black-Afc educators had the highest representation (80 per cent) in this category.

2. The scarcity of local literature

Just under a fifth of comments focused on the scarcity of local, or 'indigenous' social work literature which many educators found to be a limitation in their teaching. A very small number of comments stated or implied that the existing local social work literature tended to be derivative at the theoretical level with local content being limited to case examples. In general educators' comments in this category appeared to reflect a degree of resignation or acceptance as regards this situation. These comments came from all race/ethnic groups but were more likely to be made by Black-Afc and White-Afk educators.

3. 3rd/Developing World literature

A few comments described educators' use of texts from a range of different countries other than Britain and America in order to ensure their teaching was relevant and appropriate to the needs of South Africa. Literature from other African countries, as well as '3rd World' and Asian countries, was specifically mentioned as was literature from Australia and India. One (White-Eng) educator felt that she/he was able to source relevant development and 'empowerment' publications from both Western and African/Asian countries. Another (Col/Ind) found Asian social work journals as well as UNICEF and WHO publications useful. One (White-Eng) educator made extensive use of

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indigenous South African literature from other disciplines such as namely economics, politics, geography, philosophy, social anthropology, as well as wider development literature

4. Local literature focus

Of five (white) educators who felt that there was a substantial body of local social work literature that could be used in their teaching, two (White-Eng) referred to local authors such as McKendrick, Lund and Ferrhino, as well as the local social work journals, as being useful. The balance of three (White-Afk) educators referred to a number of Afrikaans authors, for example, Swartepoel, Hugo, Schoeman, and Lombard as well as HSRC (Human Sciences Research Council) publications⁹

5. Experiential practice-based focus

Two educators chose to emphasise their teaching methodology rather than content and implied that, as they did not depend on formal text-based learning, the availability of local literature was less critical. One (White-Eng) educator, who taught groupwork and group dynamics, felt that an experiential approach, using 'the experience of conflicts within the multi-racial group of the students that comprise the classes' was of great use in helping students understand the theory from a personal perspective. The other (Col/Ind) educator outlined her/his preference for what was clearly an 'adult education' learning model with an emphasis on class discussion around actual practice in local settings.

D. Closed responses of social work students

Almost all (97 per cent) social work students felt that Western social work theory was, at least to some extent, inappropriate to the needs of most South Africans (see **Figure 9.13** in **Appendix O**). Over a half of these respondents indicated 'strong' agreement with the White-Afk group, somewhat unexpectedly, scoring the highest proportion of such agreement (75 per cent) and the Col/Ind group the lowest (40 per cent). Black-Afc (68 per cent) and White-Eng (54 per cent) student ratings of 'strong' agreement fell in between.

E. Comments by social work students

Nearly two-thirds of student respondents provided comments which are discussed within the following categories:

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1. Development emphasis needed

Over half of the comments provided were from student respondents who recorded 'strong' agreement with this item. Most of these student comments tended to reiterate the criticism as set out in this item and generally took a harder line as to the rejection of Western social work theory and models than that taken by social work educators. An example is the comment by a (White-Eng) student.

I agree fully with this statement and would urge that without indigenisation, development of the underdeveloped sections of the S.A. population would not take place because we as social workers have to implement a multi-faceted strategy in our communities i.e. PREVENTION, DEVELOPMENT, on a large scale CASEWORK not negated though.

As with educators, the emphasis on development, as distinct from remedial casework approaches, is signalled here. There is also explicit reference to the process of 'indigenisation' of social work theory which is seen as a necessary precursor to the transformation of practice itself. Other students had no reservations (in contrast to many educators) in placing South Africa squarely in the 3rd World/developing country category and advocating for a social work education, practice and literature appropriate to that status. As one (White-Afk) student put it

South Africa is a 3rd world country and we must be trained for this situation. More South African-relevant literature is very necessary.*

One comment, by a (Black-Afc) student reflects others I have heard, also mainly from Black-Afc students, in reaction to casework teaching and/or skills training:

The theory is mostly based on how to deal with feelings which is what [the] Black community is not interested in. [This community] only wants practical things because of their deprivation of resources.

While the point that casework/counselling models of intervention cannot address the lack of basic resources and poverty within which the majority of Black people live is clearly correct, it should be noted here that there are considerable dangers to notions that depict black, or poor (or any other) people as having constricted, or unimportant, emotional experience. Such notions can reinforce racist discourse and have discriminatory consequences such as the perception that such persons have no need of access to counselling or psychiatric services, for example.

* Suid-Afrika is 'n 3de wêreld land en moet ons vir hierdie situasie opgelei word. Meer Suid-Afrikaans-relevante literatuur is baie nodig.

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2. Contextualisation required

The balance of comments came from those who gave qualified support to this item. As was the case with educators, these students felt that there was no major problem with theory and values of professional social work as set out in Western literature, but these had to be applied, or contextualised, within local settings. As two students (Black-Afe and White-Afk respectively) put it:

I feel that we need to use the Western theory, however it must be in the South African context.

Sometimes there is too much reference to the developed countries while the situation in South Africa is quite different to that in the developed countries.¹⁸

3. Universalist approach

Two comments came from students who felt that the criticism in this item was not valid. One (Col/Ind) student took a universalist view of human needs.

There is [sic] a great deal of similarities across the world

while another (Black-Afe) student had a rather surprising, and naive, view of social work in Africa:

Social work has worked in Africa nevertheless, the base of origin of helping approach.¹⁹

F. Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

As in the case of educators and students, a very high majority (91 per cent) of fieldwork supervisors felt that Western social work theory was, at least to some extent, inappropriate to the needs of most South Africans (see **Figure 9.14** in **Appendix O**). In a similar pattern to that of the educators, nearly two-thirds of supervisors indicated a 'weak' endorsement. When broken down by 'colour' however, half of Black-Ind supervisors indicated a 'strong' endorsement as against less than a fifth of White supervisors.

G. Comments by fieldwork supervisors

A majority of fieldwork supervisors (78 per cent) chose to provide comments which are discussed within the following categories:

¹⁸ Soms word daar te veel te verwys na die ontwikkelde lande terwyl die situasie in Suid-Afrika veel anders is as in die ontwikkelde lande.

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1. Appropriate theory/methods to replace casework

Just under a third of comments were made by supervisors who registered a 'strong' agreement. One (Black-Ind) supervisor, in line with the student comment above, raised the issue of the inappropriateness of casework in the local context:

Caseworking people out of poverty - when clients wanted jobs, houses, justice, social workers concentrated on emotions.

Other comments tended to focus on the '3rd World' status and needs of South Africa and the need for an appropriate response to this. While the 1st World/3rd World distinction more usually implies differences in socio-economic conditions and technological advancement, one (White) fieldwork supervisor framed this distinction in more cultural terms:

We really need more theory based on African/3rd World culture in order to make social work training appropriate.

Such a conflation of 3rd World and African is clearly problematic. Nevertheless the respondent does highlight that the cultural dimension of a change in social work focus - both in terms of client or community culture but, more importantly, in the sense of the need for a shift in professional culture away from mainstream areas of practice²¹

2. Universal principles in context

Two-thirds of comments were provided by fieldwork supervisors who recorded a 'weak' agreement with this item. Again the predominant theme was that while social work principles and values remain universally valid, there is an urgent need to reorientate practice towards approaches that address basic human needs. As one (White) supervisor commented:

It's inappropriate in that it's a luxury we cannot afford, given the numbers in need in the most basic human needs - however, the principles and values remain valid.

Other supervisors made use of the 1st/3rd World distinction both to flag external differences between South Africa and the West as well as, in the case of the following (Black) respondent, those arising internally:

Certain parts of our country and even certain suburbs in big cities are certainly Third World. Their problems should be approached differently.

VII. Summary and concluding comments

In terms of the *structure of the social work curriculum*, there was clearly a strong preference by the majority of educators for issues of race and culture to be integrated into the mainstream of the social work curriculum as opposed to being placed in separate specialist courses. As discussed in Chapter 4, the specialist literature in this area tends to view 'separate' attention to issues of both equity and diversity as a step on the way to the full incorporation of such issues into the core curriculum. Ultimately, culture-sensitive and anti-oppressive or anti-discriminatory social work practice should be identical with standard 'good practice' in the profession (Thompson, 1993). The central issue for curriculum structure here is then, whether such issues are truly integrated in the sense of being clearly identified and appropriately addressed as important elements of the core curriculum, or, whether they are effectively dissipated or silenced through only token attention being paid to them. Only a minority of educators (mainly Black-Afr, Col/Ind and White-Eng) opted for a combined alternative that most closely resembles such a fully integrated curriculum.

As regards the issue of *curriculum content*, there was a differential response in respect of the 'softer' cultural issues, on the one hand, and the 'harder' race and discrimination issues on the other. The White-Afr group opted for a greater emphasis on the cultural issues while the other three race/ethnic educator groups generally felt that a balance between these two broad areas was necessary. It would appear therefore that the latter group finds it easier to engage with issues of cultural diversity, knowledge and tolerance and is less comfortable in relation to issues of ongoing discrimination, equity and redress.

In respect of *teaching/learning methodology*, there was strong support from almost all educators for a combination of cognitive and affective learning in respect of the above content areas. This not unexpected support is in line with the emphasis placed by many social work authors (see the review in Chapter 4) on the special importance of experiential learning in this area of the curriculum.

Most educators felt the inclusion of content on issues of race and culture in social work practice as important although White-Afr educators, and to an extent White-Eng educators, were less enthusiastic in this respect with nearly a third of White-Afr educators regarding such content as

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of minor importance. In terms of suggestions as to other important areas of the curriculum needed at that time, Black-Afr, Col/Ind and White-Eng educators tended to be *issue-focused* in respect of a variety of specific social issues or client/community needs. White-Afr educators from the HWI-Afr sector on the other hand tended to be more *methodology-focused* and place their faith in the ability of a generic professional training package to address specific issues and problems. These trends will be picked for further discussion as to their possible implications in the concluding chapter.

While there is clearly a strong overall endorsement of training for *transcultural practice* by the majority of respondents, the comments provide some evidence that such training is not seen as without its problems by a significant minority of respondents, particularly educators. Language skills, client attitudes, student social workers' own preferences, and a need for cultural and linguistic 'matching' of worker and client were some of the issues raised by respondents. There is some evidence from both the content and tone of some comments, from a minority of White-Afr educators, that the 'choice' and 'matching' issues were being used in defence of a continued segregated or population group-specific services. Some student respondents focused on the absence of such training and the perceived Western cultural bias of social work teaching in their settings.

Despite the support for the teaching of *anti-racist practice* in social work education by the majority of respondents, a significant degree of discomfort around this area (compared with transcultural education) is evident here and this applies particularly to white respondents. There was some reaction to what was perceived as the 'negative' emphasis of an oppositional approach as well as a degree of defensiveness on the part of some white respondents who were quick to point out that all race/population groups are capable of being racist. Some of these respondents also preferred a positive emphasis on cultural diversity to one on race or racism.

A few other interesting themes also emerged. The reference back to the universal values and principles of social work with its emphasis on the equal treatment of all persons and, for some, on social justice is a double-edged one. This argument can be used either to argue against any special focus on 'difference' and inequalities, and so downplay South Africa's social and historical context, or alternatively to criticise the shortcomings of actual practice in terms of the progressive

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'social justice' view of universal social work. The problems associated with such an 'ideal' and unitary conception of social work are taken up in the concluding chapter. Another associated theme, also apparent in earlier responses, is the focus on the individual person as the centre of action or attention - in this case as the origin of racism and discriminatory attitudes and/or the focus of social work intervention. In one instance this view was combined with an essentialist take on racist feelings and attitudes as 'natural' and almost 'genetic'.

Another issue raised was that of the potential negative reaction to anti-racism training. As referred to in Chapter 4, experience elsewhere has been that at least some forms of anti-racism training provoke negative reactions, typically from whites who have felt personally targeted and blamed.

The finding that, in general, social work educators had only minimal faith in the adequacy of the contemporary curriculum to prepare students for transcultural practice, but higher levels of confidence in their own personal ability and skills in this respect, raises further questions. It is not possible to establish from the data available here whether educators are over-rating their abilities in this area or, if this is not the case, why this under-utilised knowledge and skill is not being put to use in the curriculum.

Student respondents sent a strong message that they felt they were being inadequately prepared for transcultural, non-racist social work practice. On the other hand most fieldwork supervisors were more sanguine regarding the university curriculum's preparation of students for such practice and indicated that they attempted to support this theory input by providing opportunities for transcultural practice in field placements.

According to the heads of social work departments' survey, the extent of preparation of students for transcultural and anti-racist practice was highly variable with the overall impression that these areas were not being addressed in any thoroughgoing way. Neither was there much evidence that such areas were receiving special attention and the trend was that such content was 'added in' to mainstream teaching of traditional core areas of the curriculum. This evidence accords with the attitudes of most educators as to the inclusion of such content into the social work curriculum (see above).

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The overall trend of responses here was clearly supportive of the view that social work theory and practice, as historically developed in Western so-called 'First World' countries, is not necessarily appropriate to the needs of the majority of the South African population. Compared to social work educators and fieldwork supervisors, social work students recorded the highest proportion of 'strong' agreement with this view. In race/ethnic terms, the groups endorsing this view most strongly were White-Afk students, Black-Afk educators and students, and Black-Ind fieldwork supervisors. It was also evident that, despite their general view of its inappropriateness, most educators were reliant on using mainstream (i.e. Western) social work literature for their core teaching but sought to adapt it to local needs by providing local practice examples of the application of 'universal' social work values and principles of practice. There was only limited evidence of educators making use of social work literature from other developing countries either in Africa, or of the East or South

There was some support for the necessity of a cultural shift in local social work towards models that better addressed the economic and developmental needs of the population. This included reference to the need for more emphasis on community work/development and preventive programmes rather than on casework intervention. Mention was also made of the need for social work to be involved in urgent issues of, *inter alia*, poverty, job creation, education and health

As far as the terms of the debate around appropriateness went there was, perhaps surprisingly, only limited reference to the concept of 'indigenisation'. Most respondents were content to utilise a dualistic conceptual shorthand of 'First World/Third World', 'Western/non-Western' or 'developed/developing' to describe both differences between South Africa and Western countries as well as the internal class and ethnic/cultural divisions within the country. The largely uncritical acceptance and usage of these terms by social work educators (who are mostly university academics) was noteworthy

Notes to Chapter 9

It is my experience that, given the extremely wide scope of the personal and social issues that social work intervention is potentially concerned with, social work educators commonly complain about the lack of space and time to include everything they would wish to in the social work curriculum. Some hard choices as to what area get included or left out, or only briefly referred to, have to be made. The need to prioritise these areas is therefore always present.

I have not included any detailed analysis of the individual comments in respect of the the first three issues. This is not only because these comments did not add significantly to the closed responses but also because those that did raised questions and issues around curriculum construction that are beyond the scope of this brief section to adequately address.

The total number of times each content option was ranked by a respondent in their top three preferences is recorded in **Table 9.16** in **Appendix J**. **Figure 9.16** in **Appendix O** is constructed from these totals expressed as a percentage of the total number of responses ranking items from 1 to 3.

As in previous chapters in this section, I have used the label 'soft' to refer to the area of culture and cultural/ethnic diversity, an area which the majority of respondents across all race/ethnic groups find positively acceptable and important. On the other hand issues around race, racism and oppression are more divisive and, unsurprisingly in the context, there tends to be a differential response along race/ethnic lines. I therefore used the label 'hard' for the latter area precisely because the issues are more contested and often lead to the necessity of making hard policy and resource choices in terms of achieving redress and equity.

This rating, when read with the accompanying comment, appears to be an error or a misunderstanding of 'anti-racist'. The respondent, although circling the "strongly disagree" rating, comments, "The current training is definitely perpetuating anti-racist social work because it's theory that does not quite address the scarcity of resources". My reading of this response, especially viewed in the context of this educator's responses to other related questions in the questionnaire, is that 'anti-racist' has been read as 'racist' in error. If this reading is correct, then there is a 96 per cent agreement by Black-Afr respondents with the pure neutral response accounting for the other 4 per cent.

The internally inconsistent view, often evident in everyday 'common-sense' argument, in which 'political' is used as a negative label for the position of those with whose politics one disagrees is apparent here. Such a view completely ignores the highly political nature of the status quo and it is disturbing that a social work educator, in a university department, should display such lack of basic critical rigour.

This tension between a 'professional' approach of neutrality as against a more committed and advocacy role on behalf of specific client groups is a common theme in social work literature and debate internationally and is not unique to South Africa.

While this comment is far more revealing of the student's own personal attitudes than most others given, the question remains as to how representative it is of similar unexpressed attitudes amongst the student's reference group. This is of course a general research issue related to the sort of survey methodology adopted in this study but it would seem not unreasonable, given the social and educational context within which they have grown up, to expect that at least a significant proportion of respondents would have similarly essentialist views of racial differences and attitudes. While it would be expected that most of these respondents would be White, and to a lesser extent Coloured or Indian, there is some evidence in this survey to show that some respondents of all groups share such essentialist and conservative assumptions regarding race and even ethnic/cultural differences.

Although a proportion of respondents provided comments in addition to their closed responses to the questions in this section, these comments either did not add further information of interest or were idiosyncratically specific with no clear response trends being discernable. These comments are therefore not included in the discussion and analysis in this section.

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- ¹⁰ It should be remembered noted that this does not relate only to the HWI-Afk sector as over a quarter of White-Afk educators work in one of the other tertiary sectors.
- ¹¹ Of course an alternative route of interpretation here would be to raise the question as to whether some groups are more realistic than others in their self-assessment of the knowledge and skills required in this area. Precisely because for example, White-Eng educators in IIWI-Eng settings had (already by 1993) direct experience in working with Black-Afc students and colleagues, they may have been more aware of the extent of cultural differences between that group and other population groups. Whereas White-Afk educators in almost wholly uniraical IIWI-AFK settings may have tended to view their higher levels of Afrikaans/English bi-culturalism, relative to their White-Eng colleagues, as a positive measure of 'transcultural' ability.
- ¹² And in their fourth year of study in the case of the HBI and HWI-Afk and the third year in the case of the IIWI-Eng respondents.
- ¹³ At the time I wished to emphasise to student respondents, in whom I assumed less knowledge of overseas 'transcultural' literature, that I intended transcultural social work practice to refer to non-discriminatory but culture-sensitive approach and to clearly differentiate this from apartheid era 'own affairs' services - the term 'non-racial' is a well-known term used in the South African context and is distinct from both 'racist' apartheid-based and more 'Africanist' or 'black consciousness' ideological positions. In retrospect however this was probably unnecessary and it would have been more useful to have kept all respondent questions on this issue uniform for comparative purposes.
- ¹⁴ As would be expected, some supervisors commented on how difficult it was for them to assess what the theoretical input had been. Others made the point that it was also hard to know whether to attribute the student's preparedness to the course curriculum or to the student's own life experience. Yet others felt that theory was of limited use and such training needed to be mainly practical.
- ¹⁵ In addition to the question of the amount of space given to such transcultural and anti-racist content, key educational issues such as the quality and appropriateness of that content, the teaching method and style used would need to be addressed in more detailed curriculum research in this area.
- ¹⁶ Versions 18a, for educators, and 18b, for students and fieldwork supervisors, differ slightly in terms of length and wording but the meaning is effectively the same (see Appendices B, C and D). This formulation also used the not unproblematic, but commonly used, conceptual shorthand of distinguishing between Western and non-Western cultures, and First World/developed country and Third World/developing country socio-economic conditions.
- ¹⁷ Of course the text of *Item 18a* (and later, *Item 18b*) uses precisely these problematic dualisms particularly of 'First World/Third World' but also of 'Western/non-Western'. This proposition was an attempted brief summary of a complex debate and necessarily employed these shorthand terms to sketch its broad dimensions. I also implied no necessary agreement with the terms and survey participants were of course invited to provide critical responses to any aspect of the issues raised.
- ¹⁸ Of course, as will be taken up in the final chapter, we have to be careful in the use of this term. The process by which certain elements of the Western social work tradition were appropriated, and others suppressed or ignored, by the previous white and Afrikaner Nationalist governments can itself be described as a form of 'indigenisation'.
- ¹⁹ While I have not specifically reviewed social work books written in Afrikaans (see Chapter 3), the main reason is not the language in which they are written but rather that, as far as I am aware, none of these authors have explicitly attempted to deal with issues of culture or race within local social work theory or practice or made any serious attempt at original theory or model building. While some have reported on local research as regards local needs or practice, the overriding impression is rather that these texts are primarily translations and summaries of mainstream social work principles and methodologies illustrated with local examples of their application. This is largely true of the handful of local social work books published in English although the latter have tended to be far more analytical and critical of local welfare policy and practice prior to 1994.
- ²⁰ Without wishing to make too much of an isolated example, such a claim is very dubious, and there is a disturbing lack of a sufficiently critical attitude towards professional practice as well as a disturbing lack of awareness of informal and indigenous forms of helping that pre-date the development of formal social work.

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- ²¹ Interestingly, none of the respondents who advocate a shift to more developmental approaches geared to more basic material needs in, typically, black communities, explicitly refer to the issue of culture in this regard - as though such approaches are in themselves either culturally neutral or automatically appropriate. However as others have argued there is no guarantee that developmental approaches are more culturally sensitive towards or appropriate to, local communities than are other intervention methods (Dominelli, 1988; Galloway, 1993; Drower, 1991; Rothmund, 1994; Verhelst, 1990).

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Chapter 10

Conclusion

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Chapter 10

Conclusion

I. Overview of key findings and some implications

This study has sought to provide a broad overview of some important aspects of South African social work culture as it emerged from four decades under apartheid and prepared to address the challenges of a new democratic dispensation. This cross-sectional 'snapshot' of the state of social work education during the South African interregnum of that time has been viewed through a particular lens that focused on a set of transformational issues facing a social work profession that had previously been 'frozen' within a highly segregated, discriminatory and direct-service oriented welfare structure. I was particularly interested in gaining a picture of the profession at the time of this 'thaw' and before its elements crystallised into a new structural and policy configuration. The empirical basis of the study has been primarily an exploration of the views of key participants in social work education regarding issues of race and culture, some aspects of related educational practice, as well as related themes in the local social work literature. At the same time however, this cross-sectional view was situated within the more historical and discursive context presented in the reviews in Part I. Despite the special nature of the 'interregnum', I am reasonably confident that the data gathered here reflects the views of the majority of social work educators, and the specific areas of relevant educational practice, current in South African professional training institutions at the time of the study (also see page 308 and note 1).

I do not intend to repeat the more detailed findings that have been summarised in the preceding chapters of Part 2. These results, together with the detail in the chapter sections, and the attached appendices, would stand to lose both nuance and their qualitative richness if reduced to general or summarised form. Nevertheless taken together, and with the benefit of some distance, there are some overall themes and patterns that emerge from these results that I feel are of interest and relevance to our understanding of the shape and content of local social work educational culture.

The first theme here is around the highly abstract and inclusive, some might say 'warm and fuzzy', notion of cultural diversity as a conceptual tool in dealing with the complexity of issues of

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race and culture (and gender, class, sexual orientation, disability etc.) It was evident (see Chapter 6) that the majority of all respondents, from all race/ethnic groups, had positive views regarding the acknowledgement of, and even a degree of emphasis on, cultural diversity and did not see the need to problematise the issue even though a minority of respondents clearly felt uncomfortable with an unqualified affirmation. As previously discussed however, the literature makes clear that there are a range of possible positive views within what might first appear to be a common cultural diversity approach. These include both progressive culturalist views (based on more relativist assumptions) that seek to address equity and power issues (even if only through the equal valuing of cultural differences) as well as more conservative, ethnocentric views that incline towards the preservation or construction of social hierarchies and privileges between competing ethnic groups. From the results here it was clearly quite possible for significant numbers of social work educators, mostly white and predominantly Afrikaans speaking, to support a cultural diversity approach (see *Item 1* in Chapter 6 above) at the same time as opposing the establishment of more equitable welfare service provision. It was only when the “harder” equity and resource issues (welfare redistribution and staff representivity in particular) were explored that these different ideological positions begin to emerge.

This study therefore provides evidence that an endorsement of cultural diversity does not necessarily imply a commitment to equity. Such a conservative and anti-egalitarian position within a wider cultural diversity approach can obviously be seen as continuous with an apartheid ideology that emphasised cultural difference precisely to be able to justify differentiated and unequal services. Of course, given the context at the time of the survey - the transition to a post-apartheid dispensation, in which previously dominant groups feared relegation to ‘minority’ status - support for cultural diversity from such conservative groups might owe more to the anticipated protection and/or special treatment minorities are due rather than a matter of moral principle. This alignment with a more ‘progressive’ view of cultural diversity, as opportunistic and convenient as it might appear, does however imply an acceptance that equivalent rights and protection will be granted to all other social/cultural groups as well.

This leads on to a related issue. Taking the massive and unjustifiable extent of the disparities in welfare provision that existed at the time of the study (detailed in Chapter 2), together with the core commitment of social work as a profession to addressing the needs of indigent and otherwise disadvantaged individuals, families and communities (expressed as under the rubric of

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'social justice' by many writers), how do we understand the opposition of a significant minority of social work educators towards the goals of welfare equity as expressed in this study? Is this finding an accurate reflection of local social work educators views or is there any reason to suspect that these educators felt constrained in any way to take particular ideological positions on this issue?

It was certainly the case that during the apartheid years there were always strong ideological pressures on social workers to conform to government policies as well as explicit, or implicit, threats regarding funding, jobs and even personal safety in the case of those who participated in overt anti-government activities. At the time of the survey however - within the remarkably open and fluid transitional political situation as described in Chapter 1 - individual social work respondents were as free as they had perhaps ever been to express their own personal views without fear of reprisal. In addition respondents in this study were completing a confidential questionnaire sent directly to myself, a researcher working in a 'liberal' university known for its opposition to the apartheid government's policies. I therefore would argue that there is no reason to believe that the attitudes as expressed by respondents to this survey were anything other than their sincerely felt and thought through responses to the issues raised¹

This lack of explicit coercion or pressure does not of course dispense with the issue of the relationship between dominant ideologies and individual beliefs/attitudes particularly in a relatively closed and heavily censored social system such as apartheid which has enduring effects beyond its demise. A number of constraints on alternative ways of understanding and constructing social realities are clearly operative including the issue of vested interests in the status quo. It would have indeed been surprising not to have found such opposition to equity goals, particularly among those groups of social work educators who most benefited from a state-sponsored profession during the long period of white-minority (and latterly, Afrikaner Nationalist) rule. And it is clear that those who felt most threatened by the implications of a redistributive welfare dispensation were white, particularly Afrikaans speaking, educators.

It therefore remains an uncomfortable reality that has to be acknowledged that, at the time of the survey, a significant minority of social work educators - in many ways representing the senior leadership of the profession - took the view that much of the segregation and discrimination towards both client groups and their own black colleagues should in effect, and in fact, continue.

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This raises the wider and more painful issue of the detail of the role social workers played in the apartheid years. As discussed in Chapter 2, the South African social work profession was actively involved, not necessarily always willingly, in the creation and perpetuation of government-sponsored segregated welfare services. Of course individual social workers and their different professional associations had a range of responses to state welfare policies - from active support for segregation and discriminatory policies⁷, through passive acceptance of the status quo, to active opposition and the setting up of alternative non-governmental services.

The more immediate point here is that, given this picture of educator attitudes at the time, there was clearly some work to be done within social work education to confront and challenge discriminatory thinking and beliefs if social work students were to receive a professional training appropriate to an integrated and equitable welfare system. On a more hopeful note, both English and Afrikaans speaking white social work students - younger and with less apartheid era baggage to carry with them - were significantly more positive than educators with regard to these equity issues. Also, as is evident in the post-1990 local social work literature reviewed in Part 1, some progress is being made in the reconstruction of a more appropriate social work curriculum.

A further issue that was evident relates to the quality of written commentary provided by social work educators in particular and what this reveals about the knowledge base of educators themselves. Taking into account that educators were being asked to fill in a long questionnaire with limited space for extended responses, the majority of comments, with some notable exceptions, tended to be made at the level of everyday discourse and a layperson's knowledge of the issues involved. The comments made in response to the 'macro' issues of cultural diversity, 'stages' of development and the preservation of cultural/national identity are an exemplar here. There was very little indication of familiarity with the more critical positions that have continued to inform debate within the social sciences over the last few decades or explicit reference by respondents to theory or literature in support of their views. In relation to cultural diversity issues, for example, no reference was made to either the Marxist/structuralist attack on ethnicity and culture in favour of the primacy of class conflict, or the more social constructionist viewpoint that interrogates the ideological purposes of the construction of culture and/or ethnicity in specific contexts. And even though a significant minority were critical of the contentious formulation set out in *Item 3* (that distinct ethnic and national groups in South Africa are at different stages of social and cultural development) most educators (particularly White-Afk and

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Black-Afe) appeared willing to accept the item as it stood and showed a generally low level of awareness of debates around notions of development. In the comments around transcultural and anti-racist practice and the use of theory and literature for teaching an appropriate social work practice for local needs, a similar pattern emerged. Here there was only sparse reference to even specific social work literature on these topics.

This lack of an adequate social science knowledge base is not a new issue for social work and is one that has been raised in international debates over the years. The problem has much to do with the fact that as an applied discipline social work is constantly having to engage with everyday, 'common sense' social realities and immediate interventive responses to urgent needs. It could be argued therefore that social work educators do not have the luxury, or the time, to keep in touch with theoretical developments in social theory in the core disciplines of sociology, psychology or anthropology. As part of this practical training emphasis, many local departments of social work education employ significant numbers of staff, either on a full or part-time basis, whose main function is practice supervision and who are not expected to contribute to the discipline at a theoretical or research level. In addition it is also true that social work covers so many social and psychological issues and different fields of practice that it is difficult for educators to keep in touch with developments in general social science theory let alone in social work practice methodologies.

This situation is also problematic as it not only points to a significant distance between the theory taught in what have traditionally been regarded as social work's core social science disciplines and applied social work theory but, more importantly, results in the blunting of the critical and reflexive edge that a contentious activity such as social work requires if it is to intervene effectively in complex social situations where even 'angels fear to tread'. In addition another consequence of this situation for social work education could well be further pressure on its position in a university, rather than a technikon or college, environment.

Another major theme was that of the capacity of the social work curriculum at the time to prepare students for practice in future non-racial, integrated and culturally diverse welfare settings. The overall impression gained from this study in this regard was, in my view, rather gloomy. Not only were the majority of social work departments not addressing issues of race and culture in social work theory and practice in any thoroughgoing way, but social work educators

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themselves had a generally very low opinion of their own curriculum in this regard. Although only a regional group and not nationally representative, senior undergraduate students sent a strong message that they were being inadequately prepared for such practice. Having myself grappled with both theory and practice teaching in these areas for some years, I do not wish to underestimate the complexities and difficulties facing social work educators attempting to provide such professional education. As has I hope been evident throughout this dissertation, there are a range of challenging issues raised once diversity, and its consequences, is fully addressed of which a number have been outlined in the latter sections of Chapter 4. There is a lack of solid evidence that significant engagement with these issues was in fact taking place in the majority of educational settings.

One aspect of social work practice within the likely reorganisation of post-apartheid social work services for which the social work curriculum was clearly not making provision, was that of language proficiency of qualifying social workers. The issue of communication between social workers and service users was identified by most respondents as a central challenge in a future integrated and multicultural social work practice. However it seems that despite the apparent willingness of a significant proportion of social work educators and students to positively address the lack of proficiency in African languages, social work education was making very little practical effort in this respect. No social work education department was providing compulsory training, or requiring proficiency, in any African language. Such a situation, if unchanged, would have serious consequences particularly for most Coloured, Indian and White students' ability to communicate, at even the most basic levels, with black African clients and communities.

A topical issue over the last decade or so, and one that many respondents had clearly given some thought to, was that of the overall cultural orientation of mainstream social work theory and practice and the related need to 'indigenise' local social work practice. The large majority of respondents gave general, if qualified, support to the view that social work theory is based on Western cultural assumptions and 'First World' socio-economic conditions and is therefore not necessarily appropriate to the needs of most clients and communities in South Africa³. While a minority of mainly Black-Afric educators argued, or implied, that this Western theory needed to be replaced by local and indigenous models of practice, most educators took the more moderate line of affirming such theory as more or less universal in terms of its principles and values but

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requiring adaptation, or 'contextualisation' (see Lombard, 1999), of this theoretical core in order to address local needs and challenges.

While this latter 'contextualisation' view tends to receive support in much of the literature (see Ferguson-Brown, 1991; Bogo & Herrington, 1987; Hall, 1990; Walton & Nasr, 1988), there are specific aspects of social work values particularly those relating to the individualistic Western focus as well as that on self-determination, for example, that have been identified as being culturally specific (see Ejaz, 1991 and Osei-Hwedie, 1995). Others however, such as social justice, empowerment of marginalised clients and communities, and the redress of social and economic inequalities, have been seen as more truly universal principles even if they need to be applied in ways sensitive to local cultural practices and political realities.

In this regard it would seem from the views expressed at various points in this study that there are two very different local views of social work's 'universal' principles and values. Firstly an avowedly apolitical but actually conservative view that focuses on respect for the 'unique individual' and is primarily clinically oriented. This view is also reflected in South African code of conduct for social workers:

.. every human being has a unique value and potential irrespective of origin, ethnicity, sex, age, beliefs, socio-economic and legal status. (Government Gazette, 25 April 1986)

And, secondly, an overtly political, anti-apartheid and progressive view that emphasises social justice, human rights and is more developmentally oriented. These appear to be linked to international social work discourses as reviewed in Chapter 4 - the former with a 'colour-blind' and dominant-group perspective that tends to ignore, or be silent about, the social context in which privilege and disadvantage and oppression are realities. While the latter view is linked to a more universal human rights value orientation with its focus on social inequalities and redress for oppressed groups. The next section explores this ideological diversity in more detail.

II. Ideological diversity within South African social work education

A striking feature of the survey findings was that, in a general way, there appear to be identifiable clusters of responses to a significant number of items along a broadly conservative towards a broadly progressive and/or liberal ideological continuum. And viewed in terms of the race/ethnic demographic characteristics of respondents (as I have defined these in this study), it is clear that these ideological differences are, to some extent, race/ethnic-specific. The main difference was on

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the one hand, between the White-Afk educator group whose views were more likely to tend towards the conservative end of the spectrum and, on the other, the Black-Afc, Col/Ind and White-Eng race/ethnic groups whose views tend towards the liberal/progressive end of the spectrum. Within this latter collective grouping, the views of the Black-Afc differ in some specific respects to those of the Col/Ind and White-Eng groups (see discussion below).

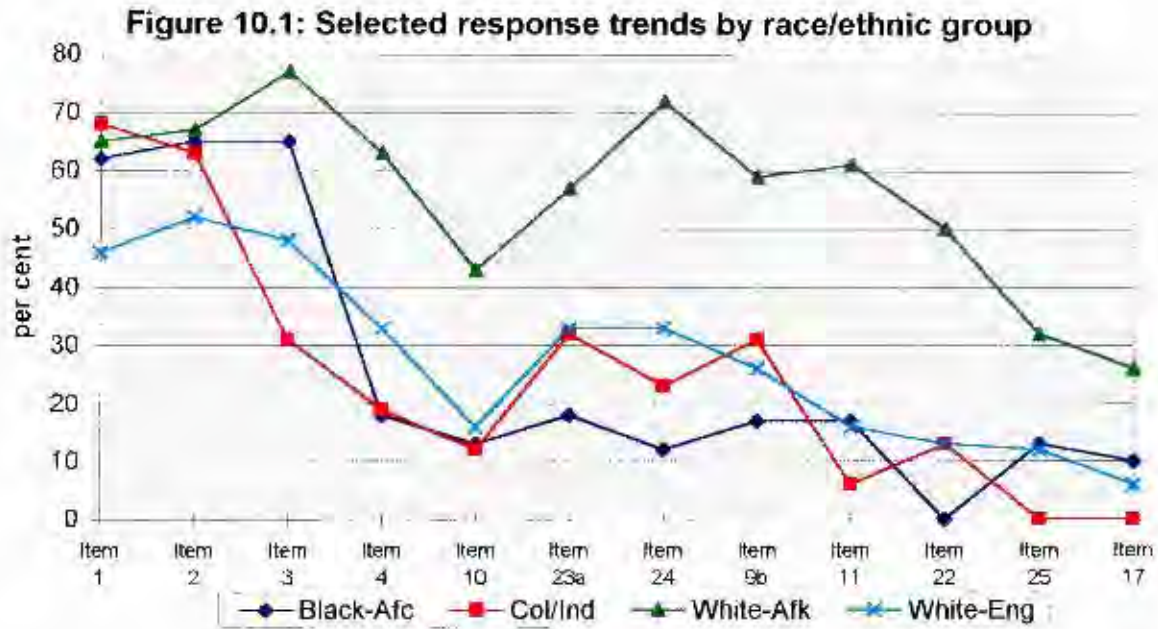
I felt that the most helpful and accurate way to analyse these trends was to look at which type or direction or strength of views or attitudes were particular race/ethnic group of educators more likely to express than other race/ethnic groups. I then looked at whether these attitudes together expressed what might be regarded as coherent worldview or set of views that at least loosely hung together. Having done this, it was clear that the White-Afk educator group in particular, who constitute almost half (47 per cent) of all educator respondents, tended to have more group-specific sets of attitudes. In this sense then White-Afk educators, compared to most other race/ethnic groups, were more likely to:

1. Favour a stronger emphasis on the diversity of cultural values, beliefs and practices amongst people/communities in South Africa - this difference was very slight in closed response terms (and mainly in contrast to the lower emphasis of the White-Eng group) but greater in terms of written comments (see findings in respect of *Items 1* and *2* in Chapter 6).
2. Support a focus on the 'unique individual' as a central reference point for generic social work services (see Chapter 6)
3. Support an evolutionary view of national and ethnic groups as having stages of social and cultural development (see *Item 3* in Chapter 6)
4. Support, or at least be neutral towards social homogeneity and/or separation as a means of preserving ethnic/national identity (see *Item 4* in Chapter 6).
5. Give a weaker, and/or qualified, level of support to the expansion of welfare resources and services to black communities (see *Item 10* in Chapter 7).
6. Give only weak support to, or significantly oppose, the principle of cultural, ethnic and racial representivity of social work educator staff in tertiary institutions (see *Item 23a* in Chapter 7).

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7. Oppose affirmative action as a means to achieve the staff representivity referred to in point 6 above (see *Item 24* in Chapter 7).
8. Oppose integrated 'universal' (as distinct from integrated 'culture-sensitive') social work services and also give a degree support to the continuation of segregated, ethnic/population group based services (see *Items 9a & 9b* in Chapter 8).
9. Support the 'matching' of social workers and clients/communities by ethnic, racial and/or cultural characteristics (see *Item 11* in Chapter 8).
10. Give only weak support to the need for non-Black-Afr (i.e. Col/Ind, White-Afr and White-Eng) social work students to gain basic proficiency in a black African language. Interestingly, this group was also most likely to favour English as a required language of communication for social work students (see *Item 22* in Chapter 8).
11. Give lower priority to the inclusion of issues of race and culture in social work practice within the curriculum as a whole (see *Item 25* in Chapter 9) and, within such content, prefer to place the emphasis on cultural issues, rather than issues of race, discrimination or oppression (see findings summary in Chapter 9).
12. Focus more on generic, methodology-based training within the social work curriculum as opposed to more specific, issue-based training (see *Item 25* in Chapter 9).
13. To generally support, but be less comfortable with any emphasis on, training for anti-racist social work practice (see *Item 17* in Chapter 9).

In order to illustrate these findings graphically I have summarised the specific areas wherein distinctive attitudes are evident in **Figure 10.1** below. This figure aggregates the closed responses by social work educators for the listed items by race/ethnic group⁴



I would also however point out that this association between race/ethnic group and individual ideological perspectives is based on general trends only and does not mean that there are hard attitudinal boundaries between the demographic groupings (which are themselves not fixed or mutually exclusive). In fact, as the detailed results show, there are significant numbers of individuals in each of these demographic groups whose views do not conform to the attitudinal trend of their group. Any generalisation based on aggregated responses by imposed group categories is at risk of doing violence to the views of such individuals. Examples of this have been made explicit in the results chapters and some will be discussed below. The identification of these trends is also very relative and predominantly relies on differences of degree of response rather than of kind - exceptions to this are detailed later. As explained in Chapter 5, I deliberately chose not to use statistical methods, beyond simple percentages, in the analysis and prefer to make sense of the closed and written responses in as 'raw' a state as possible.

It is evident that the majority of the above response trends together form part of what could be most appropriately labelled as a 'conservative' social perspective. This is both in the sense of a preference towards aspects of the South African welfare status quo under the previous Afrikaner Nationalist government, as well as in the more generally accepted usage of conservative to denote a set of more 'right-wing' social and political viewpoints that are in contrast to more 'left-wing' liberal or progressive viewpoints. There are also however some issues that are less easily placed along this attitudinal spectrum. As discussed in Chapter 4, the issue of 'matching' for example, is

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one that in Western countries has sometimes been promoted as best serving the needs of black and/or minority service users. Having said that however, I would argue that, generally speaking, within the South African context of segregated services a preference for 'matching' of service providers and users is more likely to indicate a socially conservative viewpoint. The exceptions might be in special cases, such as in-depth therapy or where problems are predominantly cultural or religious in nature.

The articulation of the 'unique individual' perspective by a small but significant number of mainly White-Afk educators and students warrants further comment. This socially and politically conservative construction foregrounds the individual at the expense of the social or macro context and therefore results in social factors that impinge on individuals lives in important ways being effectively discounted⁵. It could also be argued that, rather than a central feature of social work tradition as claimed by many of these respondents, this view reflects a local distortion of social work's historically more inclusive conceptual focus on the 'person-in-situation' and its roots in social advocacy on behalf of marginalised and exploited groups (see Hugman, 1996 and Lowe, 1986). This individualistic and 'context-blind' focus within social work thought has been seen even within Western multicultural contexts as a cause of racist practice (see Dominelli, 1988; Galloway, 1993).

I would also argue that the generic methodology 'one size fits all' approach evident amongst mainly White-Afk educators is consonant with this individualist form of a 'universalist' approach in that they both tend to ignore the social and structural context. At the same time White-Afk educators tend to favour apparently context-sensitive cultural and ethnic-specific welfare services. However as has been pointed out elsewhere (Swartz, 1989) this 'cultural context' is conceived as relatively fixed and inhering within the individual, just as racial (physical appearance) differences do. Such an essentialist view of the individual and of culture cannot be sensitive either to finer grain cultural differences or to similarities between people i.e. common human needs and experiences, preferring to support and justify group membership and separation as part of wider conservative social discourse.

It is instructive to similarly characterise the responses of significant groups of individuals from race/ethnic groups other than the White-Afk group. While the majority of responses of Black-Afe, Col/Ind and White-Eng educators tend to be more liberal or progressive, there are some

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variations that are worth further discussion. Clearly, a minority proportion of the views of White-Eng educators are more conservative and in line with those of White-Afk respondents discussed above. Conversely, the views of a minority of White-Afk educators are also clearly more liberal and closer to those of the majority of White-Eng educators – and this is likely reflective of the fact that there is a significant degree of overlap in social and cultural terms between these two groups.

What was perhaps most interesting, and least predictable, was that the views of Black-Afc educators ran almost the whole length of the attitudinal spectrum. This group also showed the most internal diversity of all of the race/ethnic groups. Black-Afc educators, compared to most other race/ethnic groups, were more likely to:

1. Together with almost all White-Afk educators, be comfortable in accepting cultural diversity as a 'fact of life' (see *Item 1* in Chapter 6).
2. Have ambivalent and relatively polarised views, for and against, on the issue of whether cultural diversity should be emphasised or not (see *Item 2* in Chapter 6). This included a fairly unique focus by a minority of these educators on a positive 'diversity-as-enrichment' or theme on the one hand with another third agreeing that an emphasis on cultural diversity encouraged apartheid/separatist thinking.
3. Agree, along with White-Afk educators, without qualification that distinct ethnic groups in South Africa are at different stages of social and cultural development (see *Item 3* in Chapter 6) – in other words, to apparently accept a problematic, and highly conservative, 'social Darwinist' conception of social development.
4. Strongly support, along with Col/Ind educators, the use of affirmative action programmes to achieve the racial, ethnic and cultural representivity of staff in social work education departments (see *Item 24* in Chapter 7).
5. Strongly support, along with White-Eng educators, the provision of integrated and 'universal' social work services (see *Item 9* in Chapter 8) with a significant minority either disagreeing with, or being unsure regarding, the provision of integrated 'culture-sensitive' services.
6. Oppose, along with Col/Ind educators, the 'matching' of social workers with service users by ethnicity, race or culture (see *Item 11* in Chapter 8).

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7. Disagree with, or be neutral towards, the view that communication between social workers and service users is a problem in the context of South Africa's linguistic diversity (see *Item 22* in Chapter 8)
8. Propose that Black-African social work students should become proficient in a second African language during their undergraduate training (see *Item 22* in Chapter 8)
9. Have a significant minority report that their departmental curriculum did not attempt to prepare social work students for transcultural social work practice (see *Item 16* in Chapter 9)
10. Give stronger and unqualified support to the view that social work theory is based on Western cultural assumptions and First World socio-economic conditions and is therefore not necessarily appropriate to the needs of most clients and communities in South Africa (see *Item 18* in Chapter 9)

It is evident from these results that social work educators as a group are to a significant extent riven by the same race/ethnic cleavages that have, and continue to, characterise the rest of South African society. The explicit values espoused by social work and its professional culture, although shared in theoretical and rhetorical terms in social work classrooms and lecture halls throughout South Africa, are clearly not uniformly interpreted. The responses summarised in this chapter are one manifestation of the dominant role differentiation and discrimination along racial and cultural lines has played in the history and evolution of social work in this country. However, as is also apparent above, not all such differences coincide neatly with race/ethnic background and some notable exceptions are evident.

Interestingly, the responses of social work students, and the small sample of fieldwork supervisors, in the Western Cape show less of a tendency to split along such race/ethnic lines. Although all population groups are represented in the student sample whether this tendency is specific to students, as opposed to educators, or to the region, is a question that is not answerable from this survey.

III. The way forward for social work and social work education

In this section I identify some specific ways forward for local social work and social work education that, in terms of my own perspective, can be drawn from the findings of this study⁶. These are grouped firstly, under areas for curriculum development and, secondly, under the developmental approach.

A. Curriculum development

- Clearly there must be movement beyond the sort of superficial cultural diversities approach (evident among a significant subgroup of educators) in which issues of discrimination and equity are downplayed or ignored. Chapter 4 has identified mainly international literature which provides instructive pointers as to the inadequacy of culturalist approaches that fail to include consideration of the broader power dynamics operative in specific social contexts. In the South African case this is particularly important in view of the historical tendency for a diversity focus to be used to maintain or defend group exclusivity rather than promote a wider multicultural inclusiveness.
- There also has to be more urgent and thoroughgoing attention given to the specific preparation of social workers for both transcultural and anti-discriminatory/oppressive social work practice (see Chapter 4). A way needs to be found to avoid both the kind of reductionism of the earlier anti-racist approaches and the diffuse abstractions of the cultural diversity approaches (also see Chapter 4) through to a contextualised practice that addresses priority issues of local difference (race and ethnicity but also, *inter alia*, gender, HIV/Aids status, economic status, language and rural versus urban domicile) as well. It is crucial that the central processes by which certain groups are excluded or marginalised are understood both in a generic sense as well as through local case studies. Principles of advocacy and empowerment can then be taught and applied in terms of an overarching anti-oppressive practice approach that is integrated and grounded in local realities. The divide between those educators emphasising core but abstract 'method' at the expense of contextualisation and those focusing on 'issues' at the expense of establishing core principles needs to be narrowed if not eliminated.

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- Local educators need to become less reliant on 'traditional' Anglo-American social work literature and make more use of relevant literature from cognate disciplines and particularly that which emanates from so-called 'developing' countries facing similar social problems and challenges to those in South Africa. This is not to reinforce the increasingly sterile comparison between 'Western' or 'imperialist' and truly 'indigenous' theory and practice, but rather to argue that social work educationists should critically assess all available texts and ideas in terms of their appropriateness and utility in helping practitioners address the overriding needs of the majority of the South African population.
- The substantial 'in principle' support for multilingual proficiency evident amongst educators and students in this study needs to be translated into practice if social work agencies are to improve levels of client/community satisfaction and practice. Standing in the way of a clear mandate for action here is the strong ambivalence towards language issues that continues to be expressed on a political and national level and was noted amongst respondents at the time of this study. Despite the constitutional recognition of 11 national languages, daily governmental, institutional and educational practice sees English increasingly being used as a national *lingua franca* with more limited official attention being paid to local languages. Nevertheless it remains true that social workers deal with clients who overwhelmingly use their home language in their social and official interactions. Social work as a profession needs to make a clear commitment to client empowerment by way of ensuring that all social work agencies can provide a language-sensitive service without relying solely on ethnic 'matching' of social worker and client to achieve this. To satisfactorily address communication needs in such a multilingual context is far from being a simple matter and, in my view, will require considerable political will and a major national initiative by the profession if any significant progress is to be achieved.
- Although not strictly a curriculum issue, it is clear that attitudinal and institutional change must accompany curriculum development in the above areas if the latter are to be effective. The disturbingly high level of resistance to even accepting, let alone positively promoting, equity in the social welfare field (including educational institutions) is a key example of the significant obstacles that can subvert a curriculum ostensibly aimed at educating social workers for anti-discriminatory practice. Individual departments of social work as well the relevant national bodies (e.g. Joint Universities Committee) will have to find ways to address these obstacles in

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constructive rather than divisive ways. This will of necessity involve a range of strategies including, for example, achieving student and staff employment representivity and equity within departments, staff development around key issues of discrimination and social policy, and the adoption of, and reskilling of staff to enable, experiential and empowering learning methodologies more suited to instilling the attitudes, values and skills necessary for anti-oppressive practice.

B. The developmental approach

As was noted above and in Chapter 9, a significant minority of respondents explicitly mentioned the need for South African social work theory and practice to move towards some form of developmental approach, even though this issue was not overtly raised in the surveys. As described in Chapter 2, the need for such an approach was being argued by progressive practitioners and educators in the 1980's prior to the massive political changes initiated in 1990 and the ensuing interregnum (Bernstein, 1991, Gray, 1989, Patel, 1992). Others went further arguing that social and/or community development was a potentially 'indigenous' model/approach for social work in Africa (Rothmund, 1994; Osie-Hwedie, 1993 & 1995; Silavwe, 1995, Tshabalala, 1992). This need for South African social work to 'recast' itself in a new mould has been touched upon throughout this dissertation.

Nevertheless, as with many other issues, this situation is not unique to South Africa - it may rather highlight what is a more universal challenge. As one author has put it, 'the contemporary situation for social work is one of continuing struggle over its very form and purpose' (Hugman 1996: 143). Debates about the form and content of social work and about its legitimacy are as old as social work itself. The most urgent need for social work globally may well be to develop a knowledge base that is capable of responding to diversity in non-oppressive ways. Consequently, as others have also argued (Hugman, 1996; Midgely, 1991 & 1998) social work both in the West and elsewhere can learn from the transformational challenges facing social work in the so-called developing world.

In South Africa, as Midgely (1998) has pointed out, most commentators, prior to the transition to majority democratic rule, believed that 'social welfare in a post-apartheid society would be egalitarian, participatory and developmental' (p95). Most of these principles were incorporated

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into a developmental social welfare model that has since become the overarching policy framework for the new integrated national and provincial state welfare departments (Ministry of Welfare and Population Development, 1997). This model not only stresses the need for social programmes that transcend conventional remedial approaches but also requires that these programmes are linked to wider efforts by the state to promote the economic and social well-being of all citizens.

It is important to be aware however that, as was evident in this study, many social work respondents had problematic conceptions of development, or development-related issues. The strong social Darwinist flavour of some responses around social and cultural development, together with the dualistic characterisation of different South African communities as either First or Third World or sophisticated/urban/well-to-do versus rural/simple/poor, was notable in both the local literature and the attitudinal surveys. If such attitudes are carried through to the teaching or practice of developmental social work models this could clearly have negative consequences. Rothmund (1994) and others (Gray, 1989; Drower, 1991b) have raised similar concerns that social workers with these sort of attitudes are likely to perpetuate inequalities and divisions by providing differential services to race/ethnic groups perceived as at very different points on a developmental scale.

Despite these cautions, and as outlined in Chapter 4, such an approach has the potential to more appropriately address basic needs and resource issues (equity) as well as the need for involvement of clients, communities and groups in planning and intervention (empowerment), both within the welfare sector and more broadly. Such an overall approach is, I would argue, a necessary welfare framework within which a focus on socio-cultural diversity is best situated. On the other hand I would propose, along with others (Gray 1998; Midgley, 1998; Verhelst, 1990), that a social development approach that does not pay adequate attention to diversity issues is incomplete and at risk of not engaging with the felt needs and experiences of both clients/communities and service providers⁷.

While the process of formulation of this policy was a model of many of its own principles (with wide participation and consultation - see Louw, 1998 for a summary), given the various historical legacies and current constraints, the path of implementation of this model has not run smooth. Many problems have been encountered at the organisational and financial levels as well as in

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terms of the extent of crime, poverty and unemployment. There have also been conceptual difficulties as the term 'developmental social work' has been loosely employed and tangible examples of the implementation of developmental social programmes are limited. Although a few flagship development programmes have taken off, no radical transformation from remedial and maintenance-oriented services to developmental programmes has taken place as yet (Louw, 1998; Midgey, 1998).

IV. Summary and concluding comment

In this study I have attempted to make a contribution to our broader understanding of the ideological and attitudinal themes and practice around the areas of race and culture current in professional social work education in South Africa as it emerged from the apartheid era. My additional interest was in evaluating how prepared social work education was to both shed the discriminatory ideological and practice shackles of the past and take on the challenges of educating a new generation of social workers for practice in a transforming welfare system geared to meeting the needs of all South Africans.

Following the introduction, Chapters 2 to 4 were concerned with placing South African social work education in its wider context in terms of both historical development and literature specific to the issues of race and culture. The overview in Chapter 2 of the dominant trends in welfare, the profession of social work, and social work education up to the time of the survey in 1993-4 showed how central a role racial ideology and policies, with their associated ethnic/cultural justifications, have played in South Africa. The review of the local social work literature that has addressed issues of race and culture in Chapter 3 provided the further discursive context around issues of race and culture within which local social work education is situated. The dominant place, either explicit or assumed, given to reified racial classifications as well as the problematic constructions, because relatively fixed and dualistic, of culture and ethnicity in local social work theory and practice were highlighted. Chapter 4 sought to situate these local South African understandings and uses of race and culture in social work within a wider discursive context by means of a review of the international social work literature dealing with socio-cultural diversity issues and debates in social work theory and practice.

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This overall context prepared the way for the surveys of attitudes and practice in social work education that formed the major part of the current study. The aims and rationale of the survey methodology used, together with the procedures followed in administering the questionnaires, were described in Chapter 5. The analysis and presentation of both the quantitative and more qualitative data was also described and a brief demographic profile of the individual and institutional respondents was outlined. Chapters 6 to 9 presented the views and attitudes of individual social work educators, students and fieldwork supervisors in respect of a range of issues as well as described educational practice in a few related areas. In Chapter 6 views on cultural diversity, national/ethnic groups and their stages of development, and the preservation of cultural/national identity within South Africa were presented and discussed. Although united in their generally positive acceptance of cultural diversity as an important social reality, respondents showed some clear value and ideological differences as regards the latter two areas. Also notable however was a lack of awareness of recent social theory and a generally uncritical approach to many of the contentious ethnic, cultural and developmental concepts presented here.

In Chapter 7 it was evident that while many, particularly black, respondents supported equity in welfare generally and representivity in social work education, some, mainly white, educators had serious reservations regarding these issues. Chapter 8, reported the views of respondents as to how social work services should address cultural and linguistic diversity through organisational strategies and the preparation of social workers to be more proficient in local languages. While most respondents supported an overall inclusive and multicultural approach, a clear conservative tendency towards race/ethnic-specific service delivery was apparent among a minority of white, mainly Afrikaans-speaking, educators. In Chapter 9 respondents views on a number of aspects concerned with preparing social workers for practice in post-apartheid South Africa were presented and discussed. These included how the social work curriculum should address diversity issues in terms of course structure, specific content and teaching/learning methods; the priority given to such issues within the professional curriculum, and the issue of the appropriateness of Western mainstream social work theory to the South African context. The findings of the Heads of Department survey on contemporary practice around course structure and content as regards diversity issues were also presented here. While there was general support from most respondents for the development of local 'indigenous' social work practice, which included an emphasis on, or shift towards, social and/or community development, there was also a clear preference for a

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conservative focus on 'softer' cultural issues and a generic, individual and methodology focused practice from a minority of white, mainly Afrikaans-speaking, educators.

The present chapter has attempted to identify and pull together the most significant findings and themes from all the preceding chapters to give an overall picture of social work educational practice around issues of race and cultural diversity at the time of the study. Without any further direct empirical evidence, a brief attempt has also been made to relate this picture to the more recent discursive and practice context of social work education in South Africa. I have argued that, although only specific 'diversity' issues have been addressed in this study, the picture of social work education at the time of the political interregnum at the end of the apartheid era that emerges here is reflective of the wider state of local social work culture at the time. There were clearly some major ideological differences within local social work and these largely, though not exclusively, mirrored the race/ethnic divisions so prevalent in South African society. It was sharply evident, as a major trend here, that a significant proportion of participants in social work education, mainly educators from the White-Afk group, had a significant way to go to shed discriminatory and conservative/right-wing attitudes and to rejoin that mainstream of international social work that has social justice and inclusiveness as core values underpinning practice. A number of ways forward for social work and social work education that flow from my interpretation of the findings of this study have also been identified. An important aspect here, around which there was a fair degree of consensus from respondents and in the local literature, was the need for a shift away from a narrow remedial and individualising practice to a social and community development focus for social work in South Africa. This necessary shift, which is far from being sufficient in itself to address all the equity and diversity issues raised here, does perhaps hold out the best hope as an approach that, despite its still abstract and vague content, can act as a unifying and inclusive paradigm that can both resolve the ideological conflicts within the profession of the past as well as more appropriately address the needs of the wider population.

Notes to Chapter 10

- ¹ I am not attempting to argue a naive positivist case for the objectivity of the data here. As discussed in Chapter 5, the identity and institutional base of the researcher even in a generally anonymous (obviously I knew a few educators personally) and confidential survey such as this one is far from irrelevant. There is always a level of meta-communication beyond the overt research topic in which other agendas can intrude. I am arguing that in this survey these elements are minimal and also that, where they operate, the effect would most likely be, given my institutional context, the nature of the survey content, and the nature of the 'interregnum' with its heady expectations, to steer responses towards what appear to be more 'politically correct' progressive attitudes and away from more conservative and apartheid linked views. If anything therefore, the strength of these latter conservative views may have been somewhat more moderate than if the survey had originated from a conservative source or had occurred at an earlier or later time. Overall however my feeling from reading through all the questionnaires was that most educator respondents were freely stating, and in some cases strongly asserting, their own views. The breadth and range of different views expressed tends to bear this out.
- ² An additional issue that has not been widely debated in the welfare sector is whether there should be some sort of a truth and reconciliation process for the social work profession or the welfare sector. Some submissions by other related health and social service professions to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) were made.
- ³ It should be noted here that although the apartheid era local social work models were based on Western models and values, it was the most conservative and right wing aspects that were accentuated and the most progressive and liberal aspects that were ignored or actively suppressed. This resulted in a distorted form of Western-style social work being practised locally. The support for 'indigenous' social work models from conservatively-minded respondents has to therefore be read in that context.
- ⁴ These response trends for each item were determined as follows (all scores are expressed as percentages):
 - *Item 1*: 'strongly agree' responses as a proportion of total agreement (see Table 6.1 in Appendix G for raw scores).
 - *Item 2*: 'disagree' responses as a proportion of all responses (see Figure 6.4).
 - *Item 3*: 'agree' responses as a proportion of all responses (see Figure 6.7).
 - *Item 4*: 'agree' plus 'neutral' responses as a proportion of all responses (see Figure 6.8).
 - *Item 10*: 'disagree' plus 'neutral' responses as a proportion of all responses (see Figure 7.1).
 - *Item 23a*: 'no' plus 'unsure' responses as a proportion of all responses (see Figure 7.4).
 - *Item 24*: 'no' plus 'unsure' responses as a proportion of all responses (see Figure 7.8).
 - *Item 9b*: 'disagree' responses as a proportion of all responses (see Figure 8.1b).
 - *Item 11*: 'agree' responses as a proportion of all responses (see Figure 8.4).
 - *Item 22*: proportion of responses that did not specify African language competency for white students (see Figure 8.11d).
 - *Item 25*: proportion of responses scoring 'not important' or 'of minor importance' (see Figure 9.18)
 - *Item 17*: 'disagree' plus 'neutral' responses as a proportion of all responses (see Figure 9.4).
- ⁵ Just how such elements of a local social work discourse were produced in the context of a country emerging from one of the most thorough-going systems of social engineering in the world is a fascinating study in itself. As this individualist construction is recorded here wholly by White-Afk educators, the majority of whom work in the IWI-Afk sector, it is clearly tied in somehow with wider white Afrikaner issues. Arising during the post-apartheid interregnum of a negotiated political settlement between white Afrikaner and black African nationalisms, this formulation apparently seeks to free the individual from a possibly stigmatised

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group or ethnic identification precisely at a time when the future integrity and survival of the white Afrikaner group is itself being called into question. As well as serving this 'distancing' function it can also more positively be seen as part of a more inclusionary focus on 'humanness' - the recognition of all individuals as being of equal worth no matter what their colour, culture etc.

Given the time that has elapsed since the data on which these findings are based were collected, it is likely that some of these aspects have been addressed. However it is my anecdotal impression that many changes to the curriculum remain have remained relatively superficial or piecemeal - the proper evaluation of this would have to be, of course, the subject of further research.

In a recent review of democracy in South Africa and Africa generally a local political analyst neatly summarised a growing consensus amongst African intellectuals on the interdependence of diversity and democracy:

The view among many influential South Africans that ethnic and similar differences ought to be ignored is out of step with thinking among African intellectuals who, if a recent conference in Kampala on constitutionalism is a guide, no longer debate whether it is necessary to respect differences but how to do it. Stability will only come to Africa when its leaders recognise that difference is a strength, and so allow for it in their political systems. And only democracy can do that. (Steven Friedman, in the Mail & Guardian, December 17 to 22, 1999).

I would argue that there is direct parallel here with a welfare model that seeks to be both egalitarian and developmental as well as participatory.

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APPENDIX A

Towards anti-discriminatory practice

APPENDIX A

Towards anti-discriminatory practice

(adapted from Thompson, 1993)

Positive steps

1. *Awareness training:* to ensure that issues of discrimination, both intentional and unintentional, are identified and workers made aware of their impact.
2. *Collective action:* following awareness-raising most areas of discrimination need a collective response in order to have maximum impact (e.g., disability forums, battered women's groups, etc.)
3. *Applying theory to practice:* to critically and consciously examine one's own taken-for-granted assumptions and 'common-sense' in order to establish a clear and explicit theory base.
4. *Good practice must be anti-discriminatory practice:* the issues of equality and respect for all should be central to all social work and not seen as separate or 'optional extras'.
5. *Critical and reflexive practice:* our practice needs to be open to constant re-evaluation in the light of our goals.

Dangers

1. *Creating resistance:* an overzealous and insensitive approach to exposing discrimination and 'converting' others to anti-discriminatory practice can be counter-productive.
2. *Reductionism and dogmatism:* the tendency to (a) reduce multi-faceted and complex issues to simple formulas and (b) translate open and dynamic theory into a closed and static belief system.
3. *Treating all oppressions as equivalent:* although there are many possible dimensions to discrimination, the major role of socio-economic circumstances in all peoples lives should receive proper attention as poverty magnifies all other oppressions.
4. *Abandonment of the goal of equity:* with the ascendancy of anti-welfarist, rightwing economic policies there is the danger of losing a value-base for anti-discriminatory practice.
5. *Colluding with rhetoric:* it is possible to appear to be committed to anti-discriminatory practice by using the right language and making the right gestures without genuine action being taken.

APPENDIX B

Implications of a socio-cultural diversity perspective for the social work curriculum

APPENDIX B

Implications of a socio-cultural diversity perspective for the social work curriculum

I. Curriculum structure

There are a variety of ways that content on issues of race and culture can be incorporated into the social work curriculum. The most common alternatives discussed in the literature have been that of a separate specialist course, or courses, as against the integration of such content into the mainstream curriculum. Ahmed (1987 in Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work [CCETSW], 1991) labels these two models as the *discrete* and the *integrationist* alternatives. As Naik (in CCLTSW, 1991a) and others (see for example O'Neill & Yelaja, 1991) point out, there are degrees of integration and this option can involve either the inclusion of additional units, modules or components on various aspects of culture and race as part of existing courses, or a more comprehensive integration of such content throughout the entire structure of the curriculum, or somewhere in between. Morris (1993) described current educational practice as a combination of emic and etic approaches with some discussion of broad-based concepts for dealing sensitively with members of all oppressed groups as well as some focus on characteristics and special needs of clearly identified groups with this material 'infused' into existing courses to varying extents. Barsky (1995) conceptualises the different options in historical terms and describes the earlier attempts to implement multicultural education as the more 'notional' ones referred to above which entailed adding a few readings or classes on culture to the core content of a course, with these attempts then being followed by more detailed and specific courses on issues relating to race and ethnicity.

Within the British context, CCETSW (1983) argues that both integrationist and discrete courses have merits and shortcomings. The report lists the main advantages of the *integrated* approach as potentially (a) ensuring substantial and relevant contributions from a range of different disciplines; (b) emphasising 'normal' life experiences, not just the problems of 'minorities'; (c) clarifying the relationship of minority/oppressed to dominant groups; (d) training students to think comparatively, and (e) reaching all students. The approach is seen, if appropriately implemented, as an ideal educational model. On the other hand, the authors of

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issues around other oppressed populations or groups. The problem of staff expertise has also been raised by Carter et al. in the United Kingdom who comment that '... low staff turnover and lack of involvement in practice and research in many [social work] academic departments have meant that many educators have been slow to develop strong anti-racist and anti-sexist perspectives (1992: 125). The problem of competition within the curriculum space allocated has also been identified by others (see Ifill, 1989, for example) and is graphically illustrated in many courses on anti-discriminatory and/or anti-oppressive social work where up to seven different oppressions or 'isms' are dealt with in as many lectures or workshops¹.

In terms of preferred ways of incorporating this content into the curriculum, there is a fairly broad consensus among most authors for variations of an integrated model. The 1983 CCETSW (United Kingdom) report on social work teaching in a multi-racial society took the view that the discrete and integrated models should be seen as complementary and not mutually exclusive and recommended a dual approach in which discrete courses are taught within an overall integrated curriculum. In terms of implementation, the report notes that it is often easier, however, to introduce discrete courses initially and to go further once the interest of staff and students is stimulated. Granger and Portner (1985) proposed a framework that focuses on two dimensions of ethnic and gender sensitive practice, mental and emotional interactions and social interactions, which are to be included throughout all the core courses of the curriculum including field practice. Triseliotis (1986) notes that in order to avoid the danger of viewing specialist teaching on transcultural social work in isolation, efforts should be made to identify the implications of cultural factors in the rest of curriculum. In a recent national survey in the USA, it was found that the use of a combined 'infusion' and designated course model was the most prominent in addressing the Council for Social Work Education diversity curriculum content requirement (Le-Doux & Montalvo, 1999).

There is support for the view that more recent educational initiatives have tried to deal with cultural issues on a much broader scale with attempts to work multicultural perspectives into the core content of many social work education programmes (Barsky, 1995; Chau, 1992). O'Neill & Yelaja (1991), for example, regard what they call the 'integrated multicultural/multiracial' model as best suited in terms of both educational objectives and an alignment with the goals of Canadian multiculturalism policy. In this model racial and cultural issues are incorporated throughout the core curriculum, in knowledge, values, skills and

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discriminatory orientation should pervade all aspects of local social work education but that, at the same time, prominence should be given to anti-discriminatory practice through the establishment of specific courses which develop knowledge and skills in particular areas. Strydom (1995) described the structure of a separate fourth year social work course at a local university² entitled 'Indigenous Social Work' that is comprised of three units: socio-economic problems, welfare structure and policy and multi-cultural social work. He does however also point out the need to 'indigenise' content and social work models throughout the rest of the curriculum. In a later evaluation of this course, Botes (1997) found that most respondents in practice in the area largely served by the university favoured an integrated approach in which multicultural education is part of the whole social work curriculum rather than being a separate course. Both van Dyk (1996) and Lombard (1999) favour the integration of culturally sensitive, non-discriminatory and indigenous models of practice within present curricula.

There is limited research available to help assess the degree of implementation of these different types of ideal curriculum structures in schools of social work. Stainton & Swift's (1996) survey of Canadian schools of social work showed that in most cases a few courses were offered related to specific groups (courses on women were most common, with those related to race and culture second). No school had a specific course on 'difference' with one school (of the half that responded) structuring its undergraduate curriculum around the themes of race, class and gender, requiring these to be addressed in all courses including fieldwork practice. From this limited evidence, and together with more anecdotal evidence gained from contact with colleagues from other schools of social work, it would seem that the vision of an ideal and thoroughly integrated curriculum may have yet to become a significant reality and that most programmes are more likely situated at a point somewhere between the discrete and integrated models.

2. Curriculum/course content

Social work educational programmes commonly distinguish three elements of course content as those of knowledge, values and skills respectively (Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work [CCETSW], 1983 & 1991a, Lister, 1987; O'Neill & Yclaja, 1991). There is a strong emphasis however on personal, cognitive and emotional engagement with the particular curriculum content in this area that cuts across these elements (see the section on learning/teaching methods below). The list below itemises those content areas commonly

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including patterns of usage, or factors affecting this, as well as culture-specific problem-solving patterns and help-seeking behaviours. Knowledge of the nature and existence of self-help, mutual aid, traditional and other indigenous helping resources within local communities.

Relevant theoretical concepts: the means to analyse and understand a number of key social processes and formations. An understanding of notions such as race, ethnicity, class and gender as well as racism, ethnocentrism, and sexism. The concepts of cultural pluralism, cultural ethnocentrism, sociocultural dissonance, the 'dual perspective' and biculturalism. The dynamics of intergroup relations, social stratification, inequality and the specifics of prejudice and discrimination and how these are expressed at the personal, systemic and structural levels. The dynamics of power and unequal power relations (a unifying concept that applies to race, ethnicity, class, gender, age, disability etc.) The recognition of the pervasiveness and structural causes and consequences of all forms of oppression and racism as well as an emphasis on interacting oppressions. The social construction of reality and the critical examination of a number of socially constructed realities, for example, a black family pathology model, decontextualised practice, and so on. The concept and implications of difference and theoretical debates, such as essentialist versus social constructionist positions on group identity.

Relevant policies and legislation: legislation and policies, both those that perpetuate inequalities and discrimination and those that are anti-discriminatory or establish new rights or affirmative actions. Social policies at macro (e.g., welfare model, social security, immigration), meso (e.g., local authority service delivery, health and housing policy) and micro (e.g., admissions policy to day nursery or old-age homes). Employment and educational opportunities, race relations policy (e.g. assimilation, integration, separatism). Institutional practices and relationships within and between micro and macro systems. Detailed analysis of these policies and practices as they affect ethnic/race or 'minority' groups.

Implications for social work practice: transcultural factors and the effect of racial and cultural differences on needs and service delivery. Reviews of research regarding practice with 'minorities' and/or specific race/ethnic groups. Barriers to effective service delivery arising from cultural differences. Methods and means of working in partnership and/or co-operation with traditional/indigenous helpers. The implications of political, economic and social factors

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Macro-level intervention skills: the ability to promote organisational and institutional change and reduce barriers to ethnic/race groups' access to resources and opportunities; to counteract the impact of discrimination and prejudice; and to foster social change to eliminate structural factors that support discrimination and oppression. To employ a developmental social work framework that facilitates multi-level intervention and/or advocacy.

Critical thinking and reflexive practice skills: critical thinking skills with regard to the examination of one's own and others' biases, assumptions and personal experiences in relation to privilege, discrimination, racism and prejudice. To be able to make explicit the social, ethical and/or political framework within which one's social work intervention is situated. To be able to regularly re-evaluate one's own practice in the light of experience and the overall goals of justice, human rights and equality.

3. Learning/teaching methods

a) Experiential approaches

The overwhelming majority of authors writing about appropriate teaching methods for social work courses that deal with issues of culture and race (or other social and/or physical differences) indicate that the inevitably affective aspects of such content requires experiential, rather than just cognitive or skill-based teaching (Adams & Schlesinger, 1988, Barsky, 1995, CCETSW, 1983, CCETSW, 1991a, Chau, 1990a, Eldridge, 1982, Fox, 1983, Granger & Portner, 1985, Hill, 1989, Land, 1987, Montalvo, 1983, Morris, 1993, Nakanishi & Rittner, 1992, O'Neill & Yelaja, 1991, Sacco, 1995, Schlesinger & Devore, 1979, Sikkema, 1984, Sikkema & Niyekawa, 1987, Tice, 1990, Triseliotis, 1986, Van Soest, 1994, Wilson & Green, 1983). Within the overall goal of assisting students to fully integrate theory and practice, the need to engage students at a personal level in self-reflection and awareness-raising is most often seen as a necessary part of the personal change and development involved in learning in this area.

Within the ambit of an experiential approach, there are a range of specific methods, strategies and resources advocated by different authors. Barsky (1995) describes an androgogical approach based around the use of *role-plays* intended to encourage both self-awareness and integrated learning by linking knowledge, skills and values. This is contrasted with conventional didactic and positivist approaches which usually start with theory and then apply

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the ground and generally equivocal. Van Soest (1994) reports on a study that sought to understand how students experienced the learning process and outcomes of a course aimed at helping social work students develop knowledge and awareness of cultural diversity and societal oppression that relied largely on experiential methods. The study found that sharing by peers of their personal experiences as members of an oppressed group appeared to be a powerful influence in helping students to expand their moral boundaries. These results were consistent with several studies reported by Cook (1990) that show positive shift of attitudes amongst dominant group when representatives of dominant and subordinate social group interact. It was also apparent that the ability to empathise seems to be facilitated by personal sharing while more intellectual debates seem to result in conflictual discussions around which group is more oppressed². It was also clear that interaction that hindered student learning often related to not feeling 'safe' in the classroom environment so that 'the power of classrooms interactions to facilitate or hinder learning makes it essential that educators pay special attention to the creation of an open and safe classroom environment that is characterised by respect, empathy and an honoring of each student's individuality and process' (van Soest, 1994: 26).

b) Cognitive approaches

The emphasis on experiential methods is not exclusive, however, and the more comprehensive or integrated approaches advocate the inclusion of relevant content in all areas of the social work programme, including all theory (knowledge and values) and practice (skills) courses (see CCETSW, 1991a and O'Neill & Yelaja, 1991, for example). The use of experiential methods is not without its problems, however. The 1983 CCETSW report notes the importance, and difficulty, of encouraging a supportive atmosphere in which students' values and assumptions can be challenged in constructive ways. Achieving an awareness of racism at interpersonal levels, for example, needs an atmosphere in which sharing and some degree of personal honesty are an integral part of the wider course and not just focused on particular topics. As the report points out, 'to demand that students explore their own experience, attitudes and feelings on race when for the rest of their college-based teaching they are the recipients of knowledge is impractical and probably ineffective' (24).

An example of a more cognitively-oriented approach is that of Latting (1990) who describes a teaching model that focuses on the development of cognitive sophistication as a means of

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of diversity. She makes use of Freire's (1976) critique of conventional lecturing as the 'banking principle of education', that is, 'students as empty vaults into which deposits are made'. Feminist educators should instead seek to establish a dialogue with students in which educators resemble midwives rather than bankers and encourage independent and contextual thinking. Good teaching practice must increase the participatory nature of learning, reduce passivity, encourage reflection and critical thinking and reduce the marginalisation of women and minorities (Tice, 1990).

Also drawing on Freire's work, as further developed by others, Bozalck (1998) argues that at this time in South Africa it is not only necessary to review our curriculum content but also the process of knowledge production and methods. She proposes dialogical teaching methods in which the position of the teacher/lecturer as the producer or holder of authoritative or 'correct' knowledge is not assumed, but there is continual interchange of ideas between students and teachers through which 'assumptions of knowledge are interrogated in an atmosphere where all participants feel free to express and critique their own and others' views.' Particular methods such as creative writing exercises, multiple drafting of essays, role-plays, presentations and workshops are described. Their purpose is to facilitate engagement between students and to produce a consciousness of themselves as co-creators of situated knowledges (i.e., knowledge that is positioned, partial and located in specific contexts). Other local authors have proposed that the social work curriculum itself should be permeated with the empowerment and development philosophies and practice methodologies being taught (McKendrick, 1998, Lombard, 1999).

In a similar vein Rossiter (1993 & 1995) and Leonard (1994) argue that a particular dilemma besets social work education in that while the goal of social work practice is frequently organised through a concept of client empowerment or emancipation, social work education takes place in the academy where norms of hierarchy, competition and accumulation shape the classroom. We therefore 'teach empowerment through disempowering processes'. Rossiter takes the broad view that Western theoretical traditions, consonant with the West's identity within world relations of domination, are lodged in justification and order, and that therefore 'the bulk of western science is tendentially geared to the study of order rather than change'. Drawing from the work of Freire as well as an ideal of justice based on Habermas's notion of 'communicative ethics', she sets out the requirements of reflective mode of learning towards

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- ¹ I have to hand an example of a course outline for a 1994 course on anti-discriminatory practice from the University of North London consisting of a total of 12 sessions of which one each deal cover the issues of classism, racism, ageism, sexism, heterosexism, disablism and oppression based on religion.
- ² This is the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, an historically White Afrikaans-medium institution.
- ³ Interestingly a social work academic colleague, who conducted a study of community attitudes in various areas of Gauteng province following the end of the apartheid era and after the first democratic elections in South Africa, reported that a significant number of persons from a range of race and cultural backgrounds saw themselves as 'victims' within their current contexts.

APPENDIX C

Typology of approaches to addressing issues of socio-cultural diversity in the social work curriculum

APPENDIX C

Typology of approaches to addressing issues of socio-cultural diversity in the social work curriculum

(from O'Neill & Yelaja, 1991)

Dominant culture and token multicultural approaches

- Tend to reflect the assumptions and views of 'order' or functionalist theorists; that is, an emphasis on society as a largely harmonious functioning whole with the state seen as exercising power benevolently in the interests of all. A focus on individual pathology rather than structural issues.
- Knowledge, values and skills based on the dominant culture and assumed to be applicable to all groups. May have policy of non-discrimination, but differences are ignored.
- Either no specific racial or cultural content or included *ad hoc* in some courses or in elective courses. Attitudes towards racial, cultural diversity may be discussed in generic courses on social work values or professional ethics but fairly superficial. No clear policy on placement of students in minority/disadvantaged group field placements.
- No formal links with minorities regarding their inclusion in decision-making and no programme to recruit staff and students from minority/disadvantaged groups. No training of teaching staff to deal with racial/cultural issues.
- Emphasis on clinical intervention, with goal of facilitating the adaptation of minorities to the dominant culture, over community development.
- An educational practice that therefore contributes to the assimilation, deculturation or segregation² of racial and ethnic minorities.

Ethno-specific programme approaches

- Tend to reflect the assumptions and perspective of 'social conflict' or structural theory; that is, that society is composed of competing groups, differentiated in terms of economics, lifestyles and other interests. Power is seen to be concentrated in dominant groups and this results in the inequitable distribution of resources. Social problems seen as arising primarily from oppression by the dominant group rather than from personal pathology.

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- Relatively independent programmes focused on the needs and issues of a particular minority are offered. Knowledge from and about the specific group is central and the group's cultural values are incorporated throughout the curriculum in content and teaching methods. 'Matching' implemented by recruitment of staff and students from the minority group and by appropriate field placements.
- Emphasis on the development of clinical and community development skills appropriate to the specific group or culture. Traditional/indigenous helping skills also studied.
- An educational practice that seeks to promote positive identification of minority/disadvantaged groups and facilitates later participation in more integrated approaches. May therefore reinforce withdrawal or segregation of group from mainstream society or facilitate eventual integration (rather than assimilation).

Separate multicultural programme approaches

- Tend to reflect a pluralist philosophy which recognises and values differences between groups in society but assumes that power is distributed relatively equally among them. Implies a tolerance for minority/ethnic group values, practices and even institutions. Social problems tend to be seen from an order theory perspective with a focus on individual pathology and adjustment.
- Issues of racial and cultural diversity tend to be isolated as separate specialisations within the curriculum but with little influence on the dominant culture programmes to which they are adjuncts. A focus on knowledge and skills for working with clients from various cultures as well as clarification of conflicts due to differences in values, family roles, authority, helping process, and so on. Field placements in agencies with expertise in serving minority/disadvantaged groups are available. 'Matching' occurs through mainly minority/ethnic group staff and student participation.
- Formal links exist with organisations in minority/disadvantaged communities and they may participate in decision-making, but the dominant group retains power over the programmes.
- Emphasis is on the development of both separate direct (clinical) services and on culture-sensitive mainstream direct (clinical) services.
- An educational practice that can either support the separation or integration of ethnocultural groups depending on how well links are forged between separate courses/teaching and core programmes.

Appendix C

Integrated multicultural/multiracial programme approaches

- Tend to take a global perspective and reflect stronger pluralist views with attention to social conflict perspectives as well. Competition between groups for access to resources and the existence of power elites is recognised. Social problems are attributed to structural inequities and skewed resource distribution
- Racial and cultural issues are incorporated throughout the core curriculum, and the development of cross-cultural intervention skills is a generic requirement. 'Matching' involves the recruitment of staff and students from diverse backgrounds and the development of field placements in agencies skilled in serving minorities. Such placements may be a degree requirement
- Formal links with minority/disadvantaged groups are strong, with representatives participating in decision-making in proportion to the size of their communities served by the school.
- Emphasis is more on community development and advocacy skills than on clinical techniques and social policy courses stress resource redistribution and universal access to services.
- An educational practice that has the potential to encourage a process of achieving sharing and mutual support among groups within society and, therefore, the goal of integration.

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- ¹ For detail of this and other sociological theories referred to here see the discussion in George & Wilding (1985).
- ² These terms are used with the meanings given to them by Berry (1984), who makes the following distinctions: 'Assimilation evolves when a minority loses its distinguishing characteristics and merges with the mainstream community; separation is evident when a group maintains its defining characteristics but does not interact in the dominant society, either through its own voluntary withdrawal or through segregation imposed by the controlling faction; deculturation follows when a group gives up its traditions and is excluded from mainstream participation; integration is evident when a group both maintains its distinctiveness and participates in the larger society.' (O'Neill & Yelaja, 1991: 174 - 175). Integration, as defined here, is seen by Berry as the multiculturalism policy ideal for Canada.

APPENDIX D.1

**Introductory letter to heads of social work departments in
universities & colleges regarding the survey questionnaire
(English & Afrikaans versions)**

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Robert Leslie Social Sciences Building
Postal Address:
Private Bag
Rondebosch
7700

Telephone: (W) (021) 650 3493/4
(H) (021) 478091

June 1992

Dear

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE: ISSUES OF RACE AND CULTURE IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

I write to you regarding the above survey, which forms part of my doctoral study, in the hope of engaging your Department's co-operation and interest in responding to the issues raised.

Please find enclosed copies of (i) the questionnaire referred to above, (ii) a letter introducing the survey, and (iii) a letter of endorsement from my Head of Department/Supervisor. The introductory letter explains the aims of the study and addresses the issues of confidentiality and anonymity.

Each of your staff members will be receiving a personally addressed package of the above. I have based staff names on lists given to me telephonically by your Department but in case of errors or changes I enclose a spare copy of the questionnaire which could be photocopied for use by any staff member whose name is not on my list. The definition I have used for an "academic staff member" is any member of your teaching staff who is (i) employed directly by your Department over a period of at least one year, (ii) works at least half-time, and (iii) who has direct teaching input whether through lectures, seminars or practice teaching/supervision.

Apart from completing the questionnaire addressed to yourself, I would be very grateful if you could find the time to encourage your staff to participate in the study the results of which I hope will make a positive contribution to curriculum development in social work education in South Africa.

My thanks to you in advance for your assistance in this regard.

Yours sincerely

Ian Mackintosh
Lecturer
School of Social Work, University of Cape Town

June 1992

Hoofde
Departemente van Maatskaplike Werk

Geagte

ONDERSOEK VRAELYS: VRAAGSTUKKE RONDOM RAS EN KULTUUR IN MAATSKAPLIKE
WERK-OPLEIDING

Ek skryf aan u aangaande bogenoemde ondersoek, wat deel uitmaak van my Doktorale studie, met die hoop om u Departement se samewerking en belangstelling te verkry om te reageer op die vraagstukke wat geopper word.

Vind asseblief ingeslote kopieë van (i) bogenoemde vraelys, (ii) 'n inleidende brief tot die vraelys, en (iii) 'n brief van onderskrywing van my Departementshoof/Promotor. Die inleidende brief verduidelik die doelstellinge van die studie en spreek die vraagstukke rondom vertroulikheid en anonimiteit aan.

Elkeen van u personeellede sal 'n persoonlik geadresseerde pakket van bogenoemde ontvang. Ek het die name van personeellede gebaseer op lysse wat telefones aan my voersien is deur u Departement, maar in geval van foute of veranderinge sluit ek 'n ekstra kopie van die vraelys in. Dië lys kan gefotokopieer word vir gebruik deur enige personeellid wie se naam nie op my lys verskyn nie. Die definisie wat ek gebruik het vir 'n "akademiese personeellid" is enige lid van u doserende personeel wat (i) regstreeks deur u Departement in diens geneem is vir 'n tydperk van ten minste een jaar, (ii) ten minste halftyd werk, en (iii) 'n direkte doserende inset lewer, hetsy deur lesings, seminare of proefonderwys/toesig.

Afgesien van die voltooiing van die vraelys geadresseer aan uself, sou ek baie dankbaar wees indien u die tyd sou vind om u personeel aan te moedig om deel te neem aan die studie, ek hoop dat die resultate daarvan 'n positiewe bydrae sal maak tot leerplanontwikkeling in maatskaplike werk-opleiding in Suid-Afrika.

By voorbaat dank vir u ondersteuning in dié verband.

Die uwe

Ian Mackintosh
Lektor
Skool van Maatskaplike Werk, Kaapstad Universiteit

APPENDIX D.2

**Letter to social work educators in universities & colleges
regarding the survey questionnaire (English & Afrikaans
versions)**

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Robert Leslie Social Sciences Building
Postal Address:
Private Bag
Rondebosch
7700

Telephone: (W) (021) 650 3493/4
(H) (021) 478091

June 1992

Dear

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE: ISSUES OF RACE AND CULTURE IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

The attached questionnaire forms part of my doctoral study which is concerned with attitudes and perceptions regarding issues of race and culture in the social work curriculum. Academic staff in every Social Work Department in South Africa (including the TBVC states) will receive the questionnaire. With the help of your interest and participation, I am hoping that this will be a representative and informative survey.

As we are all aware this is a time of rapid social and political change in South Africa. While issues of culture, race and ethnicity are not new within our national context, one of the main consequences of recent reforms has been the movement away from segregation towards integration in many areas of social life including, for our purposes, social work services and education. Social workers are increasingly being called upon to practise in transracial and crosscultural situations. As you will also know, the South African Council for Social Work has proposed that the social work curriculum should include courses in the area of 'Cultural Diversities' in order to help prepare students to function more effectively in such situations. The aim of this survey is to explore the opinions of social work academics as to how these challenges are being, and should be, met in social work educational practice.

These are sensitive and often controversial issues which are capable of provoking strong feelings across the social and political spectrum. I have attempted to construct questions and statements in ways that reflect a range of viewpoints but obviously not all possible positions are represented. **Your own comments on each statement or question and the issues it raises are therefore of central importance to the accuracy and usefulness of the survey data being collected.** While there are issues that recur in different ways in the questionnaire there is no need for you to try answer in a consistent way throughout. Please try to treat each statement and question as an entity in itself and respond separately and individually to each.

This is an anonymous and confidential questionnaire. The demographic details requested (in Section C) are required for the purpose of exploring relationships between group variables (gender, age, self-ascribed ethnicity, etc) and participants' responses to the central issues of concern. These details therefore add further interest and breadth to the study and I very much hope that all respondents will feel comfortable with completing this section.

You will have received a questionnaire written in either Afrikaans or English according to your institution's medium of instruction. If you would prefer a questionnaire in the alternate language please ring either myself or Mrs Pat Halford on the above office or home numbers.

As the survey will form part of my doctoral dissertation it will in due course be available to all participants through the library system. However I also intend to offer a paper at a JUC Conference summarizing the results of the study. In addition if anyone would like to discuss any aspect of this survey either before or after completing the questionnaire they are encouraged to contact me at the address or telephone numbers given above

You will find a stamped and addressed envelope enclosed for the return of your questionnaire. My earnest request is that you please return the completed questionnaire within **2 WEEKS** of receiving it and before it gets buried under the rest of this year's work!

Your co-operation is greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely

Ian Mackintosh
Lecturer
School of Social Work, University of Cape Town

Geagte Kollega

ONDERSOEKVRAELYS: VRAAGSTUKKE RONDOM RAS EN KULTUUR IN MAATSKAPLIKE WERK-OPLEIDING

Die aangehegte vraelys maak deel uit van my Doktorale studie in verband met ingesteldhede en waarnemings aangaande vraagstukke van ras en kultuur in die maatskaplike werk-leerplan. Akademiese personeel in elke Departement van Maatskaplike Werk in Suid-Afrika (insluitend die TBVC-state) sal die vraelys ontvang. Met die hulp van u belangstelling en samewerking hoop ek dat hierdie vraelys verteenwoordigend en insiggewend sal wees.

Soos ons almal weet, is dit 'n tydperk van vinnige maatskaplike en politieke verandering in Suid-Afrika. Terwyl vraagstukke rondom kultuur, ras en etnisiteit nie nuut is binne ons nasionale konteks nie, is een van die belangrikste gevolge van die onlangse hervormings die beweging weg van segregasie na integrasie op vele terreine van die maatskaplike lewe, insluitende, vir ons doeleindes, maatskaplike werk-dienste en -opleiding. Van maatskaplike werkers word toenemend verwag om te praktiseer in transrassige en interkulturele situasies. Soos u ook sal weet, het die Suid-Afrikaans Raad vir Maatskaplike Werk voorgestel dat die maatskaplike werk-leerplan kursusse behoort te bevat op die terrein van "Kulturele Verskeidenheid" ten einde studente te help voorberei om meer doeltreffend op te tree in sulke situasies. Die doel van hierdie ondersoek is 'n verkenning van die opinies van maatskaplike werk-akademië in verband met die wyse waarop hierdie uitdagings tans aangespreek word, en in die toekoms aangespreek behoort te word.

Hierdie vraagstukke is sensitief en dikwels omstrede, en kan sterk gevoelens regoor die sosiale en politieke spektrum uitlok. Ek het gepoog om vrae en stellings te konstrueer wat 'n verskeidenheid gesigspunte reflekteer, maar klaarblyklik is dit onmoontlik om alle moontlike posisies te verteenwoordig. U eie opmerkings in verband met elke stelling of vraag, en die sake wat daardeur in bespreking gebring word, is dus van sentrale belang tot die akkuraatheid en nuttigheid van die ondersoekdata wat versamel word. Alhoewel daar vraagstukke is wat herhaaldelik en op verskillende wyses voorkom, hoef u nie te probeer om deurgaans konsekwent te antwoord nie. Probeer asseblief om elke stelling en vraag as 'n eenheid op sigesif te behandel, en antwoord apart en afsonderlik op elkeen.

Hierdie vraelys is anoniem en vertroulik. Die demografiese informasie wat gevra word (in Afdeling C), word benodig ten einde verhoudings tussen groep-veranderlikes (geslag, ouderdom, self-toegekende etnisiteit, ens) en deelnemers se reaksie op die sentrale vraagstukke van belang te ondersoek. Hierdie informasie dra dus by tot die verdere belang en omvang van die studie en ek hoop van harte dat almal wat op die vrae reageer gemaklik sal voel om die afdeling te voltooi.

U sou 'n vraelys ontvang het in of Afrikaans of Engels, afhangende van u instelling se voertaal. Indien u sou verkies om 'n vraelys in 'n ander taal te beantwoord, skakel my of Mev Pat Halford asseblief by hogenoemde kantoor- of huisnommers.

Aangesien die vraelys deel sal uitmaak van my doktrale verhandeling, sal dit mettertyd aan alle deelnemers beskikbaar wees deur die biblioteekstelsel. Ek beoog egter ook om 'n referaat te lewer by die 1993 JUC-Kongres, waarin ek die resultate van die studie sal opsom. Daarbenewens, indien iemand óf voor óf na die voltooiing van die vraelys enige aspek van die ondersoek wil bespreek, word hulle aangemoedig om met my in verbinding te tree by bogenoemde adres of telefoonnommers.

Ingeslote sal u 'n gefrankeerde en geadresseerde koevert vind vir die terugbesorging van u vraelys. My opregte versoek is dat u die voltooide vraelys asseblief sal terugbesorg binne **2 WEKE** vanaf ontvangs en voordat dit begrawe raak onder die res van die jaar se werk!

U samewerking word ten seerste waardeer.

Die uwe

Ian Mackintosh

Lektor:

Skool van Maatskaplike Werk, Kaapstad Universiteit

APPENDIX D.3

Survey questionnaire titled 'Issues of race and culture in social work education' sent to social work educators (English & Afrikaans versions)

**QUESTIONNAIRE
ISSUES OF RACE AND CULTURE IN
SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION**

Your willingness to co-operate in providing this study with meaningful and representative data is greatly appreciated. As this survey is confidential and anonymous, please DO NOT write your name on the questionnaire. If you run out of space to record your comments please continue on the adjacent blank page.

Researcher:
Ian Mackintosh
School of Social Work
University of Cape Town

SECTION A:

In this section you are asked to:

a) rate the extent of your agreement/disagreement with a number of statements that follow by drawing a circle around the relevant number according to the following scale;

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

Example:

Social work educationists enjoy completing questionnaires that explore topical and controversial issues.

1 2 3 4 5

Here the number 4 has been ringed to show that the respondent "agrees" with the given statement!

b) expand and/or clarify your response by way of further comment:

1. The diversity of cultural values, beliefs and practices amongst different people/communities should be acknowledged as an important social reality in South Africa.

1 2 3 4 5

Please expand on your answer.

.....

.....

.....

2. Emphasising the diversity of cultural values, beliefs and practices amongst people/communities in South Africa encourages separatist, apartheid thinking

1 2 3 4 5

Please clarify your answer.

.....

.....

.....

3. There are distinct national and ethnic groups in South Africa which are at different stages of social and cultural development.

1 2 3 4 5

Please expand on your answer to 3. above:

.....

.....

.....

4. The different population groups in South Africa should seek to preserve their cultural and national identities by remaining socially homogeneous and/or separate.

1 2 3 4 5

Please clarify your answer:

.....

.....

.....

5. The belief that particular cultural, racial or ethnic groups are inherently 'superior' or 'inferior' to others is the major cause of inequality in South Africa.

1 2 3 4 5

Please expand on your answer:

.....

.....

.....

6. The establishment and/or maintenance of political and economic power by certain groups and/or classes over others is the major cause of inequality in South Africa.

1 2 3 4 5

Please clarify your response:

.....

.....

.....

7. Good social work practice should seek to treat all clients and communities the same irrespective of race, ethnicity and/or culture.

1 2 3 4 5

Please add to your answer to 7. above:

.....

.....

.....

8. Good social work practice should seek to treat different clients and communities appropriately according to their particular ethnic, racial and/or cultural characteristics and experiences.

1 2 3 4 5

Can you clarify your answer?

.....

.....

.....

9. **Note: After comparing the following three alternatives, please indicate your preference (by rating on each 1 - 5 scale) and then add your comments in respect of all three statements below.**

- a) Separate social work services for each of the different national and/or ethnic groups are the best way of providing for the welfare needs of all South Africans.

1 2 3 4 5

- b) Integrated social work services, delivered irrespective of race, ethnicity or culture, are the best way of providing for the welfare needs of all South Africans.

1 2 3 4 5

- c) Integrated social work services, adapted to ensure sensitivity towards ethnic, racial and/or cultural characteristics and experiences, are the best way of providing for the welfare needs of all South Africans.

1 2 3 4 5

Please clarify your answers to 9 a), b) and c) above:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

10. An important priority within a new welfare dispensation for South Africa should be affirmative action towards the creation and expansion of resources and services for disadvantaged (ie. Black, 'Coloured' and Indian) communities.

1 2 3 4 5

Please can you add to your answer:

.....

.....

.....

11. Direct social work services are most effective when social workers, on the one hand, and clients/communities, on the other, are matched according to similar ethnic, racial and/or cultural characteristics.

1 2 3 4 5

Please expand on your answer:

.....

.....

.....

12. Social workers are generally less culturally biased and racially prejudiced than the general South African population.

1 2 3 4 5

Please comment on your answer:

.....

.....

.....

13. In a restructured non-racial welfare system serving social workers will require in-service training around issues of transcultural and anti-racist practice if equitable and effective service delivery is to be achieved.

1 2 3 4 5

Please expand on your answer:

.....

.....

.....

14. In view of the diverse languages spoken in South Africa, communication between social workers and clients/communities speaking different languages is a significant problem.

1 2 3 4 5

Please add to your answer:

.....

.....

.....

15. Social work education should equip students with generic practice skills and knowledge that focuses on the universal nature of human needs and experience irrespective of social and cultural diversity.

1 2 3 4 5

Please can you expand on your answer:

.....

.....

.....

- 16.a) Social work education should equip students to practice transcultural social work (ie. work with clients/communities of different ethnic and/or cultural characteristics and experiences to themselves).

1 2 3 4 5

- b) If you ringed 4 or 5 in response to 16a) above, do you think this applies mainly to: *[Note: Please tick your answer(s)]*

Black (African) students? []
"Coloured" students? []
Indian students? []
White students? []
All students? []

Please comment on your answer:

.....

.....

.....

1. The 'race' or 'colour' categories used in this questionnaire reflect those in South African legislation, either current or recently repealed. This does not imply that the researcher regards such categories as necessarily meaningful or legitimate for the persons/communities so labelled themselves.

17. a) Social work education should equip students to practice anti-racist social work (ie. to actively combat racial discrimination in social work practice)

1 2 3 4 5

b) If you ringed 4 or 5 in response to 17a) above, do you think this applies mainly to: *[Note: Please tick your answer(s)]*

- Black (African) students? []
'Coloured' students? []
Indian students? []
White students? []
All students? []

Please expand on your responses above

.....
.....
.....

SECTION B:

In this section you are asked to respond to the following questions by:

a) ticking the response that best fits your personal view (please tick one option only unless otherwise specified), and

b) expanding or clarifying your response by way of additional comment:

18. Social work has been criticised by various critics in the developing world as being based on Western cultural assumptions and First World socio-economic conditions. American and British social work theory is therefore seen as not necessarily appropriate to the needs of most clients and communities in non-Western/developing countries.

a) Do you agree with this criticism as it applies to South Africa?

- Yes, very much so []
Yes, to some extent []
No, not a valid criticism []
Other (please specify below) []

.....
.....

b) Please comment on this issue as it influences your own teaching - in particular your use of social work literature that you regard as appropriate in the South African context:

.....
.....
.....

19. Does the undergraduate social work curriculum offered in your Department adequately prepare students for transcultural social work practice?
- Does not attempt to do so []
 Yes, very adequately []
 Not very adequately []
 Other (please explain below) []

Please clarify your answer:

.....

.....

.....

20. Do you think that you have adequate knowledge and skills to help prepare social work students for effective transcultural social work practice?
- Yes []
 No []
 Not sure []

Please expand on your answer to 20. above:

.....

.....

.....

21. How do you think that issues concerning race, culture and ethnicity as they relate to social work theory and practice ought to be addressed in the social work curriculum?

a) As regards structure:

[Note: Please tick one option only in this section]

- As part of existing courses []
 In a separate course or courses []
 As part of fieldwork practice only []
 By other means (please specify below) []

.....

b) As regards content:

[Note: Please rank those options you select from 1. (Most important) to 2. (Next most important) to 3. etc....]

- Critical awareness of concepts of race/culture/ethnicity []
 Knowledge of different cultural/ethnic groups []
 Reduction of cultural/ethnic stereotypes []
 Dynamics of racism/discrimination/oppression []
 Practical strategies for anti-racist practice []
 Generic skills for working transculturally []
 Other content (please specify below) []

.....

c) As regards method:

[Note: Please tick only one option in this section]

- Emphasis on cognitive learning (eg, lectures & readings) []
- Emphasis on affective learning (eg, experiential exercises) []
- Emphasis on a combination of cognitive & affective learning []
- Other methods (please specify) []

.....

Please clarify or expand on your responses:

.....
.....
.....

22. In what languages, other than their home language, do you think social work students should have a basic proficiency by the end of their undergraduate training?

[Note: Please tick more than one option under each student group if appropriate]

Black (African) students:

- Afrikaans []
- English []
- Other African language []
- Other..... []

'Coloured' students:

- An African language []
- Afrikaans (if home lang. Eng.) []
- English (if home lang. Afrik.) []
- Other..... []

Indian students:

- An African language []
- Afrikaans []
- English (not home lang.) []
- Other..... []

White students:

- An African language []
- Afrikaans (if home lang. Eng.) []
- English (if home lang. Afrik.) []
- Other..... []

Please clarify your responses above:

.....
.....
.....

23. Is it important that teaching staff in local social work departments should reflect the cultural, ethnic and racial diversity of the South African population?

- Yes []
- No []
- Not sure []

Please expand on your answer:

.....
.....

SECTION C:

Please note that the institution in which you work will be identified in the results of this study by a confidential code only and not by name.

26. Institution in which employed:
27. Medium of instruction in your Department:
28. Your home language(s): 1 2
29. What religion, if any, do you practice?:
30. How would you identify the social class you were born into (ie that of your family of origin)
.....
31. How do you identify yourself culturally and/or ethnically?:
.....
32. In terms of the previous Population Registration Act, how were you classified by "race"?:
.....
33. Years service as a social work educator: [] years
34. Your age: [] years
35. Your gender: Female []
Male []

PLEASE TURN THE PAGE

**VRAELYS
VRAAGSTUKKE VAN RAS EN KULTUUR IN
MAATSKAPLIKE WERK-OPLEIDING**

U bereidwillige samewerking om hierdie studie van betekenisvolle en verteenwoordigende data te voorsien, word hoog op prys gestel. Aangesien hierdie ondersoek vertroulik en anoniem is, moet u asseblief NIE u naam op die vraelys skryf nie. Indien die ruimte nie voldoende is vir u antwoord nie, gaan asseblief voort op die aangrensende wit bladsy.

Navorsers:
Ian Mackintosh
Skool vir Maatskaplike Werk
Universiteit Kaapstad

Vir amptelike gebruik

Vir verdere aanmerkings:

23. Is dit belangrik dat doserende personeel in plaaslike maatskaplike werk departemente die verskeidenheid van die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing ten opsigte van kultuur, etnisiteit en ras moet reflekteer?

Ja []
Nee []
Onseker []

Brei asseblief uit op u antwoord:

24. Indien u "Ja" geantwoord het op vraag 23, hierbo, dink u dat voorkeursaksie-programme nodig is vir die werwing, aanstelling en opleiding van personeel van 'n minderbevoorregte (d.w.s. Swart, "Kleurling" en Indiër personeel) agtergrond, met die doel om so 'n verteenwoordigende verskeidenheid te bereik?

Ja []
Nee []
Onseker []

Verduidelik asseblief u antwoord:

25. In terme van globale prioriteite binne die maatskaplike werk leerplan, watter waarde sou u toeken aan die insluiting van stof oor vraagstukke van ras en kultuur in die beoefening van maatskaplike werk?

1	2	3	4	5
Om	Onbelangrik	Van	Belangrik	Baie
aktief		minder		belangrik
teengewerk		belang		
te word				

Kan u asseblief u reaksies op bogenoemde verklaar en aandui watter ander gebiede van die leerplan u beskou as van besondere belang vir die beoefening van maatskaplike werk in 'n veranderende Suid-Afrika.

1 Verskil sterk	2 Verskil	3 Neutraal	4 Stem saam	5 Stem sterk saam
-----------------------	--------------	---------------	----------------	-------------------------

Vir amptelike gebruik

Vir verdere aanmerkings:

14. In die lig van die uiteenlopende tale wat in Suid-Afrika gepraat word, is kommunikasie tussen maatskaplike werkers en kliënte/gemeenskappe 'n noemenswaardige probleem.

1 2 3 4 5

Vul asseblief u antwoord aan:

15. Maatskaplike werk-opleiding behoort studente toe te rus met algemene praktiese vaardighede en kennis wat konsentreer op die universele aard van menslike behoeftes en ervarings ongeag sosiale en kulturele verskeidenheid.

1 2 3 4 5

Kan u asseblief uitbrei op u antwoord:

16. a) Maatskaplike werk-opleiding behoort studente toe te rus om transkulturele maatskaplike werk te verrig (d.w.s. werk met kliënte/gemeenskappe van ander etniese en/of kulturele eienskappe en ervarings as hulsell).

1 2 3 4 5

b) Indien u 4 of 5 omsirkel het in antwoord op 16a) hierbo, dink u dat dit hoofsaaklik van toepassing is op:
(Let op: Maak asseblief 'n remerk langs u antwoord(e))

- Swart (Afrika afkoms)1 studente? []
- "Kleurling" studente? []
- Indiër studente? []
- Wit studente? []
- Alle studente? []

Lees asseblief kommentaar op u antwoord:

1 Die "ras"- of "kleur"-kategorieë wat in hierdie vraelys gebruik word weerspieël die wat gebruik word in Suid-Afrikaanse wetgewing, tansy huidige gebruik of onlangs herroep. Die implikasie is dat die navolger sulke kategorieë beskou as noodwendig betekenisvol of geldig vir die persone/gemeenskappe wat so benoem word nie.

Vir amptelike
gebruik

Vir verdere aanmerkings:

-
.....
.....
.....
19. Berei die voorgraadse maatskaplike werk-leerplan in u Departement studente voldoende voor vir die beoefening van transkulturele maatskaplike werk?

Probeer nie om dit te doen nie
Ja, besonder doeltreffend
Nie besonder doeltreffend nie
Ander (verduidelik asseblief hieronder)

Verduidelik asseblief u antwoord:

-
.....
.....
.....
20. Dink u dat u voldoende kennis en vaerdighede het om maatskaplike werk-studente te help voorberei vir die beoefening van doeltreffende transkulturele maatskaplike werk?

Ja
Nee
Onseker

Brei asseblief uit op u antwoord:

-
.....
.....
.....
21. Hoe dink u behoort vraagstukke aangaande ras, kultuur en etnisiteit soos wat hulle verband hou met maatskaplike werk-teorie en -praktyk aangespreek te word in die maatskaplike werk-leerplan?

a) Ten opsigte van struktuur:

[Let op: Plaas 'n regmerk langs slegs een moontlikheid in hierdie afdeling]
As deel van bestaande kursusse
In 'n aparte kursus of kursusse
Slegs as deel van veldwerk
Deur ander metodes (verduidelik asseblief hieronder)

APPENDIX D.4

Survey questionnaire titled 'Race and culture in social work education' sent to social work students (English & Afrikaans versions)

**RACE AND CULTURE IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION
QUESTIONNAIRE TO STUDENTS**

This questionnaire is confidential and anonymous. Please do not write your name on it. Your co-operation is greatly appreciated.

SECTION A:

In this section you are asked to:

a) rate the extent of your agreement/disagreement with each of the statements that follow by drawing a circle around the relevant number according to the following scale;

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

Example:

Social work students enjoy completing questionnaires that explore topical and controversial issues.

1 2 3 4 5

Here the number 4 has been ringed to show that the respondent "agrees" with the given statement!

b) add your comments in the spaces provided:

1.a) The diversity of cultural values, beliefs and practices amongst different people/communities should be acknowledged as an important social reality in South Africa.

1 2 3 4 5

b) Emphasising the diversity of cultural values, beliefs and practices amongst people/communities in South Africa encourages separatist, apartheid thinking.

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments

.....

.....

2) The different population groups in South Africa should seek to preserve their cultural and national identities by remaining socially homogeneous and/or separate.

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments

.....

.....

1 Strongly disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neutral	4 Agree	5 Strongly agree
---------------------------	---------------	--------------	------------	------------------------

- 3.a) Separate social work services for each of the different national and/or ethnic groups are the best way of providing for the welfare needs of all South Africans

1 2 3 4 5

- b) Integrated social work services, delivered irrespective of race, ethnicity or culture, are the best way of providing for the welfare needs of all South Africans.

1 2 3 4 5

- c) Integrated social work services, adapted to ensure sensitivity towards ethnic, racial and/or cultural characteristics and experiences, are the best way of providing for the welfare needs of all South Africans.

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

.....

.....

4. An important priority within a new welfare dispensation for South Africa should be the creation and expansion of resources and services for historically disadvantaged (ie, Black, 'Coloured' and Indian') communities.

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

.....

.....

5. Social work services are most effective when social workers and clients/communities are "matched" according to similar ethnic, racial and/or cultural characteristics.

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

.....

.....

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

6. In view of the diverse languages spoken in South Africa, communication between social workers and clients/communities speaking different languages is a significant problem.

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

.....

.....

7. Social work education should equip students to practise transcultural social work (ie, work with clients/communities of different ethnic and/or cultural characteristics and experiences to themselves).

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

.....

.....

8. Social work education should equip students to practise anti-racist social work (ie, to actively combat racial discrimination in social work).

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

.....

.....

SECTION B:

- In this section a) tick the response that best fits your personal view
b) add your comments in the space provided*

9. Social work has been criticised as being based on Western cultural assumptions and First World socio-economic conditions. This perspective views American and British social work theory as inappropriate to the needs of most clients and communities in South Africa. Do you agree with this criticism?

Yes, very much so []
Yes, to some extent []
No, not a valid criticism []

Your comments:

.....

.....

10. Do you think that your social work education has adequately prepared you for transcultural and non-racist social work practice?

Does not attempt to do so []
 Yes, very adequately []
 Not very adequately []

Your comments:

.....

.....

11. In what languages, other than their home language, do you think social work students should have a basic proficiency by the end of their undergraduate training?

a) Students whose home language is an **African language**.

1 2 3

b) Students whose home language is **Afrikaans**.

1 2 3

c) Students whose home language is **English**.

1 2 3

Your comments:

.....

.....

12. Should the student body in local social work departments reflect the cultural, ethnic and racial diversity of the South African population?

Yes []
 No []
 Not sure []

Your comments:

.....

.....

13. Should the teaching staff in local social work departments reflect the cultural, ethnic and racial diversity of the South African population?

Yes []
 No []
 Not sure []

Your comments:

.....

.....

SECTION C:

14. Your home language(s) 1 2
15. What religion, if any, do you practice?:
16. How would you identify the social class you were born into (ie that of your family of origin)?
.....
17. How do you identify yourself culturally and/or ethnically?:
.....
18. In terms of the previous Population Registration Act, how were you classified by "race"?:
.....
19. Your age: [] years 35. Your gender: Female[]
Male[]

SECTION D:

20. If there are any comments you would like to make on the issues raised (or not raised) in this survey, or on any aspect of the questionnaire itself, please do so here:

The content of the survey:

.....

.....

.....

The questionnaire itself:

.....

.....

.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND CO-OPERATION!

**RAS EN KULTUUR IN MAATSKAPLIKE WERK-OPLEIDING
VRAELYS AAN STUDENTE**

Hierdie vraelys is vertroulik en anoniem. Asseblief nie u naam op die vraelys skryf nie. U samewerking word hoog op prys gestel.

AFDELING A:

In hierdie afdeling word daar van u gevra om:

a) die mate waarin u saamstem met, of verskil van, elk van die stellings wat volg aan te dui deur 'n sirkel te maak rondom die betrokke nommer, volgens hierdie skaal:

1	2	3	4	5
Verskil sterk	Verskil	Neutraal	Stem saam	Stem sterk saam

Voorbeeld:

Maatskaplike werk-studente geniet dit om vraelyste in te vul waarin aktuele en omstrede vraagstukke ondersoek word.

1 2 3 4 5

Hier is die nommer 4 omsirkel om aan te dui die respondent "stem saam" met die gegewe stelling!

b) skryf neer u vedere aanmerkings:

1 a) Die verskeidenheid kulturele waardes, oortuigings en gebruike onder verskillende mense/gemeenskappe behoort erken te word as 'n belangrike maatskaplike realiteit in Suid-Afrika

1 2 3 4 5

b) 'n Beklemtoring van die veelvuldigheid kulturele waardes, oortuigings en gebruike onder verskillende mense/gemeenskappe in Suid-Afrika moedig afsonderlike, apartheid-denke aan.

1 2 3 4 5

U kommentare:

.....

.....

2. Die verskillende bevolkingsgroepe in Suid-Afrika behoort daarna te streef om hul kulturele en nasionale identiteite te bewaar deur sosiaal homogeen en/of afsonderlik te bly.

1 2 3 4 5

U kommentare:

.....

.....

1	2	3	4	5
Verskil sterk	Verskil	Neutraal	Stem saam	Stem sterk saam

- 3.a) Afsonderlike maatskaplike werk-dienste vir elk van die verskillende nasionale en/of etniese groepe is die beste manier om te voorsien aan die welsynsbehoefes van alle Suid-Afrikaners.

1 2 3 4 5

- b) Geïntegreerde maatskaplike werk-dienste, gelewer ongeag ras, etnisiteit of kultuur, is die beste manier om te voorsien aan die welsynsbehoefes van alle Suid-Afrikaners.

1 2 3 4 5

- c) Geïntegreerde maatskaplike werk-dienste, aangepas om sensitiwiteit vir etniese, rasse- en kulturele eienskappe en ervarings te verseker, is die beste manier om te voorsien aan die welsynsbehoefes van alle Suid-Afrikaners.

1 2 3 4 5

U kommentare:

.....

.....

4. 'n Belangrike prioriteit binne 'n nuwe welsynsbedeling vir Suid-Afrika behoort die skepping en uitbreiding van hulpbronne en dienste vir minderbevoorregte (d w s Swart-, "Kleurling-" en Indier-¹) gemeenskappe te wees.

1 2 3 4 5

U kommentare:

.....

.....

5. Maatskaplike dienste is mees doeltreffend wanneer maatskaplike werkers en die kliënte/gemeenskap ooreenkom wat etniese, rasse- en/of kulturele eienskappe aanbetref.

1 2 3 4 5

U kommentare:

.....

.....

¹ Die "ras-" of "kleur-" kategoriee wat in hierdie vraelys gebruik word in suid-afrikaanse wetgewing, het sy huidige gebruik onlangs herroep; die implikasie is nie dat die navorsers sulke kategoriee beskou as noodwendig betekenisvol of geldig vir die persone/gemeenskappe wat so behoeftig word nie.

1	2	3	4	5
Verskil sterk	Verskil	Neutraal	Stem saam	Stem sterk saam

6. In die lig van die uiteenlopende tale wat in Suid-Afrika gepraat word, is kommunikasie tussen maatskaplike werkers en kliënte/gemeenskappe 'n noemenswaardige probleem.

1 2 3 4 5

U kommentare:

.....

.....

7. Maatskaplike werk-opleiding behoort studente toe te rus om transkulturele maatskaplike werk te verrig (d w s werk met kliënte/gemeenskappe van ander etniese en/of kulturele eienskappe en ervarings as hulself).

1 2 3 4 5

U kommentare:

.....

.....

8. Maatskaplike werk-opleiding behoort studente toe te rus om anti-rassistiese maatskaplike werk uit te voer (d w s om rasse-diskriminasie in maatskaplike werk aktief teen te werk.)

1 2 3 4 5

U kommentare:

.....

.....

AFDELING B:

In hierdie afdeling a) maak 'n regmerk langs die reaksie wat u persoonlike opinie die beste weergee, en b) skryf neer u aanmerkings:

9. Maatskaplike werk is gekritiseer as gegrond op Westerse kulturele aannames en Eerste Wêreld sosio-ekonomiese toestande. Hierdie perspektief beskou Amerikaanse en Britse maatskaplike werk-teorie as nie geskik vir die behoeftes van die meeste kliënte en gemeenskappe in Suid-Afrika nie. Stem u saam met die kritiek?

Ja, tot 'n besonder hoë mate []

Ja, tot 'n sekere mate []

Nee, nie geldige kritiek nie []

U kommentare:

.....

.....

10. Dink u dat u maatskaplike werk-opleiding u voldoende voor vir die beoefening van transkulturele maatskaplike werk?

Probeer nie om dit te doen nie []

Ja, besonder doeltreffend []

Nie besonder doeltreffend nie []

U kommentare:

.....

.....

11. In watter tale, anders as hulle huistaal, behoort maatskaplike werkers 'n sekere vaardigheid te hê teen die einde van hulle opleiding?

a) Studente wie se huistaal 'n **Afrika-taal** is.

1 2 3

b) Studente wie se huistaal **Afrikaans** is.

1 2 3

c) Studente wie se huistaal **Engels** is

1 2 3

U kommentare:

.....

.....

12. Behoort die studente [body] in plaaslike maatskaplike werk-departemente die verskeidenheid van die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing ten opsigte van kultuur, etnisiteit en ras te reflekteer?

Ja []

Nee []

Onseker []

U kommentare

.....

.....

13. Behoort die doserende personeel in plaaslike maatskaplike werk-departemente die verskeidenheid van die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing ten opsigte van kultuur, etnisiteit en ras te reflekteer?

Ja []

Nee []

Onseker []

U kommentare:

.....

.....

APPENDIX D.5

Survey questionnaire titled 'Race and culture in social work education' sent to fieldwork supervisors (English version only)

**RACE AND CULTURE IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION
QUESTIONNAIRE TO FIELDWORK SUPERVISORS**

This questionnaire is confidential and anonymous. Please do not write your name on it. Your co-operation is greatly appreciated.

SECTION A:

In this section you are asked to:

a) rate the extent of your agreement/disagreement with each of the statements that follow by drawing a circle around the relevant number according to the following scale;

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

Example:

Social work supervisors enjoy completing questionnaires that explore topical and controversial issues.

1 2 3 4 5

Here the number 4 has been ringed to show that the respondent "agrees" with the given statement!

b) add your comments in the spaces provided:

1.a) The diversity of cultural values, beliefs and practices amongst different people/communities should be acknowledged as an important social reality in South Africa.

1 2 3 4 5

b) Emphasising the diversity of cultural values, beliefs and practices amongst people/communities in South Africa encourages separatist, apartheid thinking.

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

.....

.....

2. The different population groups in South Africa should seek to preserve their cultural and national identities by remaining socially homogeneous and/or separate.

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

.....

.....

1 Strongly disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neutral	4 Agree	5 Strongly agree
---------------------------	---------------	--------------	------------	------------------------

3.a) Separate social work services for each of the different national and/or ethnic groups are the best way of providing for the welfare needs of all South Africans.

1 2 3 4 5

b) Integrated social work services, delivered irrespective of race, ethnicity or culture, are the best way of providing for the welfare needs of all South Africans.

1 2 3 4 5

c) Integrated social work services, adapted to ensure sensitivity towards ethnic, racial and/or cultural characteristics and experiences, are the best way of providing for the welfare needs of all South Africans.

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

.....

4. An important priority within a new welfare dispensation for South Africa should be the creation and expansion of resources and services for historically disadvantaged (ie. Black, 'Coloured' and Indian¹) communities.

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

.....

5. Social work services are most effective when social workers and clients/communities are "matched" according to similar ethnic, racial and/or cultural characteristics.

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

.....

1. The 'race' or 'colour' categories used in this questionnaire reflect those in South African legislation, either current or recently repealed. This does not imply that the researcher regards such categories as necessarily meaningful or legitimate for the persons/communities so labelled.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	1 Neutral	2 Agree	3 Strongly agree	4	5
----------------------	----------	--------------	------------	------------------------	---	---

6. In view of the diverse languages spoken in South Africa, communication between social workers and clients/communities speaking different languages is a significant problem.

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

.....

.....

7. Social work education should equip students to practise transcultural social work (ie, work with clients/communities of different ethnic and/or cultural characteristics and experiences to themselves).

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

.....

.....

8. Social work education should equip students to practise anti-racist social work (ie, to actively combat racial discrimination in social work practice).

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

.....

.....

9. In a restructured non-racial welfare system, practising social workers will require in-service training around issues of transcultural and anti-racist practice if equitable and effective service delivery is to be achieved.

1 2 3 4 5

Your comments:

.....

.....

SECTION B:

In this section please tick the response that best fits your personal view and add your comments in the space provided:

10. Social work has been criticised as being based on Western cultural assumptions and First World socio-economic conditions. This perspective views American and British social work theory as inappropriate to the needs of most clients and communities in South Africa. Do you agree with this criticism?

Yes, very much so []
 Yes, to some extent []
 No, not a valid criticism []

Your comments:

.....

11. Do you think that the social work curriculum taught in the university social work department(s) for whom you supervise adequately prepares students for transcultural social work practice?

In general, yes []
 In general, no []
 Varies between departments (please comment below) []
 Other (please explain below) []

Your comments:

.....

12. In what languages, other than their home language, do you think social work students should have a basic proficiency by the end of their undergraduate training?

a) Students whose home language is an African language.

1 2 3

b) Students whose home language is Afrikaans.

1 2 3

c) Students whose home language is English.

1 2 3

Your comments:

.....

13. Does your agency/organisation attempt to provide all social work students on placement with opportunities for transcultural practice (see definition in paragraph 7. above)?

Yes []

No []

Other (please specify)..... []

Please comment on any policy or practical considerations that apply to the above question:

.....

.....

14. Does your agency/organisation attempt, where possible, to "match" students with the clients/communities they will work with according to any of the following characteristics?

Race/colour: Yes [] No []

Language(s) spoken: Yes [] No []

Gender: Yes [] No []

Cultural knowledge: Yes [] No []

Other Yes []

Please comment on any policy or practical considerations that apply to the above question:

.....

.....

15. Do you think that you have adequate knowledge and skills to help prepare social work students for effective transcultural social work practice?

Yes []

No []

Not sure []

Your comments:

.....

.....

16. Is it important that social work staff in local social work agencies should reflect the cultural, ethnic and racial diversity of the South African population?

Yes []

No []

Not sure []

Your comments:

.....

.....

17. If you answered "Yes" to question 16, do you think that affirmative action programmes for the recruitment and appointment of staff from disadvantaged (ie Black, 'Coloured' and Indian persons) backgrounds should be instituted to achieve such representative diversity?

- Yes []
- No []
- Not sure []

Your comments:

.....

.....

SECTION C:

AGENCY/ORGANISATION

Please note that the agency/organisation in which you work will be identified in the results of this study by a confidential code only and not by name.

18. Name of agency/organisation:

19. Agency/organisation's field of service (eg family service, mental health, disability, etc) and/or development focus:

.....

20. Principal social work methods (eg casework, community work, etc) or other interventive approaches (eg education, training, research, etc) used in your agency:

(Please rank the methods and/or approaches in descending order of actual usage)

1. 2.

3. 4.

21. Main client: groups/communities served by agency in terms of race, ethnicity, class, language and/or geographical location:

(Please rank groups/communities in descending order of actual service provision)

1. 2.

3. 4.

22. Main language(s) of communication in agency/organisation:

1. 2. 3.

FIELDWORK SUPERVISOR

23. Your home language(s): 1 2

24. What religion, if any, do you practice?:

25. How would you identify the social class you were born into (ie that of your family of origin)?
.....
26. How would you identify yourself culturally/ethnically?:
.....
27. In terms of the previous Population Registration Act, how were you classified by "race"?:
.....
28. Years experience in social work since qualifying: [] years:
29. Your age: [] years
30. Your gender: Female []
Male []

SECTION D:

31. If there are any comments you would like to make on the issues raised (or not raised) in this survey, or on any aspect of the questionnaire itself, please do so here:

The content of the survey:

.....
.....
.....

The questionnaire itself:

.....
.....
.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND CO-OPERATION!

APPENDIX E.1

Letter to heads of social work departments in universities & colleges regarding follow-up survey (demographic & educational policy) questionnaire (English & Afrikaans versions)

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Telephone: (W) (021) 650 3493/4
(H) (021) 478091

Robert Leslie Social Sciences Building
Postal Address:
Private Bag
Rondebosch
7700

August 1993

Dear

SURVEY: ISSUES OF RACE AND CULTURE IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

The enclosed questionnaire is a follow-up to the above survey in which academic staff in your Department participated last year (1992). My previous letter of June 1992 addressed to you (or your predecessor) refers.

Responses to the 1992 staff questionnaire have confirmed that social work education in South Africa takes place in very diverse institutional settings. It has become clear to me that in order to understand each setting better more specific information relating to Departmental demographics and educational policy is necessary.

I have therefore taken my courage in my hands to prevail upon your time and patience once more! The enclosed questionnaire attempts to tap essential information relevant for understanding, from the point of view of this research, the context in which social work education in your particular institution currently takes place. I am aware that some of this information may be perceived as being of a sensitive or confidential nature. I can only assure you that each institution will be identified in any publication or presentation of results by a code name only. If you do not wish to complete any particular section of the questionnaire I would request you please to note this and to return the questionnaire with as much information as you feel willing to supply.

In order that some debate may take place around the issues raised, I also undertake to present the main findings of the research project at the next Joint Universities Committee Conference that accepts my paper.

You will find a stamped and addressed envelope enclosed for your convenience. My earnest request is that you please return the completed questionnaire as soon as possible and preferably within **1 WEEK** of receiving it.

May I lastly apologise for adding further to your already full workload. Your willingness to participate in this study is greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely

Ian Mackintosh
Lecturer
School of Social Work, University of Cape Town

APPENDIX E.2

**Follow-up (demographic & educational policy) questionnaire
sent to heads of social work departments in universities &
colleges (English & Afrikaans versions)**

**RACE AND CULTURE IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION
QUESTIONNAIRE TO HEAD OF SOCIAL WORK DEPARTMENTS**

Please note that your educational institution will be identified in the results of this study by a confidential code only and not by name.

1. Name of educational institution:
2. What are the following demographic characteristics, by year of study, of all the social work students (including part-time students) currently in your department?
(NB: If accurate figures are not available please use approximate numbers or percentages and indicate as such)

	<u>1st Yr</u>	<u>2nd Yr</u>	<u>3rd Yr</u>	<u>4th Yr</u>	<u>5th Yr</u> (Postgrad.)
<u>Gender</u>					
Female	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Male	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
<u>Home language</u>					
African language	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Afrikaans	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
English	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Other	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
<u>Race/colour¹</u>					
Black African	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
'Coloured'	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Indian	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
White	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

3. a) Do you anticipate any changes in this demographic profile of your students over the next 5 years? YES [] NO []

b) If YES please specify 1) which characteristics you expect to see change, and 2) why this expected change is likely to take place.

1)

.....

.....

2)

.....

.....

¹The 'race' or 'colour' categories used in this questionnaire reflect those in South African legislation, either current or recently repealed. This does not imply that the researcher regards such categories as necessarily meaningful or legitimate for the persons so labelled.

4. a) Does your Department offer any separate theory course(s) that explicitly address(es) transcultural social work (ie practice with clients and communities of different ethnic and/or cultural characteristics and experiences)?

YES [] NO []

If YES, please record course title(s) and year level(s):

.....
.....

- b) Does your Department include such content as part of your existing courses?

YES [] NO []

- c) If NO what is the Department's policy regarding the possible inclusion of such content in the curriculum?

.....
.....

5. a) Does your Department offer any separate theory course(s) that explicitly address(es) anti-racist social work (ie practice that actively combats racial discrimination in social work)?

YES [] NO []

If YES, please record course title(s) and year level(s):

.....
.....

- b) Does your Department include such content as part of your existing courses?

YES [] NO []

- c) If NO what is the Department's current policy regarding the possible inclusion of such content in the curriculum?

.....
.....

6. a) Does your Department require social work students to gain proficiency in any language other than the medium of instruction in the Department?

YES [] NO []

If YES, in which language(s)?

- b) If NO, do you anticipate any change in this policy in the next 5 years?

YES [] NO []

If YES what might that change entail?

.....
.....

7. a) Does your Departmental policy require that all students be placed in at least one fieldwork setting in which they are expected to practise transcultural social work (defined in Question 4.a above)? YES [] NO []

If YES, what is the specific requirement?

.....

- b) If NO, do you envisage such a requirement being introduced in the next 5 years? YES [] NO []

Please comment.

.....

8. What are the following demographic characteristics, by post level, of the academic staff members (defined as: all staff who have direct teaching input, are employed half-time or more and are on at least a year's contract) in your Department?

Note: The numbered columns refer to post level i.e. 1. Professor or Associate Professor, 2. Senior Lecturer, 3. Lecturer, 4. Assistant Lecturer or Fieldwork Supervisor/Tutor.

	1 (Prof/Ass Prof)	2 (Sen. Lect)	3 (Lect)	4 (Asst Lect/Sup)
<u>Gender</u>				
Female	[]	[]	[]	[]
Male	[]	[]	[]	[]
<u>Home Language</u>				
African language	[]	[]	[]	[]
Afrikaans	[]	[]	[]	[]
English	[]	[]	[]	[]
Other,	[]	[]	[]	[]
<u>Race/colour</u>				
Black African	[]	[]	[]	[]
'Coloured'	[]	[]	[]	[]
Indian	[]	[]	[]	[]
White	[]	[]	[]	[]

9. What is your Department's current policy regarding the recruitment and employment of social work teaching staff? (Please indicate if you operate either an equal opportunity or affirmative action policy and what this entails)
-
-

10. If you have any further comments regarding the issues raised above, on this questionnaire, or on the survey itself, please record them here:
-
-
-

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND CO-OPERATION

**RAS EN KULTUUR IN MAATSKAPLIKE WERK-OPLEIDING
VRAELYS AAN HOOFDE VAN DEPARTEMENTE VAN MAATSKAPLIKE WERK**

Let asseblief daarop dat u inrigting slegs deur middel van 'n vertroulike kode in die uitslag van hierdie studie geïdentifiseer sal word.

1. Naam van opvoedkundige inrigting:

2. Wat is die volgende demografiese eienskappe, volgens jaar van studie, van al die maatskaplike werk-studente (deeltydse studente ingesluit) tans in u departement?
(NB: Indien akkurate getalle nie beskikbaar is nie, gebruik asseblief benaderde getalle of persentasies, en dui so aan)

	<u>1ste Jr</u>	<u>2de Jr</u>	<u>3de Jr</u>	<u>4de Jr</u>	<u>5de Jr</u> (<u>Nagraads</u>)
<u>Geslag</u>					
Vroulik	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
Manlik	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
<u>Huistaal</u>					
Afrika-taal	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
Afrikaans	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
Engels	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
Ander.....	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
<u>Ras/kleur</u> ¹					
Swart Afrikaan	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
'Kluerling'	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
Indier	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
Wit	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []

3. a) Verwag u enige veranderinge in hierdie demografiese profiel van u studente binne die volgende 5 jaar?

JA [] NEE []

b) Indien JA, dui asseblief aan 1) watter eienskappe u verwag sal verander, en 2) waarom hierdie verwagte veranderinge moontlik sal plaasvind

1)

.....

.....

2)

.....

.....

¹ Die "ras"- of "kleur"-kategorieë wat in hierdie vraelys gebruik word weerspieël dié wat gebruik word in Suid-Afrikaanse wetgewing, hetsy tans in gebruik of ontlangs herroep. Die implikasie is nie dat die navorser sulke kategorieë beskou as noodwendig betekenisvol of geldig vir die persone wat so benoem word nie.

4. a) Bied u Departement enige aparte teorie-kursus(se) aan wat trans-kulturele maatskaplike werk uitdruklik aanspreek (d w s werk met kliënte en gemeenskappe van verskillende etniese en/of kulturele eienskappe en ervarings)?
JA [] NEE []

Indien JA, dui asseblief kursustitel(s) en onderrigvlak(ke) aan:

.....
.....

- b) Maak sodanige materiaal deel van u bestaande kursusse in u departement uit?
JA [] NEE []

c) Indien NEE, wat is die Departement se beleid aangaande die moontlike insluiting van sodanige materiaal in die leerplan?

.....
.....

5. a) Bied u Departement enige aparte teorie-kursus(se) aan wat anti-rassistiese maatskaplike werk uitdruklik aanspreek (d w s die beoefening van maatskaplike werk op so 'n manier dat rasse-diskriminasie aktief teengewerk word)?
JA [] NEE []

Indien JA, dui asseblief kursustitel(s) en onderrigvlak(ke) aan:

.....
.....

- b) Maak sodanige materiaal deel van u bestaande kursusse in u departement uit?
JA [] NEE []

c) Indien NEE, wat is die Departement se beleid aangaande die moontlike insluiting van sodanige materiaal in die leerplan?

.....
.....

6. a) Vereis u Departement dat maatskaplike werk-studente vaardigheid verkry in enige taal anders as die voertaal van die Departement?
JA [] NEE []

Indien JA, in watter taal/tale?

- b) Indien NEE, verwag u enige verandering in hierdie beleid binne die volgende 5 jaar?
JA [] NEE []

Indien JA, watter verandering verwag u sal plaasvind?

.....
.....

- 7 a) Vereis u departementele beleid dat alle studente praktykopleiding doen in ten minste een veldwerk-situasie waar daar van hulle vereis word om trans-kulturele maatskaplike werk (soos gedefinieer in Vraag 4 a) te beoefen?

JA []

NEE []

Indien JA, die bepaalde vereiste aan:

.....

- b) Indien NEE, verwag u dat so 'n vereiste binne die volgende 5 jaar ingestel sal word?

JA []

NEE []

Lewer asseblief kommentaar:

.....

- 8 Wat is die volgende demografiese eienskappe, volgens posvlak, van die akademiese personeellede (gedefinieer as: alle personeel wat direkte doseerwerk verrig, wat halwe aanstellings of meer het en wat ten minste eenjarige dienskontrakte het) in u Departement?

Nota: Die genommerde kolomme verwys na posvlakke, d w s. 1. Professor of Mede-Professor, 2. Senior Lektor, 3. Lektor, 4. Assistent-lektor of Supervisor/Praktykopleier.

	1 (Prof/Mede-Prof)	2 (Sen. Lekt)	3 (Lekt)	4 (Asst Lekt/Sup)
Geslag				
Vroulik	[]	[]	[]	[]
Manlik	[]	[]	[]	[]
Huistaal				
Afrika-taal	[]	[]	[]	[]
Afrikaans	[]	[]	[]	[]
Engels	[]	[]	[]	[]
Ander	[]	[]	[]	[]
Ras/kleur				
Swart Afrikaan	[]	[]	[]	[]
'Kleurling	[]	[]	[]	[]
Indier	[]	[]	[]	[]
Wit	[]	[]	[]	[]

- 9 Wat is u Departement se huidige beleid aangaande die werwing en aanstelling van maatskaplike werk-personeel? (Dui asseblief aan indien u van of gelyke geleentheids- of voorkeuraksie-beleid gebruik maak, en wat dit behels).

.....

.....

10. Indien daar enige ander opmerkings is wat u sou wou maak aangaande bogenoemde sake, oor hierdie vraelys, of oor die oorsoek self, doen dit asseblief hier:

.....

.....

.....

DANKIE VIR U TYD EN SAMEWERKING

APPENDIX F.1

**Letter to directors/heads of social work agencies regarding
follow-up survey (demographic & agency practice/educational
policy) questionnaire (English version only)**

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Robert Leslie Social Sciences Building
Postal Address:
Private Bag
Rondebosch
7700

Telephone: (W) (021) 650 3493/4
(H) (021) 478091

August 1993

Dear

SURVEY : ISSUES OF RACE AND CULTURE IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

The enclosed questionnaire forms part of a study which is concerned with issues of race and culture in the current social work curriculum. A range of those persons directly involved in the educational process (academics, fieldwork supervisors and students) are being involved in this survey. With your co-operation and interest I am hoping to obtain a representative response that will enable this survey to provide us all with 1) a clearer picture of current practice regarding these specific aspects of social work education and training, and 2) a basis for debate and decision-making in reviewing present and future needs in this area.

The person in your agency who is currently serving as an agency fieldwork supervisor for one, or more, of our fourth year social work student(s) has agreed to complete a separate questionnaire which asks for personal responses to a range of the above issues. Although some specific questions regarding student supervision in your organisational setting were included in the supervisor's questionnaire I have felt it more appropriate to address factual aspects concerning both student placement and staffing practice and policy directly to you as Agency Director or Head of social work services.

You may be wondering why I am asking for such specific information regarding your current social work staff. The agencies/organisations in which we place students for field practice play a vital and central role in the social work educational process. It is therefore essential that, for the purposes of this survey, accurate and relevant knowledge regarding the context in which students are afforded the opportunity to practise social work is gathered. Particular knowledge of the demographic characteristics of your current social work staff contextualises and gives meaning to policy and practice in respect of social work services, student placements and the employment of social work staff. If however, you do not wish to complete any section of the questionnaire I would request you to please note this and to return the questionnaire with as much information as you feel willing to supply.

If you would like to discuss any aspect of this survey either before or after completing the questionnaire please feel free to contact me directly. Once the results of this research are analysed I would be very happy to visit specific agencies or organisations in order to either present the results for discussion or run a workshop around the implications for the training and education of social work students. I would like to emphasise that this is a **confidential** survey - no individuals or their agencies/ organisations will be identified by name in the write-up of this study.

You will find a stamped and addressed envelope enclosed for the return of your questionnaire. My earnest request is that you please return the completed questionnaire as soon as possible and preferably within **1 WEEK** of receiving it.

May I lastly apologise for adding further stress to your already full workload. Your willingness to participate in this study is greatly appreciated

Yours sincerely

Ian Mackintosh
Lecturer
School of Social Work, University of Cape Town

APPENDIX F.2

Follow-up survey (demographic & agency practice/educational policy) questionnaire sent to directors/heads of social work agencies (English version only)

**FIELDWORK AGENCIES FOR SOCIAL WORK STUDENTS
QUESTIONNAIRE TO DIRECTORS/H.O.D.'S**

Please note that the agency/organisation will be identified in the results of this study by a confidential code only and not by name.

1. Name of agency/organisation:
.....
.....
2. Agency/organisation's field of service and/or development focus
.....
.....
3. Social work services. How is your target client population defined? (ie by specific geographical area(s), by language, ethnicity or religion, by need or problem, or by other criteria?)
.....
.....
4. Student placements. From which Universities/Colleges do you currently (1993) have social work students for fieldwork placement and how many students from each institution will you have accommodated during 1993?
.....
.....
.....
5. Student placement policy. Do you operate any specific policy with regard to social work students you accept for placement? (This could include any aspect, eg spoken language(s), gender, ethnicity/race, academic ability, personality, religion etc).
.....
.....
.....
6. Staffing/employment policy. What is your current policy regarding the recruitment and employment of social work staff in your agency/organisation? (Please indicate if you operate either an equal opportunity or affirmative action policy and what this entails)
.....
.....
.....
.....

7. Social work staffing. What are the demographic characteristics of the social work staff (defined as qualified social workers) currently employed in your organisation according to gender, home language and race/colour¹? The numbered columns refer to grade or post level at which staff are currently appointed i.e. **1**. Director or Assistant Director, **2**. Supervisor and Senior Social Worker, and **3**. Social Worker.

(Please indicate the number of social work staff in each category. If accurate figures are not available please use approximate numbers and indicate as such)

		1 (Dir./Asst Dir.)	2 (Sup./Sen.Swker)	3 (Swker)
<u>Gender:</u>				
Female	[]	[]	[]	[]
Male	[]	[]	[]	[]
<u>Home language:</u>				
Afrikaans-speaking	[]	[]	[]	[]
English-speaking	[]	[]	[]	[]
Xhosa-speaking	[]	[]	[]	[]
Other.....	[]	[]	[]	[]
<u>Race/colour :</u>				
Black African	[]	[]	[]	[]
'Coloured'	[]	[]	[]	[]
Indian	[]	[]	[]	[]
White	[]	[]	[]	[]

8. Language policy. Does your agency/organisation have any specific language policies regarding either official language(s) of the agency or those languages required to be spoken by social work staff? (In particular do you provide in-service language training for staff wishing/needing to speak an African language?)

.....

.....

.....

PLEASE TURN OVER

¹ The 'race' or 'colour' categories used in this questionnaire reflect those in South African legislation, either current or recently repealed. This does not imply that the researcher regards such categories as necessarily meaningful or legitimate for the persons/communities so labelled.

APPENDIX G

Social work educator respondents: representivity issues

APPENDIX G

The social work educator respondents: representivity issues

This issue, which is central to any attempt to make any generalisations about social work educators nationally, depends, firstly, on the response rate, and secondly, on whether the characteristics of the respondents and non-respondents differ in any significant ways (Babbie, 1973; de Vaus, 1986; Fowler, 1984). The higher the response rate the less likelihood there is of significant response bias. Both these aspects are central in addressing a fundamental question in survey methodology, i.e. to what extent do the respondents form a random sample of the targeted population?

These two aspects, both of which concern possible bias within the survey respondent group, are dealt with below. Firstly, response rates, by institution as well as by institutional category (see discussion below), are presented. Secondly, limited demographic data on the overall staffing profile of each social work department and those of respondents are compared. Thirdly, the demographic characteristics of those respondents who initially did not respond to the mailed questionnaires but were subsequently interviewed are compared with that of other mail respondents who work in the same departments.

Response rates

Table 1 below lists the number of teaching staff (on two separate lists), respondents and the corresponding response rates for each institution and institutional category. List A consists of the numbers of staff I was informed were on the establishment of each department and thus includes vacant posts at the time of my telephone call to each department. In all cases the department was expecting to fill the vacancy during the course of the year. However I have no way of knowing a) whether in fact a staff member was appointed by the time the questionnaires and letter reached the department, or b) whether even if staff were in post they received the questionnaire from the head of department concerned¹.

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As Babbie (1973) notes with regard to this form of survey, '...the accepted practice is to omit all those all those questionnaires that could not be delivered.' (Babbie, 1973: 165) and so use the *net* sample size to calculate the response rate. I have therefore compiled a second staff list, List B, which *excludes* both a) all vacant posts (i.e. it includes only named teaching staff), and b) those staff who I was informed were on leave during the period of the survey (June to October 1992). Such staff may therefore not have received their questionnaire or, alternatively, felt no obligation to participate in work perceived as 'departmental'. This latter category is unlikely to be complete as I may not have been correctly informed of leave schedules in all cases. A total of five such staff on official leave were identified each in five separate departments.

I present both lists and their corresponding response rates (in Table 1 below) as it is most likely that neither list accurately represents the sample size. It will be noticed that the difference between the two list totals (191 staff for list A and 177 for list B) is fourteen persons whereas a total of 16 'doubtful' sample members (12 vacant posts and 4 staff on leave) were identified. This discrepancy is accounted for as follows. As described above a new staff member in department A7 (see Table 1) who I interviewed, and who thus became a respondent, had filled a the previously indicated vacancy. Thus the list B total is increased by one staff member. In department C2 there were four vacancies, and therefore only six named staff, but seven questionnaires were returned from the department. Thus in this case the list B total is also increased by one staff member.

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Table 1
Survey of social work educators: population, returns and response rates
(by department and institutional category)

Institutions by category	Staff list A	Staff list B	Q'aires returned	Response rate A	Response rate B
A: HBI	n	n	n	%	%
Dept A1	10	7	7	70	100
Dept A2	8	8	4	50	50
Dept A3	10	10	9	90	90
Dept A4	8	7	4	50	57
Dept A5	5	5	5	100	100
Dept A6	6	5	4	67	80
Dept A7	7	7	5	71	71
Dept A8	9	9	5	56	56
Dept A9	5	2	1	20	50
Subtotal	68	60	44	65	73
B: HWI-Afrik					
Dept B1	10	9	9	90	100
Dept B2	9	9	4	44	44
Dept B3	10	10	7	70	70
Dept B4	12	12	10	83	83
Dept B5	9	8	3	33	38
Dept B6	14	13	9	64	69
Dept B7	10	10	9	90	90
Subtotal	74	71	51	69	72
C: HWI-Eng					
Dept C1	12	12	11	92	92
Dept C2	10	7	7	70	100
Dept C3	5	5	5	100	100
Dept C4	12	12	7	58	58
Subtotal	39	36	30	77	83
D: DISTANCE					
Dept D1	10	10	10	100	100
TOTAL	191	177	135	71	76

While it is not possible to accurately determine the availability of staff at the time of the survey my impression is that, based upon discussions with staff in some departments, it is likely that list B is more accurate. If this is correct follows that the overall response rate is nearer 77 percent (rate B) than 71 percent (rate A). Babbie (1973), while noting that a demonstrated lack of response bias is of more importance than a high response rate, feels that in general a response rate of 70 percent or more is 'very good' (Babbie, 1973: 165)². As can be seen from Table 1, response rates for individual departments based on list A (i.e. rate A) vary from three

Appendix G

departments below 50 per cent, four departments between 50 and 58 per cent, six departments between 64 and 71 per cent, five departments between 83 and 92 per cent, to a maximum 100 per cent in three cases. If it is assumed however, as I propose above, that staffing list B is a more accurate reflection of the available sample, then individual response rates for departments (rate B) rise to seven departments below 58 per cent and 14 departments between 69 and 100 percent.

It would be a mistake however to only take into account response rates for individual departments. Given that categories of tertiary educational institutions in South Africa have created and developed, within a particular socio-political context, along quite distinct lines there are clearly major differences between these institutional categories in respect of not only designated population groups (i.e. 'race', home language, medium of instruction and, to some extent, culture) but also staff and physical resources, as well as geographical position/accessibility. As the focus of this study is around issues of race and culture, and associated inequities, it is clearly of major importance that respondents are representative not only in respect of their individual or institutional social characteristics but also that there is adequate representation from teaching staff from each of the diverse institutional categories.

As can be read from Table 1, response rates based upon staffing list A for the different institutional categories range from 65 per cent for the HBI, 69 per cent for the HWI-Afrik, 77 per cent for the HWI-Eng, to 100 per cent for the DIST department. Using response rate B the rates are improved to 73 per cent for the HBI departments, and 72 and 83 per cent for the HWI-Afrik and HWI-Eng departments, respectively. While the response rate from a few individual departments is clearly inadequate (see discussion above), responses grouped by the institutional categories are not less than a very adequate 65 percent even for the more conservative rate A.

However, as noted above, in addition to the achievement of what on face value appear to be adequate response rates, it is important to determine whether non-respondents differ markedly from the respondents with respect to any key characteristics that would introduce significant bias into the results.

Appendix G

Response bias

As discussed above I have made use of two available methods of attempting to check for this type of bias both of which have limitations but do provide some indication as to possible concerns regarding representivity. Firstly, in addition to the comparisons of total educators already discussed in Chapter 5, I here compare the 'colour' and gender of the educator *respondents* with that of the total educator *population* by institutional category, staff list as well as in the subsequent departmental demographic survey.

Secondly, returns from a few departments, particularly but not only in the HBI sector, were particularly low producing an initial return rate of 50 percent (using list A) for this sector. allowing the subsequent staff interviews, and completion of questionnaires, in three of these departments (see discussion in Chapter 5) it is possible to compare key characteristics and responses of two distinct groups within each of these three departments; firstly, those staff who returned the questionnaire by post (i.e. the respondent group), and secondly, those staff who did not initially return a questionnaire but who subsequently completed one either while being interviewed or after being approached (i.e. the 'non-respondent' group).

Race and gender in respondents and population

The following tables present a summary of the comparative proportion of respondents and educator population by 'colour'¹³ and gender respectively, in each institutional category.

Table 2:
Comparison of educator respondents and sample population by 'colour'

Institutional category	Black educators %		White educators %	
	Resp's	Pop'n	Resp's	Pop'n
HWI -Afk	0	0	100	100
HWI-Eng	27	31	73	69
HBI (SA)	62	71	38	29
HBI (TBVC)	87	92	13	8
DISTANCE	0	0	100	100
TOTAL	29	34	71	66

It is evident from Table 2 that, comparing the percentages of respondents and the sample population, black staff are under-represented amongst respondents (and therefore white staff are over-represented) in three of the five institutional categories. Thus in the HWI-Eng

Appendix II

**Table 6.7: Social work educators' closed responses to Item 3
By institution and ethnic/race group**

Scale	Frequencies						TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr		1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	1	11	19	20	50	34	135	22	15	63
HBI	0	4	5	6	19	10	44	20	14	66
HWI-Afk	1	1	5	3	22	19	51	12	6	80
HWI-Eng	0	5	7	11	6	1	30	40	37	23
DIST	0	1	2	0	3	4	10	30	0	70
Black-Afe	0	3	1	4	8	7	23	17	17	65
Coloured	0	1	4	2	3	1	11	45	18	36
Indian	0	1	1	2	1	0	5	40	40	20
White-Afk	1	2	8	4	27	21	63	16	7	77
White-Eng	0	4	5	8	11	5	33	27	24	48

**Table 6.8: Social work educators' closed responses to Item 4
By institution and ethnic/race group**

Scale	Frequencies						TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr		1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	2	29	47	36	15	6	135	57	27	16
HBI	1	17	14	7	4	1	44	72	16	12
HWI-Afk	1	2	15	19	9	5	51	34	38	28
HWI-Eng	0	8	15	6	1	0	30	77	20	3
DIST	0	2	3	4	1	0	10	50	40	10
Black-Afe	1	10	8	2	2	0	23	82	9	9
Coloured	0	4	5	1	1	0	11	82	9	9
Indian	0	4	0	1	0	0	5	80	20	0
White-Afk	1	6	17	24	11	4	63	37	39	24
White-Eng	0	5	17	8	1	2	33	67	24	9

**Table 6.9: Social work students' closed responses to Item 4
By institution and race/ethnic group**

Scale	Frequencies						TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr		1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	4	38	36	16	11	2	107	72	16	13
Peninsula	1	21	17	8	2	2	51	76	16	8
De Kaap	0	7	10	5	8	0	30	57	17	27
Good Hope	3	10	9	3	1	0	26	83	13	4
Black-Afe	2	11	12	4	0	0	29	85	15	0
Col-Afk	0	11	6	6	1	2	26	65	23	12
Col-Eng	2	4	6	1	1	0	14	83	8	8
White-Afk	0	7	8	2	7	0	24	63	8	29
White-Eng	0	5	4	3	1	0	13	69	23	8
Not known	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-	-	-

Appendix H

Notes to Appendix H

The percentages for this and all the tables in this format that follow have been calculated by (a) summing the two 'disagree' scores and the two 'agree' (scale scores 1 and 2, and 4 and 5 respectively) and leaving the 'neutral' score as is, and (b) converting the raw scores in these three categories into percentages of the total of those categories only i.e. any no responses to the particular item are disregarded for the percentage calculation. All percentages are rounded off and therefore do not always add up to 100 per cent.

I have classified two respondents who did not record a 'population group' response but who both described their only home language as an African language (South Sotho and North Sotho respectively) in the 'Black-African' category.

As there was only one student in the 'Indian' category and this student's home language was English, I have included her in the 'Col-Eng' category in this and all subsequent tables as this would, in terms of South African racial, class and cultural dynamics, be the nearest social/ethnic 'group' into which this respondent might fit. My reasoning here is open to criticism but the alternative would have been to leave out the responses of this student altogether and I chose the former option.

APPENDIX I

Chapter 7 results: Tables for closed responses to Items 10, 23a-c
& 24

APPENDIX I

CHAPTER 7 Results: Tables of closed responses by all respondents to Items 10, 23a, 23b, 23c and 24

**Table 7.1: Social work educators' closed responses to Item 10
By institution and race/ethnic group**

Scale	Frequencies						TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr		1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	1	7	15	15	49	48	135	16	11	72
HBI	0	2	3	1	13	25	44	11	2	86
HWI-Afk	0	4	7	10	21	9	51	22	20	59
HWI-Eng	0	1	2	2	15	10	30	13	3	84
DIST	1	0	3	2	0	4	10	33	22	44
Black-Afc	0	1	1	1	6	14	23	9	4	87
Coloured	0	0	0	1	3	7	11	0	9	91
Indian	0	1	0	0	1	3	5	20	0	80
White-Afk	0	4	11	12	23	13	63	24	19	57
White-Eng	1	1	3	1	16	11	33	13	3	84

**Table 7.2: Social work students' closed responses to Item 10
By institution and ethnic/race group**

Scale	Frequencies						TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr		1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	2	1	3	5	41	55	107	4	5	91
Peninsula	1	1	3	1	15	30	51	8	2	90
De Kaap	0	0	0	3	19	8	30	0	10	90
Good Hope	1	0	0	1	7	17	26	0	4	96
Black-Afc	0	0	3	1	6	19	29	10	3	86
Col-Afk	0	0	0	1	10	15	26	0	4	96
Col-Eng	2	1	0	0	4	7	14	8	0	92
White-Afk	0	0	0	3	15	6	24	0	13	88
White-Eng	0	0	0	0	6	7	13	0	0	100
Not known	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	-	-	-

**Table 7.3: Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 10
By 'colour'**

Scale	Frequencies						TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr		1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	0	0	0	1	12	10	23	0	4	96
Black-Inc	0	0	0	0	4	2	6	0	0	100
White	0	0	0	1	8	8	17	0	6	94

Appendix I

**Table 7.7: Social work students' closed responses to Item 23c
By institution and race/ethnic group**

	Frequencies				TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	Yes	No	Unsure		YES	NO	UNSURE
TOTAL	1	70	17	19	107	66	16	18
Peninsula	1	28	12	10	51	56	24	20
De Kaap	0	24	4	2	30	80	13	7
Good Hope	0	18	1	7	26	70	4	27
Black-Afc	0	13	7	9	29	45	24	31
Col-Afk	0	18	5	3	26	69	19	12
Col-Eng	1	8	2	3	14	62	15	23
White-Afk	0	22	2	0	24	92	8	0
White-Eng	0	8	1	4	13	62	8	31
Not known	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	-

**Table 7.8: Social work educators' closed responses to Item 24
By institution and race/ethnic group**

	Frequencies				TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	Yes	No	Unsure		YES	NO	UNSURE
TOTAL	51	50	20	14	135	60	24	17
HBI	12	25	4	3	44	78	13	9
HWI-Afk	29	7	10	5	51	32	45	23
HWI-Eng	6	16	3	5	30	67	13	21
DIST	4	2	3	1	10	33	50	17
Black-Afc	5	16	1	1	23	89	6	6
Coloured	1	8	0	2	11	80	0	20
Indian	2	2	1	0	5	67	33	0
White-Afk	34	8	16	5	63	28	55	17
White-Eng	9	16	2	6	33	67	8	25

**Table 7.9: Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 24
By 'colour'**

	Frequencies				TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	Yes	No	Unsure		YES	NO	UNSURE
TOTAL	2	15	2	4	23	71	10	19
Black-Inc	0	5	1	0	6	83	17	0
White	2	10	1	4	17	67	7	27

APPENDIX J

Chapter 8 results: Tables for closed responses to Items 9a-c, 11,
19c, 14 & 22



APPENDIX J

CHAPTER 8 Results: Tables of closed responses by all respondents to Items 9a, 9b, 9c, 11, 19c, 14 and 22

Table 8.1(a): Social work educators' closed responses to Item 9a
By institution and race/ethnic group

Scale	Frequencies						TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr		1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	6	88	32	3	4	2	135	93	2	5
HBI	3	32	8	0	0	1	44	98	0	2
HWI-Afk	3	25	16	2	4	1	51	85	4	10
HWI-Eng	0	24	6	0	0	0	30	100	0	0
DIST	0	7	2	1	0	0	10	90	10	0
Black-Afc	1	16	5	0	0	1	23	95	0	5
Coloured	0	10	1	0	0	0	11	100	0	0
Indian	0	5	0	0	0	0	5	100	0	0
White-Afk	3	32	20	3	4	1	63	87	5	8
White-Eng	2	25	6	0	0	0	33	100	0	0

Table 8.1(b): Social work educators' closed responses to Item 9b
By institution and race/ethnic group

Scale	Frequencies						TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr		1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	6	21	31	16	29	32	135	40	12	47
HBI	3	2	10	7	8	14	44	29	17	54
HWI-Afk	3	12	14	5	10	7	51	54	10	35
HWI-Eng	0	3	6	3	9	9	30	30	10	60
DIST	0	4	1	1	2	2	10	50	10	40
Black-Afc	0	1	3	3	4	12	23	17	13	70
Coloured	0	0	4	3	1	3	11	36	27	36
Indian	0	0	1	1	0	3	5	20	20	60
White-Afk	4	16	19	6	11	7	63	59	10	31
White-Eng	2	4	4	3	13	7	33	26	10	65

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**Table 8.1(c): Social work educators' closed responses to Item 9c
By institution and race/ethnic group**

Scale	Frequencies						Percentages			
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr	TOTAL	1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	2	4	5	7	34	83	135	7	5	89
HBI	1	2	2	2	11	26	44	9	5	86
HWI-Afk	1	1	1	3	12	33	51	4	6	90
HWI-Eng	0	1	2	1	8	18	30	10	3	87
DIST	0	0	0	1	3	6	10	0	10	90
Black-Afc	1	2	1	2	4	13	23	14	9	77
Coloured	0	0	0	0	6	5	11	0	0	100
Indian	0	0	2	0	2	1	5	40	0	60
White-Afk	1	1	1	4	16	40	63	3	7	90
White-Eng	0	1	1	1	6	24	33	6	3	91

**Table 8.2(a): Social work students' closed responses to Item 9a
By institution and ethnic/race group**

Scale	Frequencies						Percentages			
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr	TOTAL	1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	0	51	41	8	4	3	107	86	7	7
Peninsula	0	33	12	4	1	1	51	88	8	4
De Kaap	0	6	19	3	1	1	30	83	10	7
Good Hope	0	12	10	1	2	1	26	85	4	12
Black-Afc	0	18	7	2	2	0	29	86	7	7
Col-Afk	0	17	5	3	0	1	26	85	12	4
Col-Eng	0	7	7	0	0	0	14	100	0	0
White-Afk	0	5	15	2	1	1	24	83	8	8
White-Eng	0	4	7	1	1	0	13	85	8	8
Not known	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	-	-	-

**Table 8.2(b): Social work students' closed responses to Item 9b
By institution and ethnic/race group**

Scale	Frequencies						Percentages			
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr	TOTAL	1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	3	3	22	5	32	42	107	24	5	71
Peninsula	2	0	5	3	16	25	51	10	6	84
De Kaap	0	1	12	1	10	6	30	53	3	53
Good Hope	1	2	5	1	6	11	26	28	4	68
Black-Afc	2	0	3	0	7	17	29	11	0	89
Col-Afk	0	1	2	4	6	13	26	12	15	73
Col-Eng	1	0	3	0	6	4	14	23	0	77
White-Afk	0	0	9	0	10	5	24	38	0	63
White-Eng	0	1	5	1	3	3	13	46	8	46
Not known	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	-	-	-

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**Table 8.2S(c): Social work students' closed responses to Item 9c
By institution and ethnic/race group**

Scale	Frequencies						Percentages			
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr	TOTAL	1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	3	0	6	3	33	62	107	6	3	91
Peninsula	2	0	5	2	18	24	51	10	4	86
De Kaap	0	0	0	0	8	22	30	0	0	100
Good Hope	1	0	1	1	7	16	26	4	4	92
Black-AfC	3	0	6	1	9	10	29	23	4	73
Col-AfK	0	0	0	0	11	15	26	0	0	100
Col-Eng	0	0	0	2	3	9	14	0	14	86
White-AfK	0	0	0	0	7	17	24	0	0	100
White-Eng	0	0	0	0	2	11	13	0	0	100
Not known	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-	-	-

**Table 8.3(a): Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 9a
By 'colour'**

Scale	Frequencies						Percentages			
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr	TOTAL	1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	0	16	5	0	1	1	23	91	0	9
Black-Inc	0	6	0	0	0	0	6	100	0	0
White	0	10	5	0	1	1	17	88	0	12

**Table 8.3(b): Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 9b
By 'colour'**

Scale	Frequencies						Percentages			
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr	TOTAL	1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	0	1	5	2	8	7	23	26	9	65
Black-Inc	0	1	1	0	2	2	6	33	0	67
White	0	0	4	2	6	5	17	24	12	65

**Table 8.3(c): Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 9c
By "colour"**

Scale	Frequencies						Percentages			
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr	TOTAL	1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	0	0	0	0	4	19	23	0	0	100
Black-Inc	0	0	0	0	1	5	6	0	0	100
White	0	0	0	0	3	14	17	0	0	100

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**Table 8.4: Social work educators' closed responses to Item 11
By institution and race/ethnic group**

Scale	Frequencies						Percentages			
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr	TOTAL	1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	5	14	32	38	36	10	135	35	29	35
HBI	1	6	16	11	9	1	44	51	26	23
HWT-Afk	3	0	3	16	20	9	51	6	33	60
HWI-Eng	0	7	10	10	3	0	30	57	33	10
DIST	1	1	3	1	4	0	10	44	11	44
Black-Afc	0	4	9	6	3	1	23	57	26	17
Coloured	0	2	3	5	1	0	11	45	45	9
Indian	0	2	3	0	0	0	5	100	0	0
White-Afk	4	3	6	14	27	9	63	15	24	61
White-Eng	1	3	11	13	5	0	33	44	41	16

**Table 8.5: Social work students' closed responses to Item 11
By institution and ethnic/race group**

Scale	Frequencies						Percentages			
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr	TOTAL	1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	3	8	32	28	21	15	107	39	27	35
Peninsula	2	5	17	15	7	5	51	45	31	25
De Kaap	0	1	6	4	11	8	30	23	13	63
Good Hope	1	2	9	9	3	2	26	44	36	20
Black-Afc	2	2	11	9	2	3	29	48	33	19
Col-Afk	0	4	6	4	6	6	26	39	15	46
Col-Eng	1	1	5	6	1	0	14	46	46	8
White-Afk	0	1	5	3	10	5	24	25	13	63
White-Eng	0	0	5	6	2	0	13	39	46	15
Not known	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	-	-	-

**Table 8.6: Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 11
By 'colour'**

Scale	Frequencies						Percentages			
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr	TOTAL	1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	1	5	8	3	6	0	23	60	14	27
Black-Inc.	1	2	3	0	0	0	6	100	0	0
White	0	3	5	3	6	0	17	47	18	35

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**Table 8.7(a): Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 19c
By 'colour'**

Matching by race/colour

	Frequencies			TOTAL	Percentages	
	NR	Yes	No		YES	NO
TOTAL	2	3	18	23	14	86
Black-Inc	1	0	5	6	0	100
White	1	3	13	17	19	81

**Table 8.7(b): Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 19c
By 'colour'**

Matching by language skills

	Frequencies			TOTAL	Percentages	
	NR	Yes	No		YES	NO
TOTAL	2	14	7	23	67	33
Black-Inc	1	4	1	6	80	20
White	1	10	6	17	63	38

**Table 8.7(c): Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 19c
By 'colour'**

Matching by gender

	Frequencies			TOTAL	Percentages	
	NR	Yes	No		YES	NO
TOTAL	3	3	17	23	15	85
Black-Inc	1	1	4	6	20	80
White	2	2	13	17	13	87

**Table 8.7(d): Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 19c
By 'colour'**

Matching by cultural knowledge

	Frequencies			TOTAL	Percentages	
	NR	Yes	No		YES	NO
TOTAL	4	9	10	23	47	53
Black-Inc	1	2	3	6	40	60
White	3	7	7	17	50	50

Note: Respondents were also given the opportunity of recording any other characteristic by which they attempt to 'match' students with clients/communities. Two student supervisors, both white, responded in this category - one who works in an agency providing counselling around human sexuality and related issues mainly to the gay and lesbian community listed 'sexual orientation', and the other, from an agency involved in training around AIDS, suggested that the students' personal characteristics should be matched to the particular project undertaken.

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**Table 8.8: Social work educators' closed responses to Item 14
By institution and race/ethnic group**

Scale	Frequencies						Percentages			
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr	TOTAL	1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	0	0	9	11	72	43	135	7	8	85
HBI	0	0	4	3	27	10	44	9	7	84
HWI-Afk	0	0	2	6	24	19	51	4	12	84
HWI-Eng	0	0	1	1	17	11	30	3	3	93
DIST	0	0	2	1	4	3	10	20	10	70
Black-Afc	0	0	3	3	11	6	23	13	13	74
Coloured	0	0	1	0	6	4	11	9	0	91
Indian	0	0	0	0	5	0	5	0	0	100
White-Afk	0	0	4	7	31	21	63	6	11	83
White-Eng	0	0	1	1	19	12	33	3	3	94

**Table 8.9: Social work students' closed responses to Item 14
By institution and ethnic/race group**

Scale	Frequencies						Percentages			
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr	TOTAL	1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	0	2	3	4	52	46	107	5	4	92
Peninsula	0	1	2	1	30	17	51	6	2	92
De Kaap	0	0	1	2	11	16	30	3	7	90
Good Hope	0	1	0	1	11	13	26	4	4	92
Black-Afc	0	1	1	1	15	11	29	7	3	90
Col-Afk	0	0	1	0	15	10	26	4	0	96
Col-Eng	0	1	0	0	8	5	14	7	0	93
White-Afk	0	0	1	1	9	13	24	4	4	92
White-Eng	0	0	0	2	5	6	13	0	15	85
Not known	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	-	-	-

**Table 8.10: Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 14
By 'colour'**

Scale	Frequencies						Percentages			
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr	TOTAL	1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	3	0	3	0	10	7	23	15	0	85
Black-Inc.	0	0	1	0	4	1	6	17	0	83
White	3	0	2	0	6	6	17	14	0	86

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**Table 8.11(a): Social work educators' closed responses to Item 22:
By institution and race/ethnic group
(For black students)**

	Eng		Eng/Afk		Eng/2AL		A/E/2AL		TOTAL*	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
TOTAL	37	31	33	28	25	21	25	21	120	100
HBI	8	20	8	20	12	30	12	30	40	100
HWI-Afk	15	37	16	39	6	15	4	10	41	100
HWI-Eng	8	28	7	24	6	21	8	28	29	100
DIST	6	60	2	20	1	10	1	10	10	100
Black-Afc	4	17	2	9	8	35	9	39	23	100
Coloured	1	10	4	40	1	10	4	40	10	100
Indian	3	60	0	0	2	40	0	0	5	100
White-Afk	19	36	19	36	8	15	7	13	53	100
White-Eng	10	34	8	28	6	21	5	17	29	100

*For lack of space this total excludes 9 'no responses' and 6 'other' responses (to make up the total of 135 respondents). One of the 'other' responses indicated a requirement of a second African language plus Afrikaans, while 2 respondents opted for Afrikaans only. Another 3 respondents gave options other than those offered above.

**Table 8.11(b): Social work educators' closed responses to Item 22:
By institution and race/ethnic group
(For coloured students)**

	AL		Eng		Afk/Eng		AL/Eng		AL/E/A		TOTAL*	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
TOTAL	7	6	24	20	13	11	26	22	48	41	118	100
HBI	4	10	2	5	4	10	14	34	17	42	41	100
HWI-Afk	0	0	14	36	8	21	4	10	13	33	39	100
HWI-Eng	3	10	4	14	0	0	5	17	17	59	29	100
DIST	0	0	4	44	1	11	3	33	1	11	9	100
Black-Afc	3	13	0	0	0	0	9	39	11	48	23	100
Coloured	0	0	1	10	0	0	2	20	7	70	10	100
Indian	2	40	1	20	0	0	2	40	0	0	5	100
White-Afk	0	0	17	33	13	25	6	12	16	31	52	100
White-Eng	2	7	5	18	0	0	7	25	14	50	28	100

*For lack of space this total excludes 10 'no responses' and 7 'other' responses (to make up the total of 135 respondents). Two of the 'other' responses indicated a requirement of an African language plus Afrikaans, while 2 respondents opted for Afrikaans only. Another 3 respondents gave options other than those offered above.

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**Table 8.11(c): Social work educators' closed responses to Item 22
By institution and race/ethnic group
(For Indian students)**

	AL		Eng		Afk/Eng		AL/Eng		AL/A/E		TOTAL*	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
TOTAL	9	8	22	19	14	12	24	21	48	41	117	100
HBI	5	13	2	5	4	10	11	28	17	44	39	100
HWI-Afk	1	2	13	32	9	22	5	12	13	32	41	100
HWI-Eng	3	10	4	14	0	0	6	21	16	55	29	100
DIST	0	0	3	38	1	13	2	25	2	25	8	100
Black-Afc	4	18	0	0	0	0	8	36	10	46	22	100
Coloured	0	0	1	11	0	0	1	11	7	78	9	100
Indian	2	40	1	20	0	0	2	40	0	0	5	100
White-Afk	1	2	15	29	14	27	7	14	15	29	52	100
White-Eng	2	7	5	17	0	0	6	21	16	55	29	100

*For lack of space this total excludes 10 'no responses' and 8 'other' responses (to make up the total of 135 respondents). Three of the 'other' responses indicated a requirement of an African language plus Afrikaans, while 2 respondents opted for Afrikaans only. Another 3 respondents gave options other than those offered above.

**Table 8.11(d): Social work educators' closed responses to Item 22
By institution and race/ethnic group
(For white students)**

	AL		Eng		Afk/Eng		AL/Eng		AL/A/E		TOTAL*	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
TOTAL	11	9	20	17	12	10	20	17	55	47	118	100
HBI	5	13	2	5	4	10	11	28	18	45	40	100
HWI-Afk	2	5	11	27	7	17	3	7	18	44	41	100
HWI-Eng	4	14	3	11	0	0	4	14	17	61	28	100
DIST	0	0	4	44	1	11	2	22	2	22	9	100
Black-Afc	3	14	0	0	0	0	7	33	11	52	21	100
Coloured	1	10	1	10	0	0	1	10	7	70	10	100
Indian	2	40	1	20	0	0	2	40	0	0	5	100
White-Afk	2	4	14	27	12	23	4	8	20	38	52	100
White-Eng	3	10	4	13	0	0	6	20	17	57	30	100

*For lack of space this total excludes 8 'no responses' and 9 'other' responses (to make up the total of 135 respondents). Five of the 'other' responses indicated a requirement of an African language plus Afrikaans, while 1 respondent opted for Afrikaans only. Another 3 respondents gave options other than those offered above.

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**Table 8.12(a): Social work students' closed responses to Item 22
By institution and race/ethnic group
(For African language students)**

	NR		Afk		Eng		Afk/Eng		A/E/2AL		TOTAL*	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
TOTAL	31	30	6	6	6	6	43	41	18	17	104	100
Peninsula	14	28	2	4	5	10	21	42	8	16	50	100
De Kaap	10	33	4	13	0	0	10	33	6	20	30	100
Good Hope	7	29	0	0	1	4	12	50	4	17	24	100
Black-Afk	6	22	1	4	4	15	9	33	7	26	27	100
Col-Afk	9	35	1	4	2	8	11	42	3	12	26	100
Col-Eng	7	50	0	0	0	0	6	43	1	7	14	100
White-Afk	7	29	3	13	0	0	9	38	5	21	24	100
White-Eng	1	8	1	8	0	0	8	67	2	17	12	100
Not known	1	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	-

*For lack of space this total excludes 3 'other' responses (of the total of 107 respondents). Two of these responses indicated a requirement of a second African language plus, in the one case Afrikaans, and in the second English, while the third 'other' response was for a second African Language only.

**Table 8.12(b): Social work students' closed responses to Item 22
By institution and race/ethnic group
(For Afrikaans language students)**

	NR		Eng		AL		E/AL		E/1&2AL		TOTAL*	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
TOTAL	22	21	2	2	3	3	55	52	23	22	105	100
Peninsula	12	25	2	4	3	6	21	43	11	22	49	100
De Kaap	1	3	0	0	0	0	19	63	10	33	30	100
Good Hope	9	35	0	0	0	0	15	58	2	8	26	100
Black-Afk	10	37	1	4	2	7	9	33	5	19	27	100
Col-Afk	3	12	1	4	0	0	15	58	7	27	26	100
Col-Eng	6	43	0	0	1	7	7	50	0	0	14	100
White-Afk	1	4	0	0	0	0	14	58	9	38	24	100
White-Eng	1	8	0	0	0	0	10	77	2	15	13	100
Not known	1	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	-

*For lack of space this total excludes 2 'other' responses (of the total of 107 respondents). Both of these indicated a requirement of two African languages only.

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**Table 8.12(c): Social work students' closed responses to Item 22
By institution and race/ethnic group
(For English language students)**

	NR		Afk		AL		A/AL		A/1&2AL		TOTAL*	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
TOTAL	30	29	5	5	5	5	47	45	18	17	105	100
Peninsula	14	28	4	8	4	8	16	32	12	24	50	100
De Kaap	10	35	1	3	1	3	14	48	3	10	29	100
Good Hope	6	23	0	0	0	0	17	65	3	12	26	100
Black-Afc	10	36	2	7	2	7	6	21	8	29	28	100
Col-Afk	9	35	2	8	1	4	8	31	6	23	26	100
Col-Eng	2	14	0	0	1	7	11	79	0	0	14	100
White-Afk	7	30	1	4	1	4	12	52	2	9	23	100
White-Eng	1	8	0	0	0	0	10	77	2	15	13	100
Not known	1	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	-

*For lack of space this total excludes 2 'other' responses (of the total of 107 respondents). Both of these indicated a requirement of two African languages only.

**Table 8.13(a): Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 22
By 'colour'
(For African Language students)**

	NR		Eng		Afk/Eng		Eng/AL		A/E/2AL		TOTAL*	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
TOTAL	0	0	6	27	13	59	2	9	1	5	22	100
Black-Inc	0	0	2	33	3	50	1	17	0	0	6	100
White	0	0	4	25	10	63	1	6	1	6	16	100

*For lack of space this total excludes 1 'other' response (of the total of 23 respondents). This respondent opted for a requirement of the student's own language plus English or Afrikaans.

**Table 8.13(b): Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 22
By 'colour'
(For Afrikaans-speaking students)**

	NR		Eng		AL		E/AL		E/1&2AL		TOTAL*	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
TOTAL	0	0	3	13	0	0	17	74	3	13	23	100
Black-Inc	0	0	1	17	0	0	3	50	2	33	6	100
White	0	0	2	12	0	0	14	82	1	6	17	100

**Table 8.13(c): Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 22
By 'colour'
(For English-speaking students)**

	NR		Afk		AL		A/AL		A/1&2AL		TOTAL*	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
TOTAL	0	0	2	10	2	10	16	76	1	5	21	100
Black-Inc	0	0	0	0	1	25	3	75	0	0	4	100
White	0	0	2	12	1	6	13	76	1	6	17	100

*For lack of space this total excludes 2 'other' responses (of the total of 23 respondents). One response indicated that English alone is a sufficient requirement and the other opted for two African languages only.

APPENDIX K

**Chapter 9 results: Tables for closed responses to Items 16a-b,
17a-b, 18a-b, 19a-b, 20, 21a-c & 25**

APPENDIX K

CHAPTER 9 Results: Tables of closed responses by all respondents to Items 16, 17, 18, 19a, 19b, 20, 21a, 21b, 21c and 25

**Table 9.1: Social work educators' closed responses to Item 16
By institution and race/ethnic group**

Scale	Frequencies						TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr		1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	4	0	3	8	56	64	135	2	6	92
HBI	4	0	2	2	19	17	44	5	5	90
HWI-Afk	0	0	1	5	21	24	51	2	10	88
HWI-Eng	0	0	0	0	10	20	30	0	0	100
DIST	0	0	0	1	6	3	10	0	10	90
Black-Afc	2	0	2	0	7	12	23	10	0	90
Coloured	0	0	0	0	5	6	11	0	0	100
Indian	1	0	0	0	2	2	5	0	0	100
White-Afk	1	0	1	7	30	24	63	2	10	89
White-Eng	0	0	0	1	12	20	33	0	3	97

**Table 9.2: Social work students' closed to Item 16
By institution and ethnic/race group**

Scale	Frequencies						TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr		1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	1	1	0	1	31	73	107	1	1	98
Peninsula	0	0	0	1	18	32	51	0	2	98
De Knap	1	0	0	0	4	25	30	0	0	100
Good Hope	0	1	0	0	9	16	26	4	0	96
Black-Afc	0	0	0	0	11	18	29	0	0	100
Col-Afk	0	0	0	1	7	18	26	0	4	96
Col-Eng	0	1	0	0	4	9	14	7	0	93
White-Afk	0	0	0	0	4	20	24	0	0	100
White-Eng	1	0	0	0	4	8	13	0	0	100
Not known	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	-	-	-

**Table 9.3: Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 16
By 'colour'**

Scale	Frequencies						TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr		1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	1	0	0	1	10	11	23	0	5	95
Black-Inc	0	0	0	0	3	3	6	0	0	100
White	1	0	0	1	7	8	17	0	6	94

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Table 9.4: Social work educators' closed responses to Item 17
By institution and race/ethnic group

Scale	Frequencies						Percentages			
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr	TOTAL	1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	6	7	4	8	35	75	135	9	6	85
HBI	4	1	0	2	11	26	44	3	5	92
HWI-Afk	2	5	3	6	16	19	51	16	12	71
HWI-Eng	0	0	0	0	5	25	30	0	0	100
DIST	0	1	1	0	3	5	10	20	0	80
Black-Afc	1	1	0	1	4	16	23	5	5	91
Coloured	0	0	0	0	1	10	11	0	0	100
Indian	1	0	0	0	0	4	5	0	0	100
White-Afk	4	4	4	7	22	22	63	14	12	74
White-Eng	0	2	0	0	8	23	33	6	0	94

Table 9.5: Social work students' closed responses to Item 17
By institution and ethnic/race group

Scale	Frequencies						Percentages			
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr	TOTAL	1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	2	1	3	4	30	67	107	4	4	92
Peninsula	1	0	0	1	15	34	51	0	2	98
De Kaap	0	0	3	2	8	17	30	10	7	83
Good Hope	1	1	0	1	7	16	26	4	4	92
Black-Afc	0	0	0	0	9	20	29	0	0	100
Col-Afk	1	0	0	1	8	16	26	0	4	96
Col-Eng	0	1	0	0	5	8	14	7	0	93
White-Afk	0	0	1	2	7	14	24	4	8	88
White-Eng	0	0	2	1	1	9	13	15	8	77
Not known	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	-	-	-

Table 9.6: Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 17
By 'colour'

Scale	Frequencies						Percentages			
	NR	1 S Dis	2 Dis	3 Neut	4 Agr	5 S Agr	TOTAL	1+2 DIS	3 Neut	4+5 AGR
TOTAL	1	0	0	4	3	15	23	0	18	82
Black-Inc	0	0	0	1	1	4	6	0	17	83
White	1	0	0	3	2	11	17	0	19	81

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**Table 9.7: Social work educators' closed responses to Item 19a
By institution and race/ethnic group**

	Frequencies					TOTAL	Percentages	
	NR	No Try	Yes	No	Other		YES	NO/Other
TOTAL	4	11	18	70	32	135	14	86
HBI	1	9	2	23	9	44	5	95
HWI-Afk	2	1	8	27	13	51	16	84
HWI-Eng	0	0	4	16	10	30	13	87
DIST	1	1	4	4	0	10	44	56
Black-Afc	0	6	1	13	3	23	4	96
Coloured	0	1	2	7	1	11	18	82
Indian	0	0	0	5	0	5	0	100
White-Afk	4	3	13	28	15	63	22	78
White-Eng	0	1	2	17	13	33	6	94

**Table 9.8: Social work educators' closed responses to Item 20
By institution and race/ethnic group**

	Frequencies				TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	Yes	No	Unsure		YES	NO	UNSURE
TOTAL	5	55	41	34	135	42	32	26
HBI	2	17	16	9	44	41	38	21
HWI-Afk	2	25	14	10	51	51	29	20
HWI-Eng	1	8	8	13	30	28	28	45
DIST	0	5	3	2	10	50	30	20
Black-Afc	2	8	6	7	23	38	29	33
Coloured	0	7	3	1	11	64	27	9
Indian	0	2	2	1	5	40	40	20
White-Afk	3	29	19	12	63	48	32	20
White-Eng	0	9	11	13	33	27	33	39

**Table 9.9: Social work students' closed responses to Item 19a
By institution and race/ethnic group**

	Frequencies				TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	No Try	Yes	No		NO TRY	YES	NO
TOTAL	4	7	20	76	107	7	19	74
Peninsula	0	3	14	34	51	6	27	67
De Kaap	1	1	1	27	30	3	3	93
Good Hope	3	3	5	15	26	13	22	65
Black-Afc	0	1	11	17	29	3	38	59
Col-Afk	0	4	5	17	26	15	19	65
Col-Eng	3	0	1	10	14	0	9	91
White-Afk	1	0	1	22	24	0	4	96
White-Eng	0	1	2	10	13	8	15	77
Not known	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	-

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**Table 9.10: Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 19a
By 'colour'**

	Frequencies					TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	Yes	No	Varies	Other		YES	NO	V/O
TOTAL	3	7	6	4	3	23	35	30	35
Black-Inc	1	1	2	2	0	6	20	40	40
White	2	6	4	2	3	17	40	27	33

**Table 9.11: Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 19b
By 'colour'**

	Frequencies				TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	Yes	No	Other		YES	NO	OTHER
TOTAL	0	14	4	5	23	61	17	22
Black-Inc	0	5	1	0	6	83	17	0
White	0	9	3	5	17	53	18	30

**Table 9.12: Social work educators' closed responses to Item 18
By institution and race/ethnic group**

	Frequencies					TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	S Yes	Yes	No	Other		S-YES	YES	N/O*
TOTAL	0	29	88	16	2	135	21	65	13
HBI	0	12	30	2	0	44	27	68	5
HWI-Afk	0	6	32	11	2	51	12	63	25
HWI-Eng	0	5	23	2	0	30	17	77	7
DIST	0	6	3	1	0	10	60	30	10
Black-Afc	0	11	10	2	0	23	48	43	9
Coloured	0	2	9	0	0	11	18	82	0
Indian	0	2	3	0	0	5	40	60	0
White-Afk	0	10	42	9	2	63	16	69	15
White-Eng	0	4	24	5	0	33	12	73	15

*The 'No' and 'Other' options have been combined in this column and expressed as a percentage.

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**Table 9.13: Social work students' closed responses to Item 18
By institution and race/ethnic group**

	Frequencies				TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	S Yes	Yes	No		S-YES	YES	NO
TOTAL	1	61	41	4	107	58	39	4
Peninsula	1	24	23	3	51	48	46	6
De Kaap	0	23	7	0	30	77	23	0
Good Hope	0	14	11	1	26	54	42	4
Black-Afe	1	19	8	1	29	68	29	4
Col-Afk	0	12	12	2	26	46	46	8
Col-Eng	0	4	10	0	14	29	71	0
White-Afk	0	18	6	0	24	75	25	0
White-Eng	0	7	5	1	13	54	38	8
Not known	0	1	0	0	1	-	-	-

**Table 9.14: Fieldwork supervisors' closed responses to Item 18
By 'colour'**

	Frequencies				TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	S Yes	Yes	No		S-YES	YES	NO
TOTAL	0	6	15	2	23	26	65	9
Black-Inc	0	3	3	0	6	50	50	0
White	0	3	12	2	17	18	71	12

**Table 9.15: Social work educators' closed responses to Item 21a
By institution and race/ethnic group**

	Frequencies					TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	Int	Sep	FW Prac	Other		INT	SEP	FWP
TOTAL	2	96	13	4	20	135	72	10	18
HBI	1	28	7	1	7	44	65	16	19
HWI-Afk	1	45	1	3	1	51	90	2	8
HWI-Eng	0	13	5	0	12	30	43	17	40
DIST	0	10	0	0	0	10	100	0	0
Black-Afe	0	12	3	1	7	23	52	13	35
Coloured	0	7	1	0	3	11	64	9	27
Indian	0	2	1	0	2	5	40	20	40
White-Afk	1	53	5	3	1	63	86	8	7
White-Eng	1	22	3	0	7	33	69	9	22

Int = Integrated, Sep = Separated, FW Prac = Fieldwork practice

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**Table 9.16: Social work educators' closed responses to Item 21b
By institution and race/ethnic group**

	Crit aw'ness		Cult knowl.		Reduct. s'types		Racist dyn'ics		Pract. a'racism		T'cult. skills	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
	TOTAL	89	21	89	21	55	13	53	13	42	10	87
HBI	27	18	28	19	19	13	26	18	17	12	29	20
HWI-Afk	36	24	42	28	18	12	7	5	10	7	35	24
HWI-Eng	19	21	13	14	14	15	18	20	12	13	15	17
DIST	7	23	6	20	4	13	2	7	3	10	8	27
Black-Afc	16	20	16	20	8	10	15	19	8	10	16	20
Col/Indian	7	14	10	19	7	14	11	21	8	15	9	17
White-Afk	44	24	48	26	26	26	8	4	14	8	44	24
White-Eng	22	22	15	15	14	14	19	19	12	12	18	18

**Table 9.17: Social work educators' closed responses to Item 21c
By institution and race/ethnic group**

	Frequencies					TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	Cogn.	Aff.	Comb.	Other		COG	AFF	COM
TOTAL	1	5	8	116	5	135	4	6	90
HBI	0	2	5	34	3	44	5	12	83
HWI-Afk	1	3	2	44	1	51	6	4	90
HWI-Eng	0	0	1	28	1	30	0	3	97
DIST	0	0	0	10	0	10	0	0	100
Black-Afc	0	1	2	18	2	23	5	10	86
Coloured	0	0	0	11	0	11	0	0	100
Indian	0	0	2	3	0	5	0	40	60
White-Afk	1	3	1	56	2	63	5	2	93
White-Eng	0	1	3	28	1	33	3	9	88

Cogn. = Cognitive; Aff. = Affective; Comb. = Combination

**Table 9.18: Social work educators' closed responses to Item 25
By institution and race/ethnic group**

Scale	Frequencies						TOTAL	Percentages		
	NR	1	2	3	4	5		1+2	3	4+5
		Discourage to Very Important						-VE	NEUT	+VE
TOTAL	2	0	2	25	58	48	135	2	19	80
HBI	0	0	2	6	17	19	44	5	14	82
HWI-Afk	1	0	0	17	21	12	51	0	34	66
HWI-Eng	1	0	0	1	15	13	30	0	3	97
DIST	0	0	0	1	5	4	10	0	10	90
Black-Afc	0	0	1	2	6	14	23	4	9	87
Coloured	0	0	0	0	4	7	11	0	0	100
Indian	0	0	0	0	4	1	5	0	0	100
White-Afk	1	0	0	20	28	14	63	0	32	68
White-Eng	1	0	1	3	16	12	33	3	9	88

APPENDIX L

**Chapter 6 results: Graphs & notes for closed responses to Items
1, 2, 3 & 4**

APPENDIX L

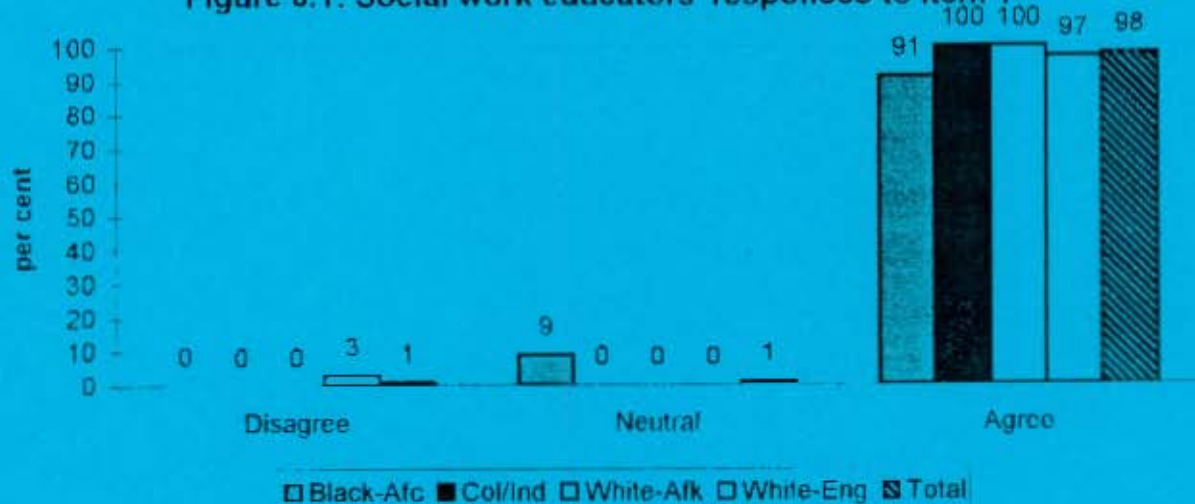
CHAPTER 6 Results: Graphs and detailed notes in respect of closed responses and comments of social work educators, students and fieldwork supervisors for Items 1, 2, 3, and 4

Item 1

Item 1: The diversity of cultural values, beliefs and practices amongst different people/communities should be acknowledged as an important social reality in South Africa.

Closed responses of social work educators

Figure 6.1: Social work educators' responses to Item 1



There is quite clearly overwhelming support from virtually all respondents (98 per cent) for the recognition of cultural diversity as an important social reality and this is despite the historical factors alluded to above and almost regardless of ethnic/race group (see **Figure 6.1** above). It is of mainly passing interest to note that 9 per cent ($n=2$) of Black African respondents chose not to commit themselves on this issue and a solitary White English-speaking respondent opted to oppose the statement – but these responses are clearly exceptional. Such results would seem to indicate a remarkably uniform response from what at first glance would seem to be very diverse sectors within social work education (see demographic detail in Chapter 5). Indeed it is only when a closer look is taken at the actual strength of agreement, measured by number of ‘agree’ and ‘strongly agree’ responses respectively, that a more differentiated response pattern is evident.

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It is interesting to note that twice as many White-Afk respondents 'strongly agree' as simply 'agree' (a ratio of 41:22) and this trend is similar for black (Black-Afc and Col/Ind taken together) educators (24:13). For the White-Eng educators the trend is reversed with more of these respondents recording a 'weaker' than 'stronger' agreement (15:17). This could perhaps be interpreted as evidence that White-Eng respondents are on the whole more guardedly positive with respect to this issue than are White-Afk or black respondents who are generally more emphatic in their support for the acknowledgement of cultural diversity. It is when we look at the written comments that respondents were asked to record that some further light is shed on the different emphases within this category of affirmative responses.

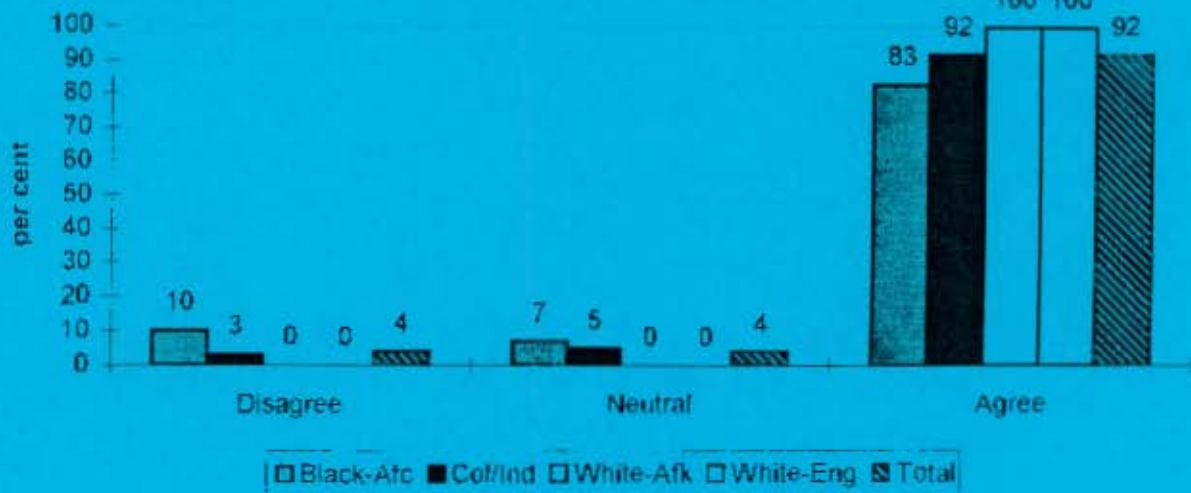
Closed responses of social work students

The same item (*Item 1*) was included in the questionnaire completed by senior undergraduate social work students studying in the three university departments in the Western Cape.

Figure 6.2 records the response patterns of these social work students to *Item 1*. As there was with educators, there is a strong positive response pattern (92 per cent agreement) endorsing the acknowledgement of cultural diversity in South Africa. While there is a unanimously positive response from students at De Kaap (the Afrikaans-medium historically white university) and all White students (who are found only at De Kaap and Good Hope in the sample), there is a degree of ambivalence, and some opposition, toward the statement on the part of a small number of Black-Afc and Coloured students mainly from the Peninsula setting ($n = 8$, i.e. 12 per cent of all coloured and black students).

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Figure 6.2: Student social workers' responses to Item 1



In the more detailed breakdown of raw scores (see **Table 6.2** in **Appendix H**), it is evident that students across race/ethnic categories consistently record a higher 'strong' than 'weak' agreement than educators. Although social work students in the Western Cape cannot be said to be representative of social work students nationally and their overall agreement is slightly lower than that of educators, they tend to be more emphatic about their agreement with a 72:26 'strong' to 'weak' ratio compared to the 80:52 ratio of educators. White-Afk and Black-Afc students record 'strong' agreements approximately four times as often as 'weak' agreements while Col-Eng and White-Eng students do so barely twice as often. The responses of Black-Afc students is the most interestingly diverse as this group has both the highest disagreement and neutral response rate (17 per cent when combined) yet also records, with the White-Afk group, the highest proportion of 'strong' agree responses.

Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

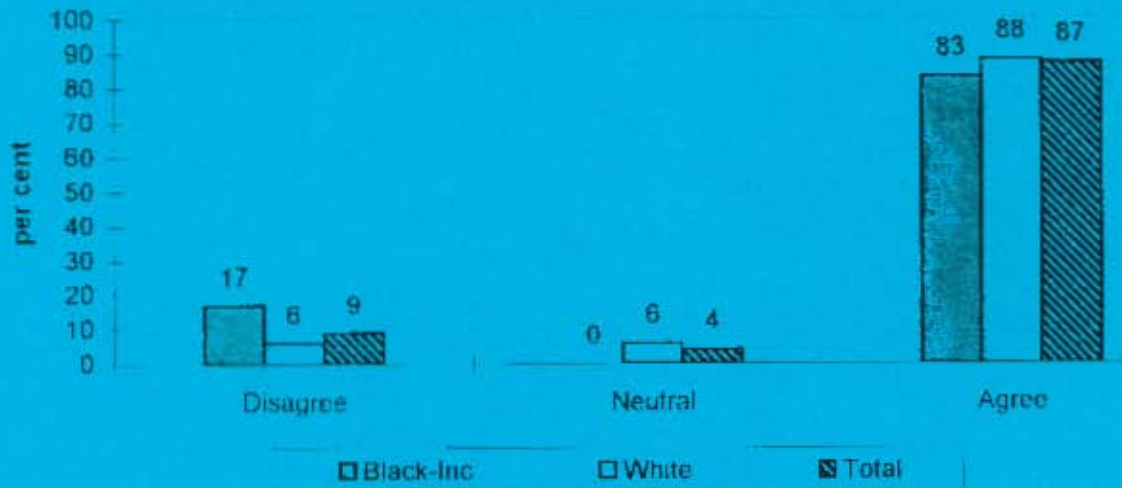
The same item was included in the questionnaire completed by selected social workers providing fieldwork practicum supervision to senior undergraduate social work students studying at Good Hope institution in the Western Cape.

Figure 6.3 summarises the responses of these fieldwork supervisors to *Item 1*. There is again an overall high level of agreement with *Item 1* here although not quite as high as that of students and 11 per cent lower than that of educators. The low number of supervisors in the inclusive Black-Ind category² makes meaningful intergroup comparisons here difficult. Nevertheless the general

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response trend in both, including the ratio of 'strong' to 'weak' agreement remains, in line with that of the social work educators and students discussed above.

Figure 6.3: Fieldwork supervisors' responses to Item 1



As space for comments was combined for *Items 1* and *2* in the questionnaire for fieldwork supervisors these will be discussed below.

Item 2

Item 2: Emphasising the diversity of cultural values, beliefs and practices amongst people/communities in South Africa encourages separatist, apartheid thinking.

Closed responses of social work educators

The second statement (*Item 2*) to which respondents were invited to respond placed a negative slant on cultural diversity.

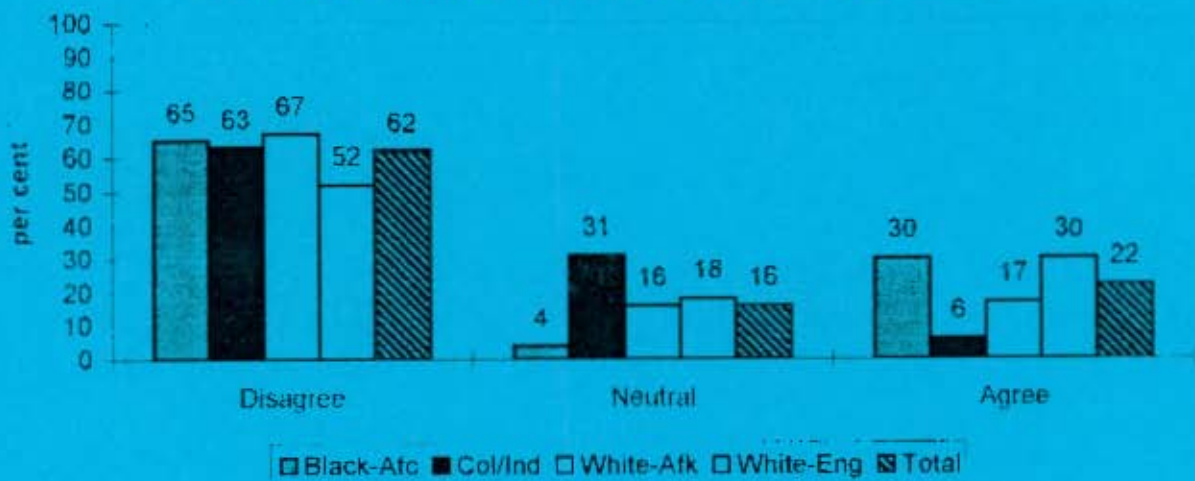
This was intended to be a more provocative formulation of the issue of cultural diversity, as it has played out in the South African context, and so encourage respondents to articulate their positions in their written comments.

Figure 7.4 below presents the responses of educators to *Item 2*. A fairly consistent response pattern is evident here. Nearly two-thirds (62 per cent) of respondents disagree that an emphasis on cultural diversity leads to apartheid-type thinking while approximately a fifth (22 per cent) agree. The balance (16 per cent) felt unable to commit themselves on the issue as formulated.

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When broken down by institutional category this pattern remains remarkably consistent with one exception. The HWI-Eng sector is markedly more diverse than any other sector in its responses with under a half of the sector (46 per cent) disagreeing and a comparatively high third (33 per cent) agreeing. Amongst the race/ethnic categories the level of disagreement is consistently around the two-thirds mark except for the White-Eng group at a slightly lower 52 per cent. The latter group, as did the HWI-Eng sector, shows the widest range of responses with nearly a third agreeing and almost a fifth neutral. Of interest is the polarised response pattern in the Black-Afc group with only one respondent recording a neutral response (representing 4 per cent of the group) but approximately two-thirds to a third split between disagreeing and agreeing respectively. Also of note is the very low agreement with the statement amongst the Coloured and Indian categories (n=1 or 6 per cent if these two groups are combined) together with the highest neutral score (an average 31 per cent for these two groups).

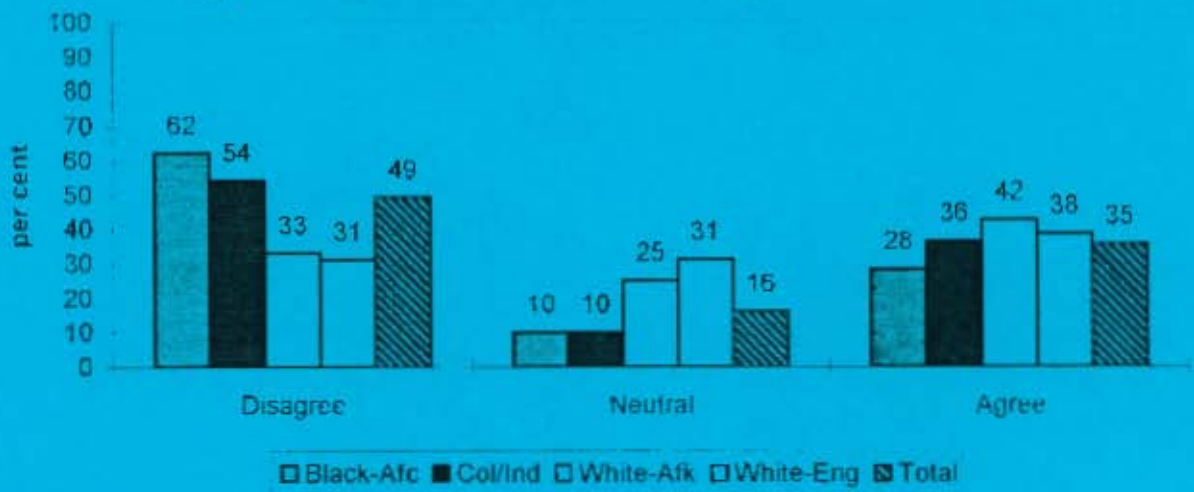
Figure 6.4: Social work educators' responses to Item 2



The detailed scale score responses show that the emphasis within the overall disagreement category was predominantly 'weak' across all institution and race/ethnic groups. The exceptions here were the DIST institution and the Coloured group both of which recorded higher 'strong' than 'weak' disagreement. Within the overall agreement category the HBI and DIST sectors, and Black-Afc and Indian respondents, record slightly higher 'strong' than 'weak' agreement while the other categories record the reverse with White-Afk respondents recording a very high proportion of 'weak' agree responses. While an overall trend that is more or less common to all sub-categories of institution and race/ethnic group is evident, analysis of the written comments recorded by respondents provides a more nuanced reading of response patterns.

Closed responses of social work students

Figure 6.5 below presents the student responses to *Item 2*. Overall almost one-half (49 per cent) of student social workers in this sample disagree with *Item 2* while over a third agree and the balance (just over a sixth) are neutral or uncertain. When broken down into both institution and race/ethnic group there is considerable variety however. Students at the HBI and the HWI-Afk institutions in the Western Cape (Peninsula and de Kaap respectively) are fairly evenly split between the disagree and agree categories while the Good Hope students (an HWI-Eng institution) predominantly disagree with *Item 2*. This is the opposite trend to that found amongst the social work educators at a national level (see above).

Figure 6.5: Student social workers' responses to *Item 2*

When we look at the race/ethnic breakdown however it is very clear that a large majority of Black-Afk and Col-Eng groups record disagreement with *Item 1* (62 and 77 per cent respectively) whereas for the other groups there is a more or less even split between agree and disagree scores. The White-Afk and White-Eng groups record the lowest disagree scores of any group (33 and 31 per cent), with marginally higher proportions of agreement (42 and 38 per cent). Closer inspection of the Good Hope responses reveals that the relatively high level of disagreement amongst these students is almost entirely due to all the Coloured ($n=7$, mostly English-speaking) and all but one of the Black-Afk students ($n=8$) in the Good Hope sample having recorded their disagreement with the statement. Interestingly, if all the Good Hope Coloured students are removed from the Col-Eng group³ then the remaining Col-Eng students record a 50/50 split between agree and disagree on this *Item* - as do the Col-Afk group.

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The Black-Afc Good Hope students as a group were also much more likely to disagree with *Item 2* than were their counterparts at Peninsula - even though if Good Hope Black-Afc students are subtracted from the Black-Afc group as a whole over half (n=11, 52 per cent) of this group disagree and just a third (n=7, 33 per cent) agree with *Item 2*.

The responses of White (Eng and Afk) students not only show markedly lower levels of disagreement with *Item 2* (and higher neutral and agree rates) than do those of other groups, but also than does the White educator group. This is most pronounced in respect of the White-Afk group - with students and educators in this group showing even more opposed trends than do those in the White-Eng group. This is remarkable in that as a HWI-Afk institution de Kaap (all White-Afk students in the sample are from de Kaap) was closely aligned to apartheid ideology. White-Afk students most likely of any student group to accept that an emphasis on cultural diversity encourages apartheid thinking - are they in reaction to the stigma of apartheid and seek to distance themselves more? Is this matter of 'emphasis' relative to their context i.e. there agreement doesn't necessarily mean no emphasis but not the previously excessive degree? Or are they, in reaction to Afrikaner Nationalist excess in this area, in danger of underestimating the import of cultural diversity - throwing 'the baby out with the bathwater'?

Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

Figure 6.6 below presents the fieldwork supervisor responses to *Item 2*. Three-quarters (n=17) of all fieldwork supervisors disagree with *Item 2* with the balance agreeing - no supervisors felt unsure or neutral here. The proportion of the Black-Inc group disagreeing is slightly lower (at two-thirds) than that of the White group but in view of the small size of the former group hardly significant. The general trend of response towards disagreement with *Item 2* here is in the same direction as that for educators and students but is more pronounced.

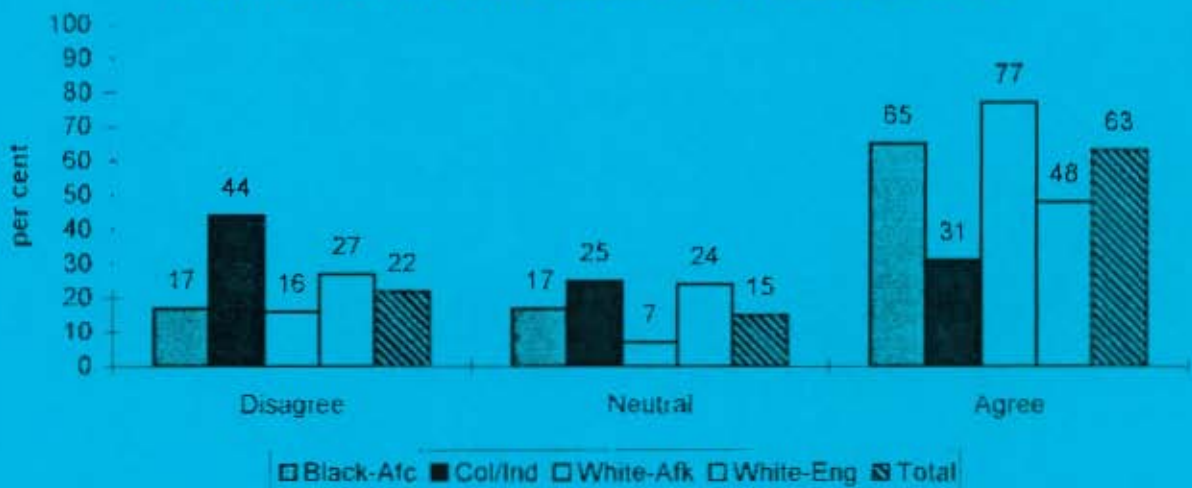
Item 3

Item 3: There are distinct national and ethnic groups in South Africa which are at different stages of social and cultural development.

Closed responses of social work educators

Figure 6.7 presents the response patterns of educators to *Item 3*. A significant majority of educators (63 per cent) agree with the assertion in *Item 3* of the existence of distinct national ethnic groups in South Africa which are at different stages of social and cultural development. Another fifth (22 per cent) disagree and 15 per cent record a neutral score. Broken down into institution categories, the HBI sector mirrors this overall response pattern while those of the HWI-Afk and HWI-Eng sectors sharply diverge. A high majority (80 per cent) of HWI-Afk respondents agree while only a very small proportion (23 per cent) of HWI-Eng educators do so. Within the race/ethnic categories it is the White-Afk and Black-Afk groups that record relatively high levels of agreement (77 and 65 per cent respectively) while the Coloured and Indian groups record higher levels of disagreement (45 and 40 per cent) with *Item 3* than agreement (36 and 20 per cent). White-Eng educators' responses lie in between with nearly half (48 per cent) agreeing with *Item 3* and the other 52 per cent more or less equally split between disagreement and neutrality.

Figure 6.7: Social work educators' responses to Item 3



The raw scores in each of the scale categories suggest response patterns that confirm the overall trends already identified. It can be noted that 'weak' agreement tends to be consistently higher

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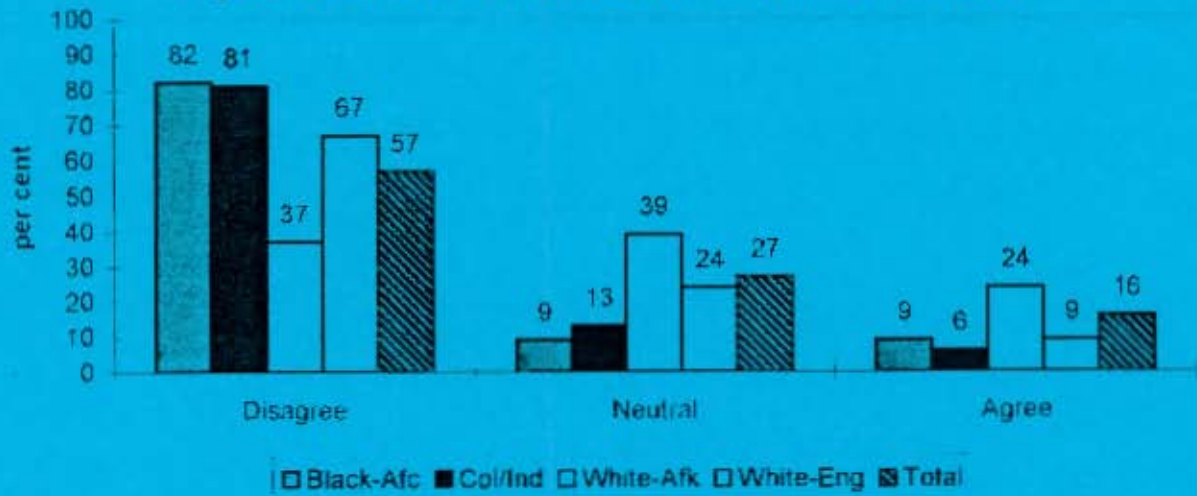
than 'strong' agreement in most categories although this is marginal in the HWI-Afk, Black-Afc and White-Afk groups.

Item 4

Item 4: The different population groups in South Africa should seek to preserve their cultural and national identities by remaining socially homogeneous and/or separate.

Closed responses of social work educators

Figure 6.8: Social work educators' responses to Item 4



Comments by social work educators (Item 4)

Comments in response to *Item 4* were recorded by a substantial 84 per cent ($n=114$) of all respondents and can therefore be fairly reliably read as representative of all educator respondents. Three broad categories of response, with a further three sub-categories in the first, were identified in the analysis.

Category 1

The largest category of 67 respondents (59 per cent of those recording comments) scored a disagree rating in response to the statement and commented in one of three further sub-categories:

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(i) Thirteen (11 per cent) respondents in this category strongly disagreed with the item and most comments explicitly identified the statement as reflecting an 'apartheid' or a right-wing separatist project. The balance of comments went further by implicitly rejecting the maintenance or support of cultural and/or 'national' groupings as currently constituted by asserting the need for the building of a common South African culture and nationhood (what I will refer to as the 'nation-building' project). The reading of the 'nation' element within the item tended to receive more emphasis from these respondents even though the item referred to groups remaining 'socially' separate or homogenous. Twelve of these comments were split fairly evenly between respondents from the HBI and HWI-Eng institutional groups (17 per cent, $n=6$ and 22 per cent, $n=6$ respectively) with none from the HWI-Afk group. Only one of the comments were made by a White-Afk respondent (representing 2 per cent) with the other 12 being fairly evenly spread, proportionately between the Black-Afk ($n=5$, 26 per cent), Col/Ind ($n=2$, 14 per cent) and White-Eng ($n=5$, 18 per cent) race/ethnic groups.

(ii) A further 44 comments (39 per cent) in this overall 'disagree' category argued in different ways (for both pragmatic and more principled 'multiculturalist' reasons) for a balance to be struck between respect for and tolerance of cultural identity and integrity on the one hand and the need for all citizens to co-exist and to relate across cultural group lines on the other. Many respondents asserted that cultural identity is not dependent upon separation. Nearly half of both the HBI (47 per cent, $n=17$) and HWI-Eng (48 per cent, $n=13$) comments fell into this sub-category while less than a third of HWI-Afk respondents (29 per cent, $n=12$) did so. When broken down by race/ethnic group it is the majority of the Col/Ind group whose comments fall mainly in this sub-category (57 per cent, $n=8$) compared with less than a third (29 per cent, $n=15$) of the White-Afk group. The proportion of comments made by the Black-Afk and White-Eng groups fall in between at 47 per cent ($n=9$) and 43 per cent ($n=12$) respectively.

(iii) Another 6 respondents within the category stressed the rights of individuals and groups to choose to be homogeneous or separate if they so wished and some linked to this international realities and practice in this regard. Comments in this sub-category were fairly evenly spread across both institutional and race/ethnic groups with the exception of the Col/Ind group which had a nil response here. The balance of 4 comments here qualified a scale score disagreement with *Item 4* in ways that were unclear.

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Category 2

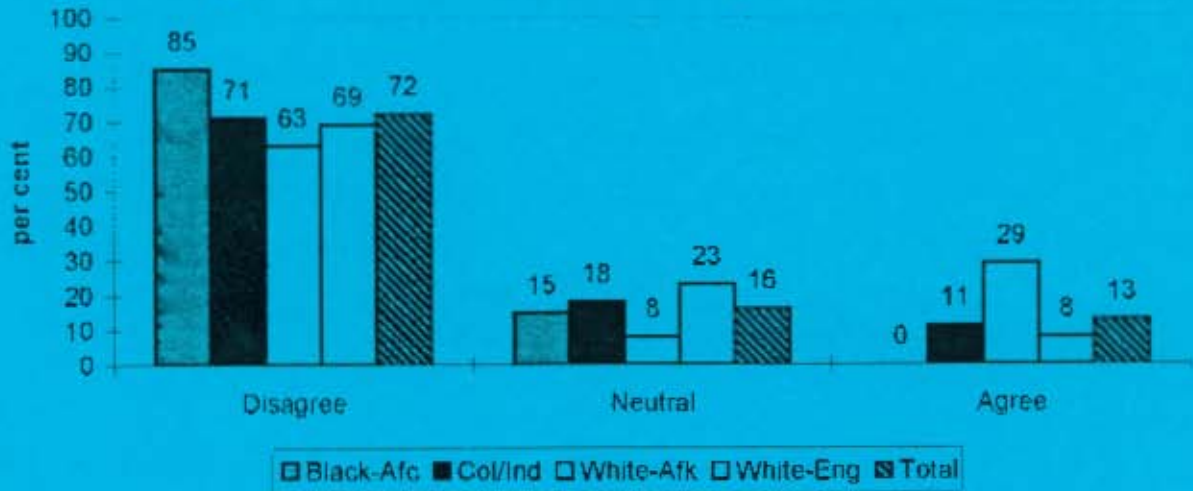
The second broad category consists of those 32 respondents (28 per cent of those who recorded comments) who recorded a neutral scale score followed by comments that mirrored either those in **Category 1** above. Forty per cent (n=17) of the HWI-Afk sector comments fall into this category, double that of the proportion of both the HWI-Eng and HBI sectors. Just under half of the comments (n=14) in this category emphasised the right of individuals/groups to choose separation/homogeneity. While these latter comments were spread across all institutional categories fairly evenly, they were recorded almost exclusively by White-Afk (n=7) and White-Eng (n=6) respondents.

Category 3

The third broad category consists of those 15 educators (13 per cent of those who recorded comments) who followed an 'agree' score with comments that justified that choice on the grounds of either a) identity needs (n=7, with 6 of these White-Afk educators), or b) as a matter of individual/group choice (n=3, with 2 Black-Afk educators) or c) because of the 'natural' or 'God-given' nature of cultural differences (n=2, both White-Afk educators). The balance of 3 comments in this category were unclear.

Closed responses of social work students

Figure 6.9: Social work students' responses to Item 4



Comments by social work students

Comments in response to *Item 4* were recorded by 60 per cent of student respondents (64 out of 107). While the proportion of comments made by students who scored in the 'disagree', 'neutral' and 'agree' scale categories is not too dissimilar (82 to 72 per cent comments to scale scores in the 'disagree' category, for example), this low response rate means that these comments cannot be regarded as reliably representative of all student respondents. They will therefore be discussed more in terms of the trends they reveal rather than any more definite findings.

Student comments were placed into the same categories as those used for educators' comments above.

Category 1

The largest category of 52 comments (81 per cent) were those which followed a "disagree" score in response to *Item 4*. These have been placed into three sub-categories:

(i) Sixteen respondents (25 per cent of those who recorded comments) expressed views that tended to support their strong disagreement with *Item 4* in similar ways to the educators in **Category 1** (i) above, i.e. by either explicitly linking it with apartheid or right-wing separatism, or

Appendix I.

promoting what I have referred to above as the 'nation-building' project. Over a third of comments by Peninsula (an HBI institution) students, and one-fifth of Good Hope (an HWI-Eng institution) students, were placed in this category but none from de Kaap (an HWI-Afk institution).

Broken down by race/ethnic group, around a third of the comments of both Black-Afc (37 per cent, n=8) and Col/Ind (33 per cent, n=7) students across the three Western Cape institutions were in this category. In contrast only 1 White-Eng student (representing 10 per cent of this group who recorded comments) and no White-Afk students expressed views within this category.

(ii) A further 33 respondents (52 per cent of comments) followed their disagreement with *Item 4* with comments that, as those for educators in this category, sought to balance the need for cultural identity with the need for co-existence without emphasis on separation. Almost half of the comments by Peninsula (46 per cent) and Good Hope (53 per cent) students, but nearly two thirds of those by de Kaap students (64 per cent) fell into this category. By race/ethnic group only just over a third of Col/Ind (38 per cent) comments, but a half of White-Eng (50 per cent) and Black-Afc (55 per cent) comments expressed this view while nearly three-quarters of White-Afk (73 per cent) comments did so.

(iii) Only 3 student respondents (5 per cent of comments) disagreed with the statement and did not express views clearly in line with either of the above two sub-categories. Neither did any student comment pick up the 'individual choice' theme evident amongst educator respondents in this sub-category. The 3 comments here were simply unclear.

Category 2

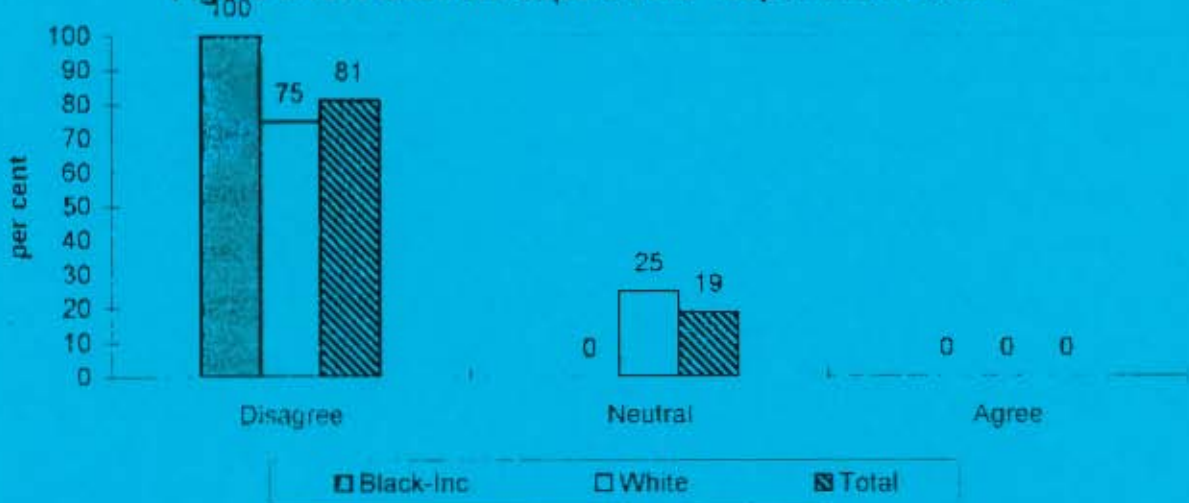
There were 6 students (9 per cent of comments) placed in this second broad category in which a neutral scale score preceded the particular commentary. Four of these comments were in line with those expressed in **Category 1** above i.e. a balance of cultural identity and co-existence. These were spread across all institutions and race/ethnic groups with the exception that no White-Afk students recorded comments in this category. The comments of the other 2 students were unclear.

Category 3

Another 6 students recorded their agreement with the statement following this scale score with a variety of comments. Three students from de Kaap (2 White-Afk and 1 White-Eng) justified their agreement by referring to the maintenance of cultural identity and/or integrity. Another White-Afk student from de Kaap noted that separation should not lead to oppression while a Col/Ind student at Peninsula emphasised that everyone should be allowed to choose their own lifestyles in line with their values. The sixth comment here was unclear.

Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

Figure 6.10: Fieldwork supervisors' responses to Item 4



Comments by fieldwork supervisors

Comments in response to *Item 4* were recorded by only 57 per cent (n=13) of all fieldwork supervisor respondents with the result that they cannot be regarded as sufficiently representative of the views of all fieldwork respondents. As with the student comments above only possibly significant trends can be identified - recorded comments are divided into the same categories as used for the educator and student respondent groups as above:

Category 1

The largest category of 11 comments (85 per cent) by fieldwork supervisors were those in which followed a 'disagree' score in response to *Item 4*. These have been placed into three sub-categories:

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(i) Three respondents (23 per cent of those who recorded comments) expressed views that tended to support their strong disagreement with *Item 4* as did the educators and students in **Category 1(i)** above, i.e. by either explicitly linking it with apartheid or right-wing separatism, or promoting what I have referred to above as the 'nation-building' project. All three such comments were recorded by Black-Inc respondents - i.e. 75 per cent of this group's comments while no White fieldwork supervisors expressed views within this category.

(ii) A further 3 respondents (23 per cent of comments) recorded comments that, as for educators and students in this category, sought to balance the need for cultural identity with the need for co-existence. All 3 comments were made by White supervisors - i.e. 33 per cent of this group's comments.

(iii) Within the total of 5 comments (38 per cent of comments) in this sub-category, 3 supervisors (all in the White group) stressed the right of individuals and/or groups to choose their degree of integration and separation. The content of the other 2 comments here was unclear.

Category 2

There were 2 supervisors (15 per cent of comments) placed in this second broad category in which comments were preceded by a neutral scale score. Both of these comments were made by White supervisors and took the "individual choice" position as expressed by most educators and supervisors in the **Category 1 (iii)** above.

Category 3

As no fieldwork supervisors scored an 'agree' score there were no comments recorded in this category.

Notes

- ¹ This difference can be expressed as an 'odds ratio' which between the HWI-Aik and HWI-Eng categories is a high ratio of 3 and between the combined HBI and the HWI-Eng categories is an even higher 3.6.
- ² As there were only 5 Coloured and 1 Black respondents I have collapsed them all into this inclusive 'Black-Inc' category. I should also note here that although 2 respondents did not complete the section on 'race' classification, they are personally known to me and were, under previous Population Group legislation classified 'Coloured' and I have included them in the Black-Inc group as described above.
- ³ All Coloured students at the Good Hope institution recorded their first home language as English.

APPENDIX M

**Chapter 7 results: Graphs & notes for closed responses to Items
10, 23a-b, & 24**

APPENDIX M

CHAPTER 7 Results: Graphs and detailed notes in respect of closed responses of social work educators, students and fieldwork supervisors for Items 10, 23a, 23b and 24

Item 10

Item 10: An important priority within a new welfare dispensation for South Africa should be affirmative action towards the creation and expansion of resources and services for disadvantaged (ie, Black, 'Coloured' and Indian) communities.

Closed responses of social work educators

Figure 7.1: Social work educators' responses to Item 10

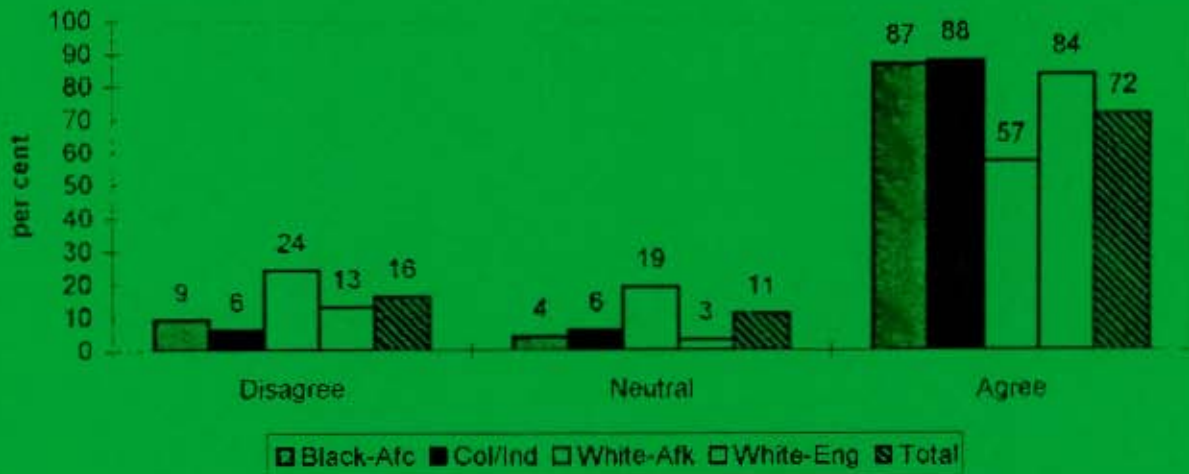


Figure 7.1 below presents a summary of the responses by social work educators to Item 10'. There is majority support from educators (72 percent) for the creation and expansion of welfare resources and services to disadvantaged population groups as an important priority. However 16 percent of educators disagree with this view and 11 percent take a neutral position on the issue. When broken down by race/ethnic group it is evident that high rates of agreement are recorded by all race/ethnic groups (from 84 to 91 percent) except the White-Afk group whose agreement rate (57 percent) is significantly lower and whose respondents record disagreement and neutral response rates of a quarter and one-fifth respectively. This pattern of response is not, as discussed below, unexpected. Less predictable is the disagreement with Item 10 recorded by 1 Col/Ind and 2 Black-Afc respondents. However from close inspection of the actual questionnaires it is

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apparent that, when read in the context of these respondents' answers to related items, two of these responses are almost certainly scoring errors². In addition the particular reasoning given for the third disagreement (discussed below) gives reason to question the closed response given.

It may be argued however that I am reading any disagreement with Item 10 as necessarily implying an opposition to equity in welfare resources and services as respondents may have disagreed with the aspects of the statement in *Item 10* rather than the content as I am construing it. Here the written comments by respondents serve to clarify the extent to which such an objection may have salience or not. Similarly the unexpected disagreement expressed by three black educators may also be more accurately understood after consideration of their written comments where recorded.

Closed responses of social work students

It should be noted here that in the questionnaires to social work students and fieldwork supervisors, the wording of *Item 10* was slightly altered in that the words 'affirmative action towards ...' were removed from the sentence. This was done because a reading of some of the initial responses to the educators' questionnaire had suggested that this was an emotive concept in itself and could distract respondents from the main thrust of the statement. The phrase is also not necessary for the grammatical sense of the sentence. As is evident above, this concern is partly borne out by the written responses from some educators. The discussion below will therefore have to take into account that this wording change may mean that comparisons between the educator and student/fieldwork supervisor groups will have to be more cautiously made than otherwise would have been the case.

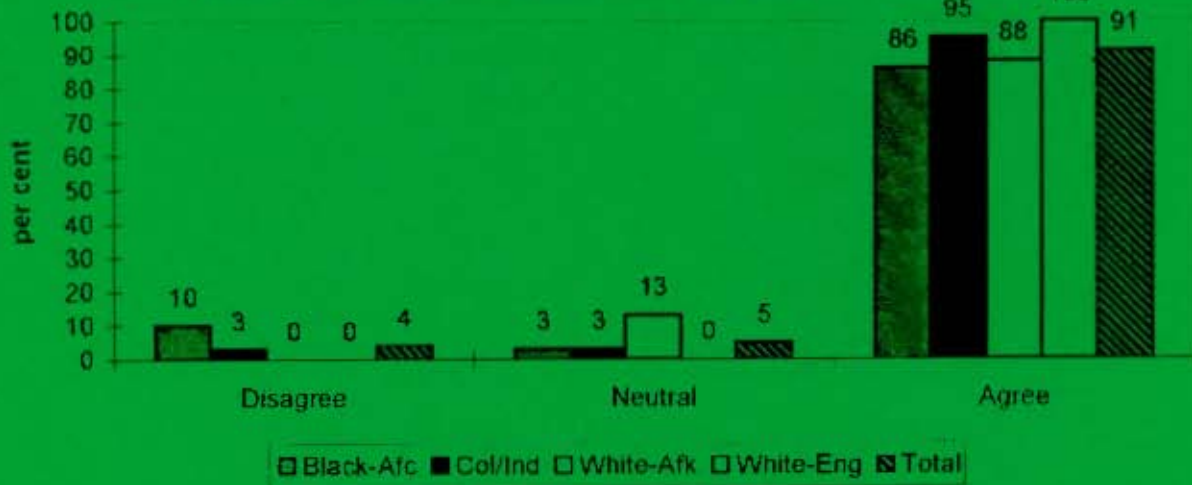
Figure 7.2 presents the responses of social work students at the three tertiary institutions in the Western Cape selected for this survey to *Item 10*. There is a very high average agreement rate of 91 percent from this group with only 4 percent disagreement. When broken down by race/ethnic group, no sector or group drops below 90 percent agreement except the Black-AfC group which records a 10 percent disagreement. This is almost identical to the pattern of responses from Black-AfC educators as set out in **Figure 7.1** above³. In sharp contrast to responses by white social work educators however, not a single white student in this Western Cape sample records any disagreement with the statement in *Item 10*.

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Appendix M: Student responses to Item 10

Similar patterns to those found in the educators sample regarding strength of agreement are evident here with all Black-Afc and Coloured student respondents recording higher proportions of 'strong' as against 'weak' agreements with the reverse being true for White-Afk students. White-Eng student agreement is evenly split between strong and weak agreement.

Figure 7.2: Social work students' responses to Item 10

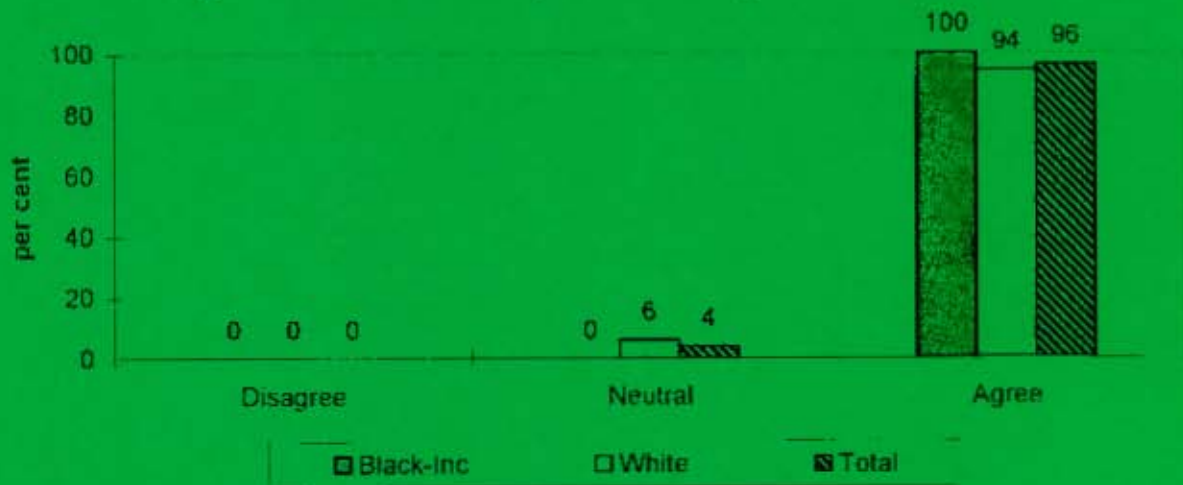


Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

Figure 7.3 lays out the responses of the fieldwork supervisors in the sample to *Item 10*. A high majority (96 percent) of supervisors record their agreement with the statement with only one White supervisor scoring a neutral response and no supervisors recording any disagreement. The strength of agreement is fairly evenly spread between strong and weak scores.

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Figure 7.3: Fieldwork supervisors' responses to Item 10



reservations regarding the content of Item 10, was clearly apparent. This trend, though in a milder form, was also evident in the HWI-Eng and, to an even lesser extent, the Coloured student groups even though no White-Eng student records a neutral or disagree score (in contrast to the corresponding educator group in which 16 percent do so).

While responses from fieldwork supervisors were overwhelmingly positive towards the importance of addressing welfare resource inequalities, some reservations regarding the impact of such action upon existing services to the white group, similar to those expressed by just over half of educators and a quarter of students, were also evident here.

Item 23a

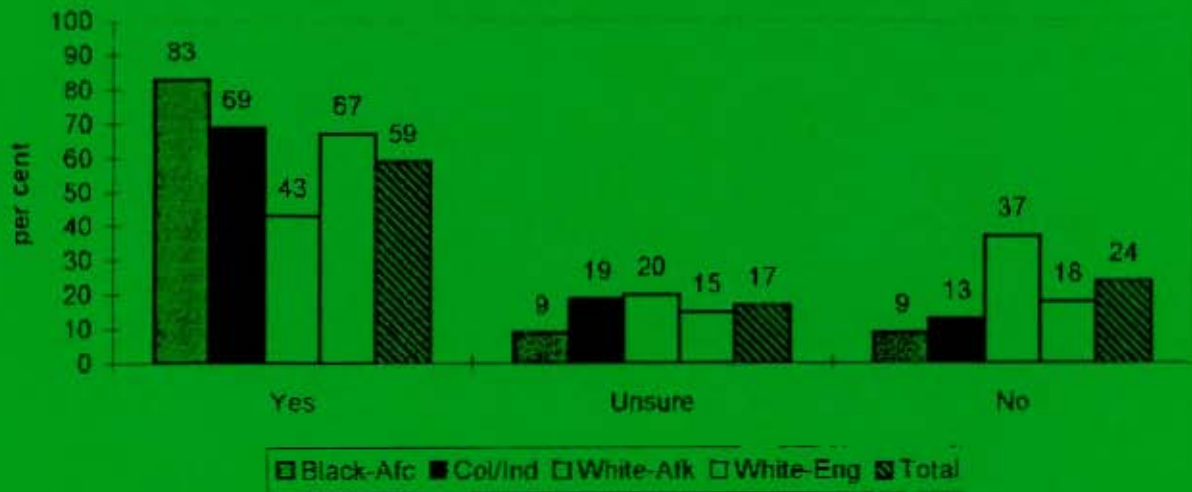
Item 23a: Is it important that teaching staff in local social work departments should reflect the cultural, ethnic and racial diversity of the South African population?

Closed responses of social work educators

In overall terms just under 60 percent of all social work educators feel that, as a group, they should be representative of the broad population of the country, while a quarter feel this is not important and under a fifth are unsure on this issue.

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Figure 7.4: Social work educators' responses to Item 23a



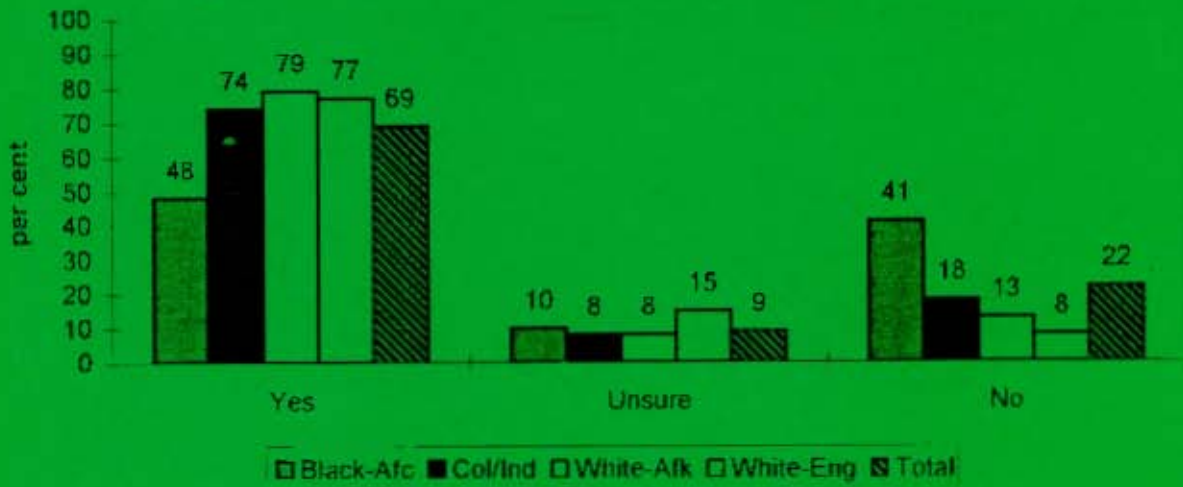
When broken down in race/ethnic terms (see Figure 7.4 above), the Black-Afc and Coloured groups record emphatic endorsements of representivity (83 and 82 percent), with two-thirds of the White-Eng group (67 percent) feeling similarly. Less than half of White-Afk respondents (43 percent) record their support for, and a significant proportion (37 percent) of this group are opposed to, staff representivity. Interestingly, apart from in the Black-Afc group, there are similar proportions (around a fifth) of all ethnic/race groups who are unsure on this issue. The Indian group, unexpectedly, record a very similar response profile to that of the White-Afk group though because of their small numbers ($n = 5$) this is reflective of individual responses rather than a reliable group trend. This result could also be more reflective of insitutional/departamental culture or concerns within the context of the HWI-Eng institution in which the two Indian respondents who recorded a 'No' response were based at the time of the survey.

Closed responses of social work students

As summarised in Figure 7.5 below over two-thirds (69 percent) of social work student respondents felt that social work teaching staff should be representative of the wider population with just over a fifth answering in the negative and 9 percent being unsure of their position. This sample of students feels generally more positive (by 10 percent) regarding the need for representivity than do their educator counterparts.

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Figure 7.5: Social work students' responses to Item 23a



In ethnic/race group terms it is suprisingly, in terms of group trends reported up to this point, the White-Afk student group who respond most positively to this issue (79 percent). They are closely followed by the White-Eng and Col-Afk groups (77 percent each). Unexpectedly, less than half (48 percent) of the Black-Afc group support this issue while 41 percent record their opposition. Whether this result is due to varying interpretations of an ambiguous Item 23a, and is therefore a methodological problem, or whether it is due to unexpected positions taken on the representivity issue, will hopefully become apparent in the analysis of the written comments below.

Item 23b

Item 23b: Is it important that social work staff in local social work agencies should reflect the cultural, ethnic and racial diversity of the South African population?

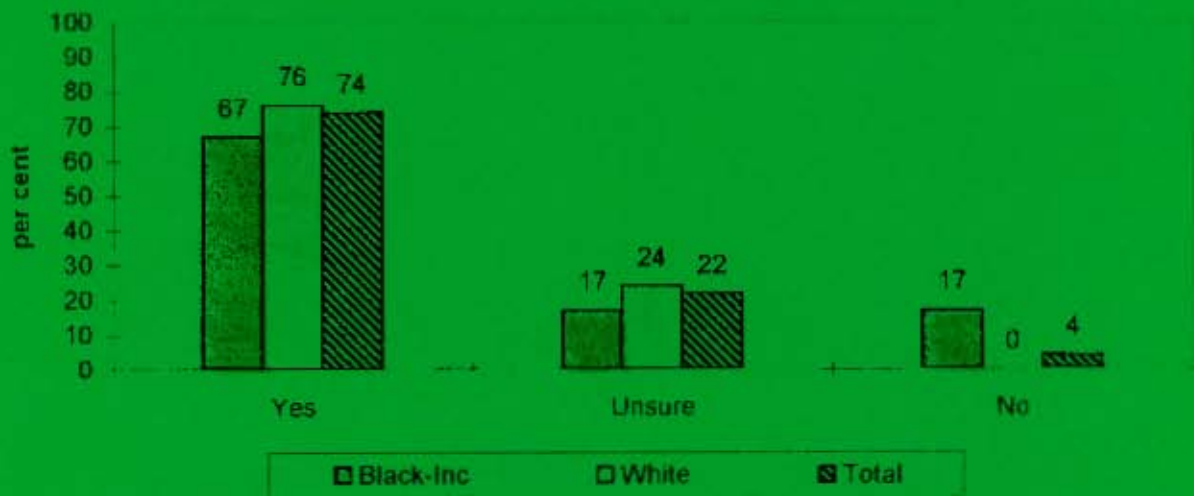
Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

In order to address the representivity issue with fieldwork teachers/supervisors in the same way as was done with educators and students, the question was changed to apply to staff in social work agencies themselves. Although there are some different considerations here which may influence agency staff's responses (for example practice related issues such as language and communication in relation to specific local communities), the question as to whether representivity is desirable or important remains key and I felt would best be addressed through placing it within these respondents own practice settings.

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Figure 7.6 below summarises the scale score responses of fieldwork supervisors to Item 23b. Three-quarters (74 percent) of these respondents felt it important that agency staff should reflect the diversity of the wider population with only one supervisor answering in the negative (and see discussion in the Section 2 below regarding this response) and five (22 percent) respondents preferring not to commit themselves on this issue. There is no significant difference in this pattern between Black-Inc and White groups. Taking into account the predominance of White-Eng (n=15) and Black-Inc respondents in the fieldwork supervisors group, this support is similar to that of comparable groups amongst educators and students.

Figure 7.6: Fieldwork supervisors' responses to Item 23b



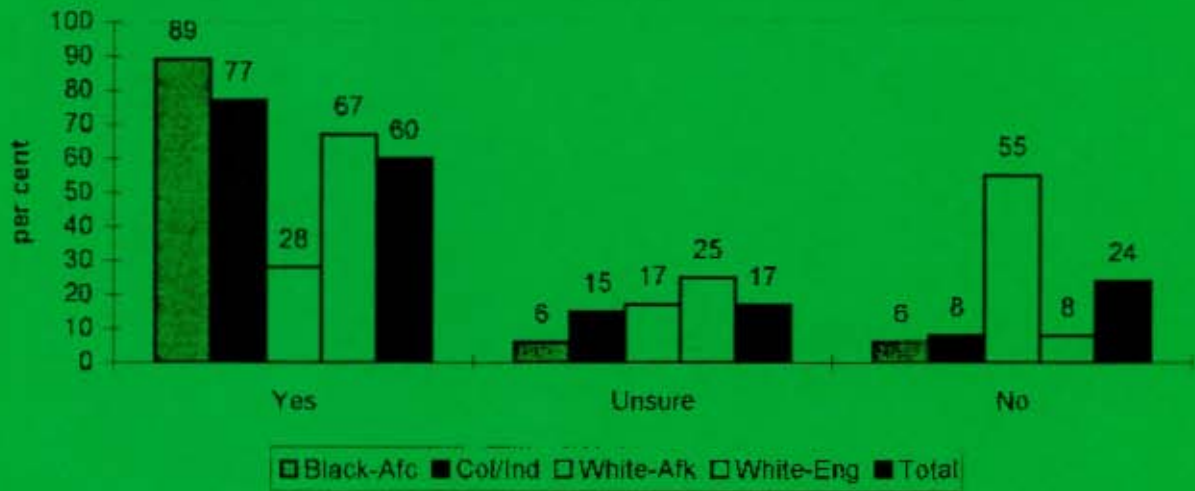
Item 24

Item 24: If you answered 'Yes' to Item 23[a or b] above do you think that affirmative action programmes for the recruitment, appointment and training of staff from disadvantaged (ie, Black, 'Coloured' and Indian persons) backgrounds should be instituted in order to achieve such representative diversity?

Closed responses of social work educators

As set out in Figure 7.8 below a total of 84 educators chose to respond to Item 24 although 78 educators responded with a 'Yes' to Item 23a (see Figure 7.5 above). Of the total of respondents to this item, 60 percent answered in the affirmative with 24 percent opposing the institution of affirmative action programmes and 17 percent remaining unsure.

Figure 7.8: Social work educators' responses to Item 24



When broken down into ethnic/race groups a high 89 percent of Black-Afc and 77 percent of Col/Ind educators support such programmes with a very low 28 percent of White-Afk educators doing so. The White-Eng group shows a 67 percent support with most of the balance of responses being in the 'Unsure' category. The group differences on this issue become even more stark if we recalculate the number of respondents who support affirmative action in the context of Item 24 as a proportion of all educator respondents ($n = 135$). Here 70 percent of Black-Afc and 63 percent of all Col/Ind educator respondents support such programmes while only a very low 13 percent of all White-Afk respondents do so. White-Eng educators are nearly equally split between support (48 percent) and either opposition or uncertainty (52 percent).

Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

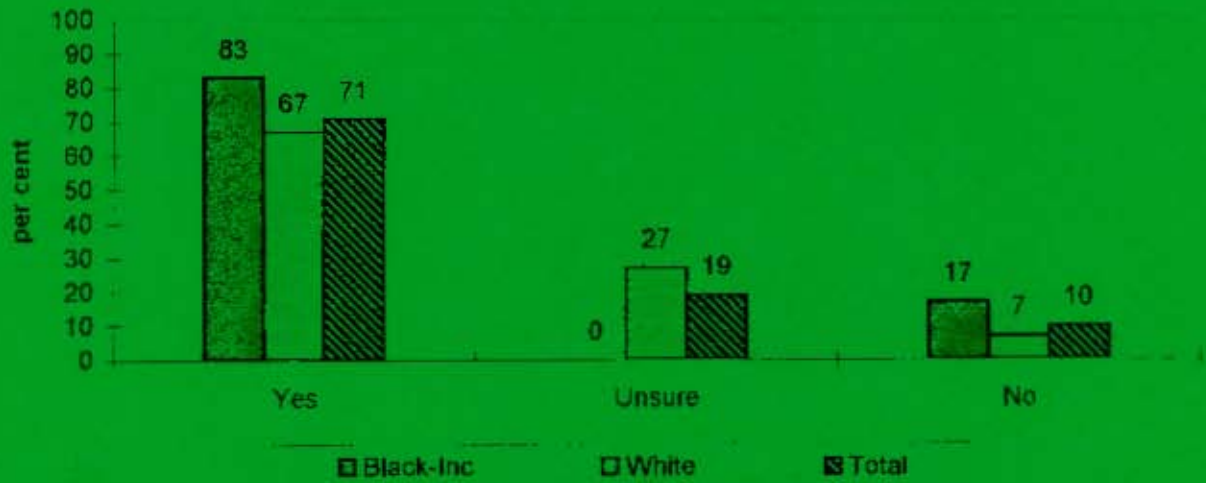
While the wording of Item 24 was exactly the same for fieldwork supervisors as for educators, the staff referred to were, in line with the previous item on staff representivity, those social workers employed in social work agencies rather than in tertiary education institutions.

While 17 fieldwork supervisors answered 'Yes' to Item 23b (see Table 7.7 in Appendix I) a total of 21 respondents chose to respond to Item 24³. As Figure 7.9 below shows, that 71 percent of those responding to Item 24 agreed with some form of affirmative action programme while 19 percent remained unsure and only 10 percent actively opposed such action. In terms of a breakdown by 'colour' category, only 1 respondent in each of the Black-Ind and White categories recorded their opposition to such programmes but 4 White fieldwork supervisors (17 percent)

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preferred to prevaricate on the issue. Thus 83 percent all of Black-Inc and 67 percent of all White supervisors who responded to the item did so affirmatively

Figure 7.9: Fieldwork supervisors' responses to Item 24



This group difference is highlighted when calculating the numbers of respondents answering in the affirmative as a proportion of all fieldwork supervisor respondents ($n = 23$). Eighty-three percent of all Black-Inc supervisors support affirmative action programmes in the context of Item 24 while a considerably lower 59 percent of White supervisors do so

Notes to Appendix M

1. As in the previous chapter, the figures present results in the form of bar graphs using percentages and, for scale score items, with combined 'agree' and 'disagree' categories. The full detail of responses, in numerical raw form, is presented in **Appendix I** in tables with the same labels as the corresponding figure here, i.e. **Table 7.1** in **Appendix I** gives the full results for educators' scale score responses to *Item 10* which are summarised in **Figure 7.1** here.
2. These two respondents both, for example, support representivity and affirmative action in their answers to *Items 23* and *24* and the general tenor of their other answers and comments would indicate that they had intended to record a 'strongly agree' response. It could be argued that such errors are likely to have also been made by other respondents and that by giving such close attention to respondent results that do not appear to 'fit' with a predicted pattern I am introducing bias into the analysis. There are two controls in this respect. Firstly in the analysis of all written comments, I have checked that it is broadly in accord with the closed response of that respondent - any obvious discrepancy is double-checked and noted as these ones have been. Secondly, in this case (*Item 10*) I have also checked a sample of other questionnaires in order to see if there was any reason why this particular item should have been prone to misrecording. In this process I found no other obvious dissonances between the answer to this item and others in the questionnaire nor was it apparent why at least two respondents may have mis-scored on the scale here. Despite these checks I have let the actually recorded closed responses stand.
3. However once the errors and modifications in educator responses are allowed for (see discussion above under educators responses), it is apparent that Black-Afe educators have an approximately 10 percent higher agreement rate than do Black-Afe students.

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- ² Three of these 'Yes' respondents made no response to *Item 24* while 9 educators who had recorded a response other than a 'Yes' to *Item 23a* and therefore had not, in terms of the questionnaire requirements, 'qualified' to answer *Item 24*, responded regardless. As the numbers of these respondents are small I have simply included them in this analysis. It is noteworthy though that 6 of these 9 respondents used this opportunity to record their opposition to affirmative action programmes and therefore overall responses are slightly weighted towards the negative.
- ³ As two these 'extra' responses were supportive of affirmative action programmes, surprisingly, the effect of their inclusion in the results is not significantly distortive of the overall response trend.

APPENDIX N

**Chapter 8 results: Graphs & notes for closed responses to Items
9a-c, 11, 19c, 14 & 22**

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CHAPTER 8 Results: Graphs and detailed notes in respect of closed responses of social work educators, students and fieldwork supervisors for Items 9a, 9b, 9c, 11, 19c, 14, and 22

Items 9a, 9b & 9c

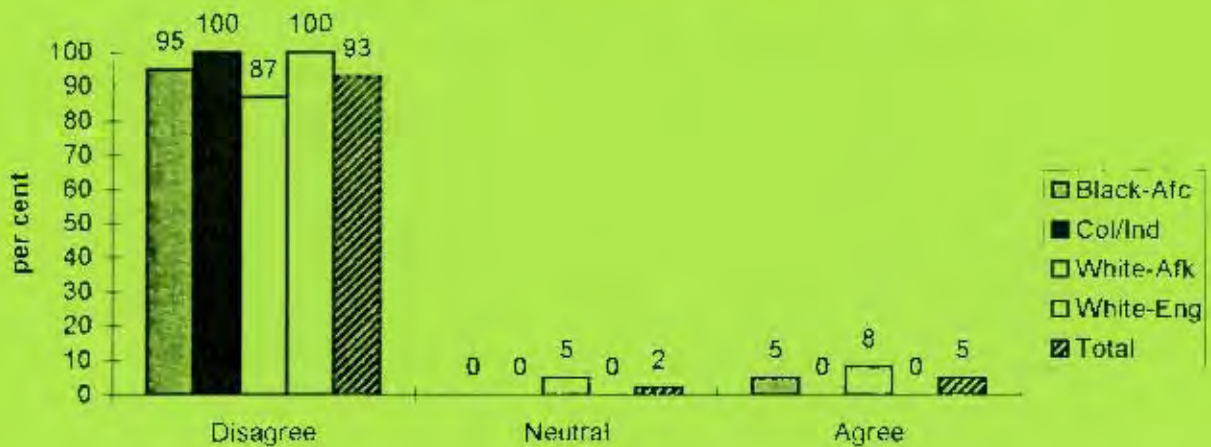
Item 9a: Separate social work services for each of the different national and/or ethnic groups are the best way of providing for the welfare needs of all South Africans.

Item 9b: Integrated social work services, delivered irrespective of race, ethnicity or culture, are the best way of providing for the welfare needs of all South Africans.

Item 9c: Integrated social work services, adapted to ensure sensitivity towards ethnic, racial and/or cultural characteristics and experiences, are the best way of providing for the welfare needs of all South Africans.

Closed responses of social work educators

Figure 8.1a: Social work educators' responses to Item 9a



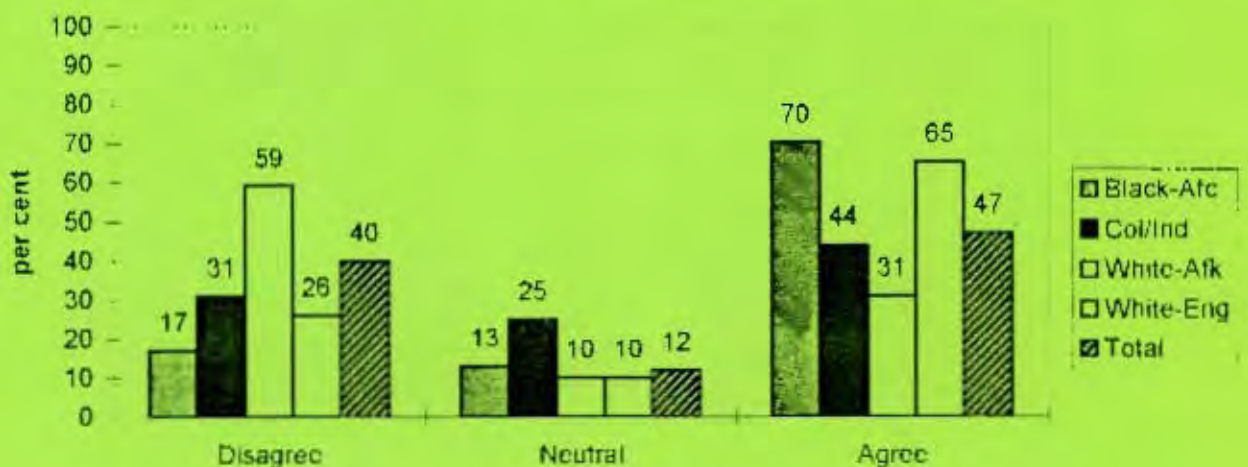
As is evident above, an overwhelming majority of educators rejected the option of welfare services continuing to be delivered separately along 'national' and/or ethnic lines. The only support for such a segregated option came from 5 White-Afk educators, 3 of whom also agreed

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with *Item 9c* (i.e. integrated services plus cultural sensitivity) and one Black-Afc educator who also agreed with *Item 9c*.

Responses by educators to *Item 9b* are more varied with almost equal numbers agreeing or disagreeing with the statement and the remaining 12 per cent remaining neutral. The race/ethnic group breakdown reveals some sharp differences however with fairly large majorities of Black-Afc and White-Eng educators (70 and 65 per cent respectively) supporting unified and integrated social work services that ignore race and cultural differences on the one hand while nearly 60 per cent of White-Afk educators disagree with such service structuring. The Col/Ind group is more ambivalent with educators here recording the full range of responses.

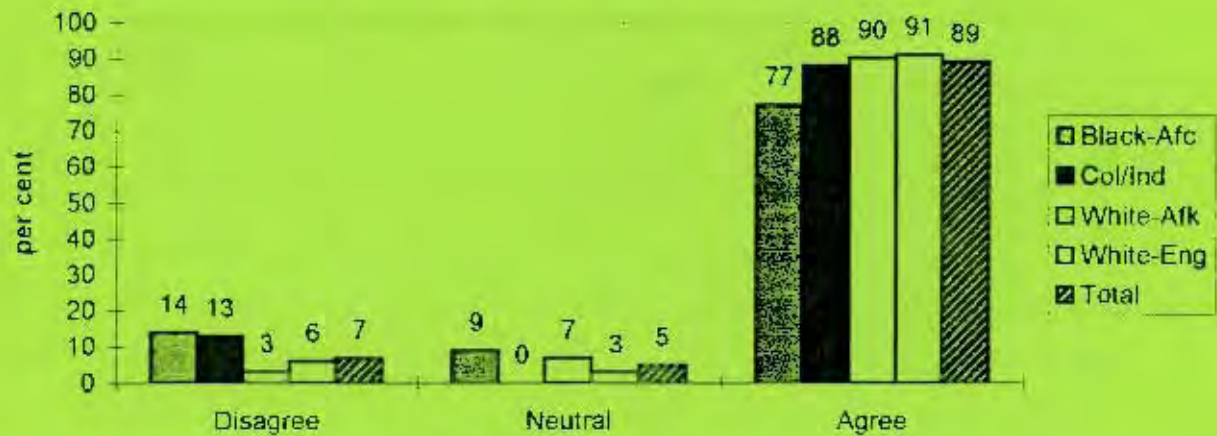
Figure 8.1b: Social work educators' responses to Item 9b



The responses to *Item 9c*, which proposes 'culture-sensitive' but integrated welfare services, are again more uniform and there is broad support from educators here with nearly 90 per cent agreement being recorded. Although a small minority of educators in all ethnic/race groups express some reservations regarding this option by recording a disagree or neutral score, this is most marked in the Black-Afc group where nearly a quarter (23 per cent) of these educators do not record agreement.

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Figure 8.1c: Social work educators' responses to Item 9c



Given that the second two options outlined in *Items 9b* and *9c* were, at the time of the survey, ideal types and did not relate to any actual welfare service structures within the country, some room for different interpretations as to the actual implications for welfare services clearly exists. The written comments submitted by respondents provide a clearer picture of how educators understood these and a more nuanced feel of their concerns.

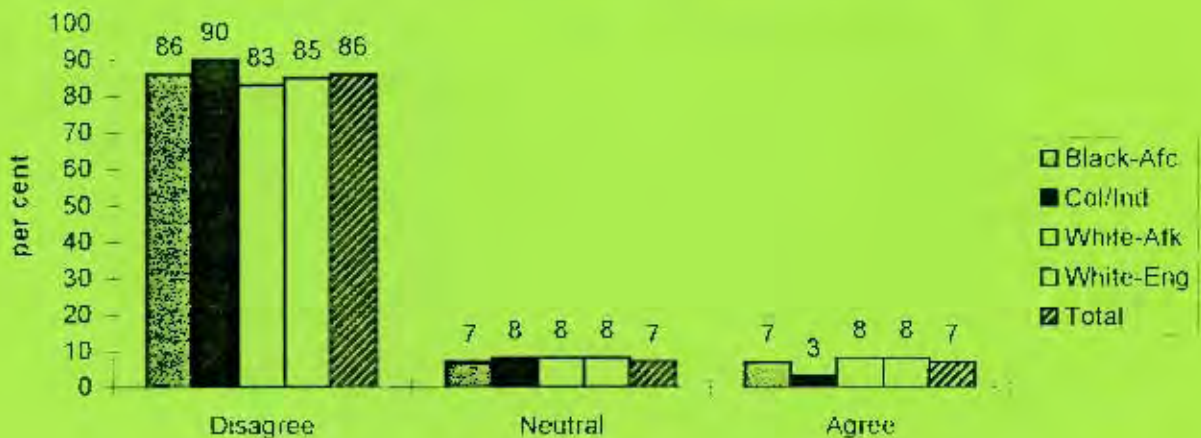
Closed responses of social work students

As for the educators above, the vast majority of all student respondents reject the option of continued separation of welfare services as set out in *Item 9a* with only very small proportions of all race/ethnic groups ($n=6$) either agreeing or remaining neutral. Of the latter, four students also recorded an 'agree' score in respect the integrated but 'culture-sensitive' option of *Item 9c* and the other two did not score *Item 9c*. An interesting, if fairly subtle, difference between the responses to the separate services option of *Item 9a* by White-Afk and White-Eng educators, on the one hand, and students on the other, is evident in the relative strength of disagreement (see **Tables 8.1(a)** and **8.2(a)** in **Appendix J**). Although the total proportion of disagreement is high in both cases, three times more White-Afk students record a 'weak' disagree score than do a 'strong' one whereas 50 per cent more White-Afk educators record a 'strong' than a 'weak' disagree score. A similar, though slightly less marked, trend is found in comparing the relative strength of White-Eng educators' and students' disagreement with *Item 9a*.

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Before examining the written comments for indicators as to the reasons for this trend, it is may be useful to speculate on the more likely dynamics that could be at work here. For instance, the relatively strong rejection by White educators of the separate services option could well be related to the different relationship educators and students have to the welfare structures and services of the apartheid era. The separate services option, and the explicit framing of it in terms of 'national' or ethnic groups, is clearly, and intentionally, redolent of the 'separate development' policies and practices of the previous Afrikaner Nationalist government. The 'strong' disagreement of educators may therefore signal an attempt at distancing from this apartheid past (and in 1993 still very much the de facto status quo) in terms of the inevitable association, in terms of often very close working relationships, that many social work educators had with apartheid era welfare services. Social work students, who have come to the study of social work in the post-1990 era (i.e. the era of Mandela's release and the phase during which negotiations towards a democratic dispensation were occurring), do not have the same need to personally distance from the status quo. They, never having been part of the old order, therefore approach such issues with a relatively clean slate both morally and experientially.

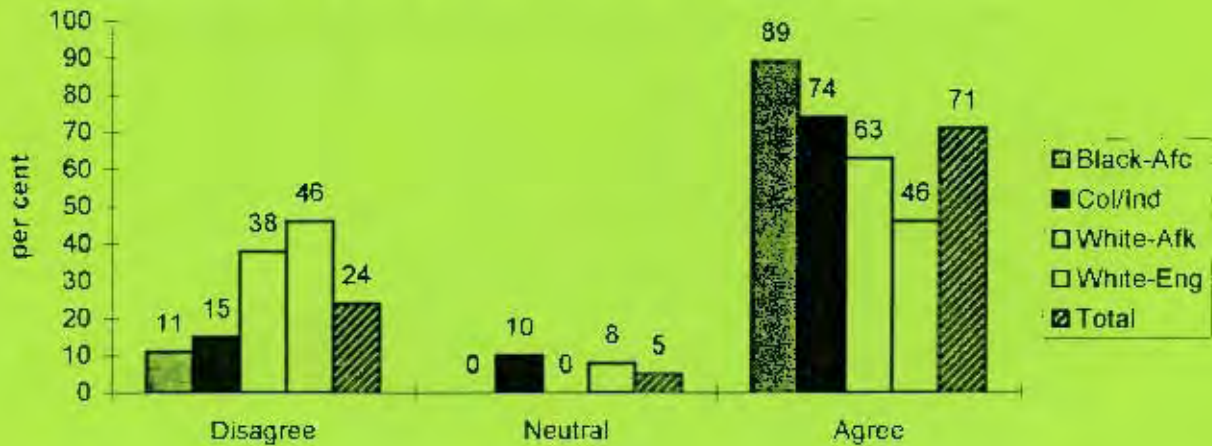
Figure 8.2a: Social work students' responses to Item 9a



The overall agreement by students with the 'universalist' integrated option as set out in *Item 9b* is fairly high (71 per cent) with Black-Afc students in particular registering overwhelming endorsement. Surprisingly, and in contrast to their educator counterparts, nearly two-thirds of White-Afk students agree with this option while White-Eng respondents are about equally split

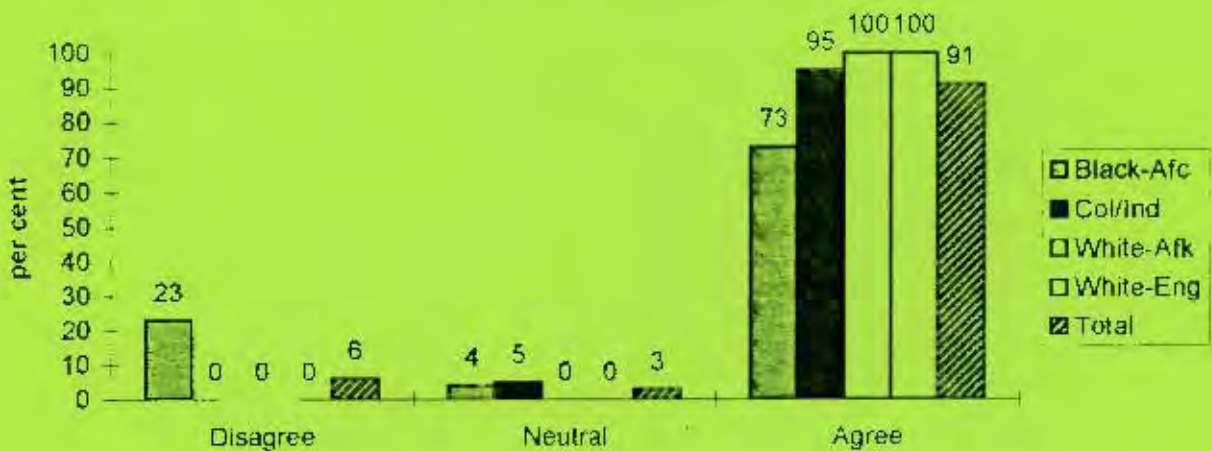
Appendix N

Figure 8.2b: Social work students' responses to Item 9b



As for the educator respondents, a very high majority of all students agreed with the option of integrated yet 'culture-sensitive' services as set out in *Item 9c*. However over a quarter (27 per cent) of Black-Afc students, in a similar vein to their educator counterparts, either disagree or are neutral towards this option

Figure 8.2c: Social work students' responses to Item 9c

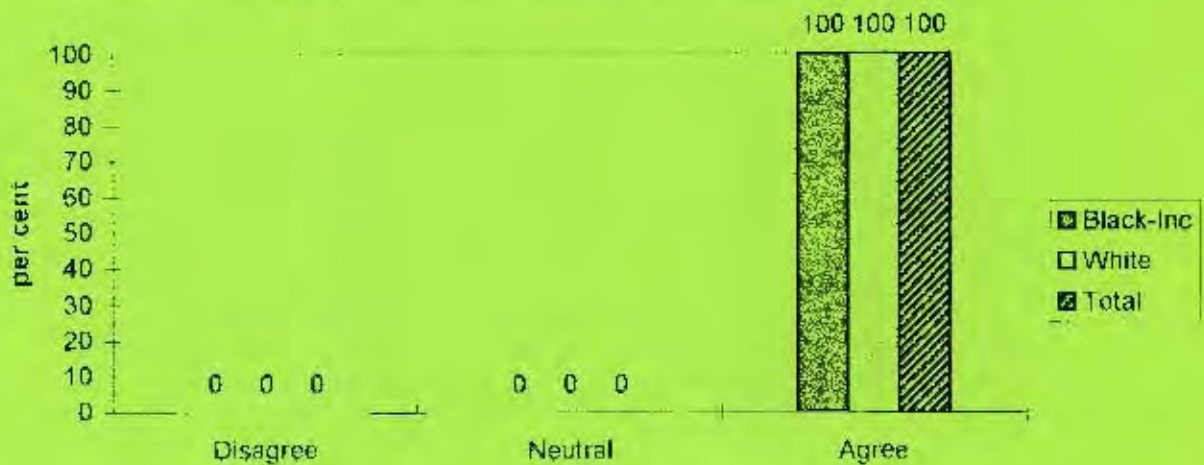


Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

The responses of fieldwork supervisors to the three options presented in *Items 9a-c* are set out in the figures below

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Figure 8.3c: Fieldwork supervisors' responses to Item 9c



The overall trend of responses is very similar to that of the educator and student respondents with very large majorities disagreeing with the segregated services option (*Item 9a*), agreeing with the integrated but 'culture-sensitive' option (*Item 9c*). The response pattern in terms of the integrated 'universalist' option (*Item 9b*) is closer to that of the student respondents in that just over one-third (35 per cent) either record a disagree or neutral scale score. There are no obvious differences between the Black-Inc and White response trends on any of the three items.

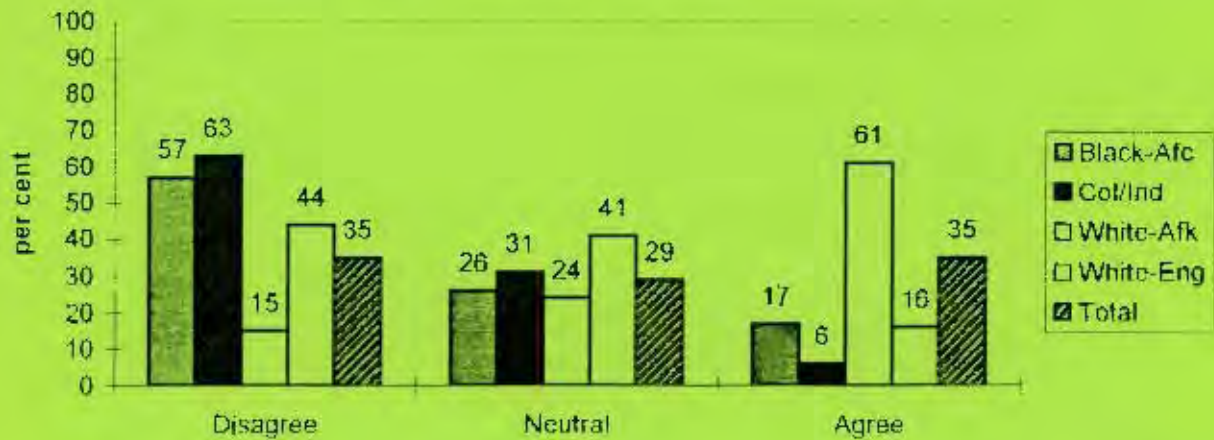
Item 11

Item 11: Direct social work services are most effective when social workers on the one hand and clients/communities on the other are matched according to similar ethnic, racial and/or cultural characteristics¹.

Closed responses of social work educators

The responses of social work educators to *Item 11* are summarised in **Figure 8.4** below:

Figure 8.4: Social work educators' responses to Item 11



In overall terms educators are evenly split between disagreement and agreement (35 per cent each) with the proposition in *Item 11* that 'matching' of social workers and service users promotes the efficacy of social work services while the remainder (29 per cent) are undecided. However when the responses are broken down by ethnic/race group some clear differences emerge. The sharpest contrast is that between the response of White-Afk respondents, nearly two-thirds of whom (61 per cent) agree and only 15 per cent disagree with *Item 11*, and the other three groups. Only very low percentages of Black-Afc, Col/Ind and White-Eng educators (between 6 and 17 per cent) agree that matching is promotive of social work service efficacy while the majority of Black-Afc and Col/Ind register their disagreement (57 and 63 per cent respectively). The White-Eng group is the most undecided with 41 per cent opting to remain neutral on the issue.

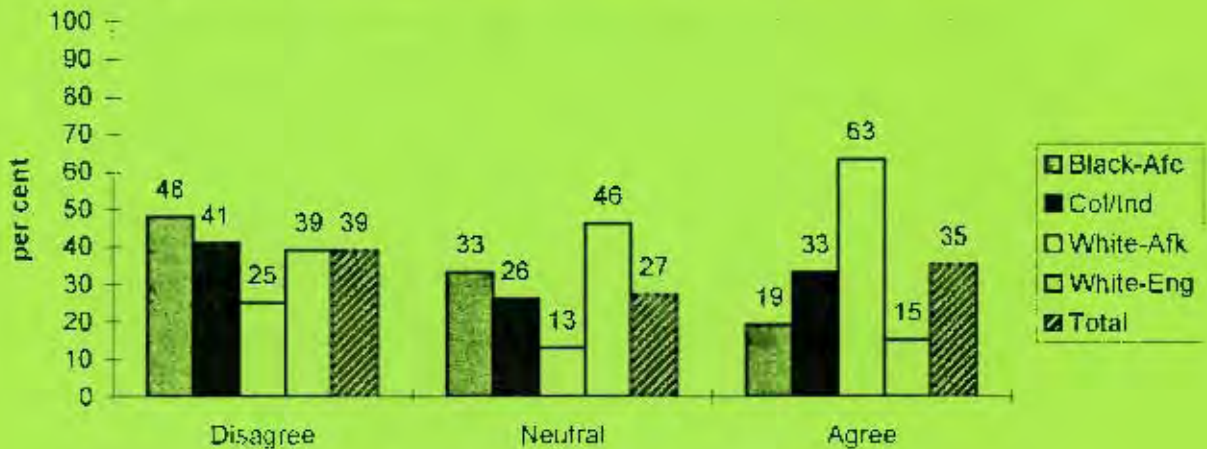
Closed responses of social work students

The scale score responses of social work students are summarised below in **Figure 8.5**. In overall terms, in a similar pattern to that of educators above, these responses are spread fairly evenly between disagreement, neutrality and agreement with the proposition that the 'matching' of social work service providers and users along ethnic, racial and/or cultural lines is promotive of service effectiveness. In terms of the race/ethnic breakdown, the group-specific trends are again similar to those of educators with some differences. Nearly half (48 per cent) of all Black-Afc students disagree with 'matching' and only a minority (19 per cent) agree while Col/Ind students are more evenly spread between disagreement (41 per cent) and agreement (33 per cent) than are their

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educator counterparts. White-Afk students show a high agreement rate (63 per cent), in line with the White-Afk educators above, but a slightly higher proportion (25 per cent) of students than educators disapprove of ‘matching’ as an organisational practice. The response trend among White-Eng students is very similar to that of White-Eng educators with a slightly higher proportion disagreeing and nearly half (46 per cent) taking a neutral stance.

Figure 8.5: Social work students' responses to Item 11

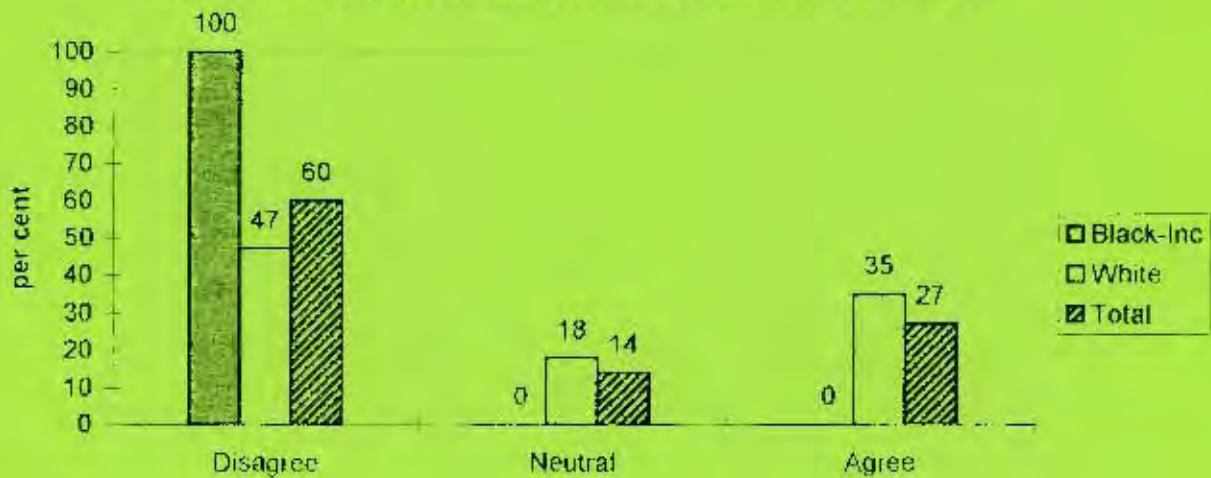


Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors (to Item 11)

The overall scale score responses from fieldwork supervisors to this item (see **Figure 8.6**) show a clear preference for rejecting ‘matching’ of service providers and users as an option in contrast to the responses of educators and students. When we look at the race/ethnic breakdown however it is clearer that this is due mainly to the emphatic disagreement (100 per cent) registered by the Black-Ind group of supervisors². Nearly half (47 per cent) of White fieldwork supervisors also register disagreement with ‘matching’ but over a third (35 per cent) approve. It is striking that White fieldwork supervisors (the majority of whom are White-Eng) are significantly less equivocal than either White-Eng educators or students as regards this issue (18 per cent as opposed to 41 and 46 per cent respectively).

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Figure 8.6: Fieldwork supervisors' responses to Item 11



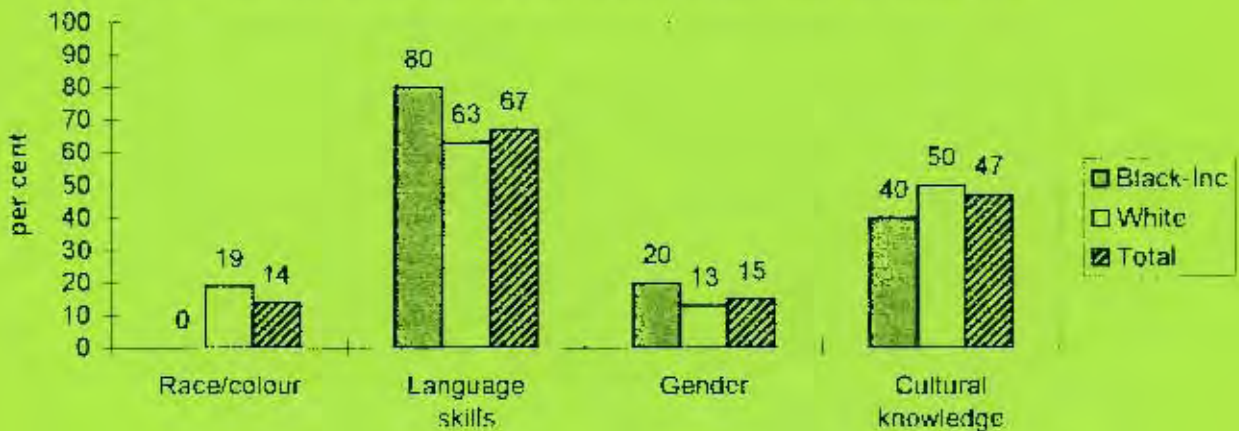
Item 19c

Item 19c: Does your agency/organisation attempt, where possible, to 'match' students with the clients/communities they will work with according to any of the following characteristics? Race/colour; language skills; gender; cultural knowledge; other.

Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

As indicated below, supervisor respondents were asked an open question but given four preset 'matching' characteristics as well as an 'Other' option. **Figure 8.7** records the percentage 'Yes' responses to each of the four characteristics for which options were provided (see **Tables 8.7(a)-(d)** in **Appendix J** for detailed results)

Figure 8.7: Fieldwork Supervisors' responses to Item 19c



A high two-thirds (67 per cent) of fieldwork supervisors reported that, in their view, their

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organisation attempted to 'match' students with clients and/or communities according to language. Nearly half (47 per cent) reported 'matching' with respect to cultural knowledge and low proportions (14 and 15 per cent) reported 'matching' in terms of race/colour or gender respectively. Notably no Black-Inc supervisors reported any 'matching' by race/colour whereas three White supervisors did so. Given the small number of Black-Inc respondents in this sample the differences in responses between the two 'colour' groups are insignificant and in addition the Black-Inc respondents here, with one exception, are from different organisations to their White colleagues.

The fact that for three organisations, two fieldwork supervisors in each returned questionnaires enables a very limited, but illustrative, comparison of either a) how different social workers in the same setting understand the practice of 'matching' students and clients, or b) how such practices actually vary, probably between different supervisors, within the same agency. In agency A, for example, both supervisors agreed that students were matched by cultural knowledge but only one supervisor (White) reported 'matching' by race/colour and language(s) spoken as well. In agency B, both supervisors (both White) agreed that 'matching' by language(s) spoken was carried out but one supervisor felt that cultural knowledge also played a part. Both supervisors in agency C agreed that matching by language(s) spoken was carried out but only one supervisor felt gender was taken into account while his/her colleague felt that cultural knowledge was the second factor considered.

Respondents were also given the opportunity of recording any other characteristic by which they attempt to 'match' students with clients/communities. Two student supervisors, both White, responded in this category. One, who works in an agency providing counselling around human sexuality and related issues mainly to the gay and lesbian community, listed 'sexual orientation' as a matching characteristic and the other, from an agency involved in training around AIDS, indicated that the individual student's personal characteristics were matched to the particular project undertaken.

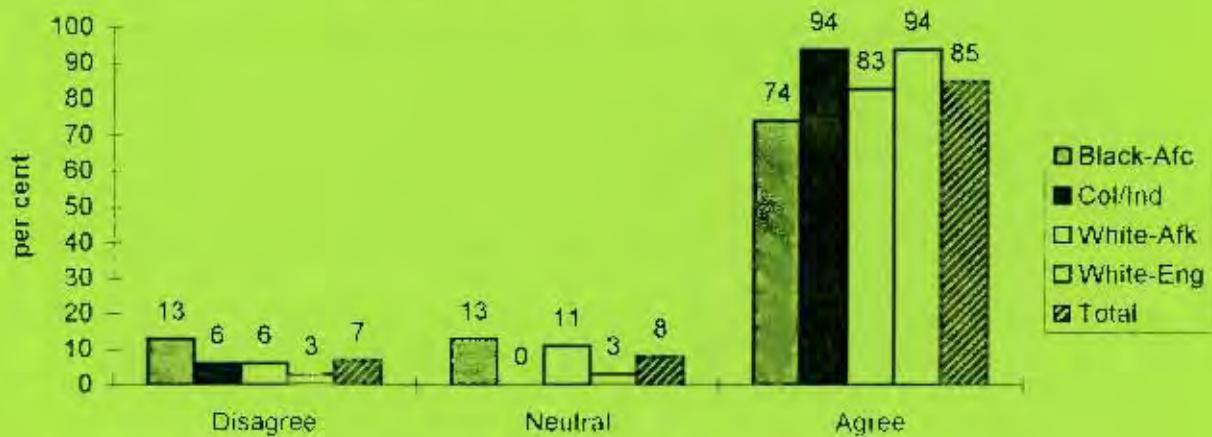
Item 14

Item 14: In view of the diverse languages spoken in South Africa, communication between social workers and clients/communities speaking different languages is a significant problem.

Closed responses of social work educators (Item 14)

As is evident from **Figure 8.8** below, a high proportion of educators (85 per cent) agreed that the linguistic diversity of South Africa creates problems for adequate communication between social workers and clients and/or communities. As can be read off **Table 8.8** (in **Appendix J**), the strength of this agreement is moderate with a ratio approaching 2:1 of 'agree' to 'strongly agree' across all ethnic/race groups. It is notable however in the breakdown by ethnic/race groups that over a quarter (26 per cent) of Black-Afc educators do not agree with, or are neutral with regard to, the statement in **Item 14**. On the other hand almost all Col/Ind and White-Eng educators register their agreement.

Figure 8.8: Social work educators' responses to Item 14



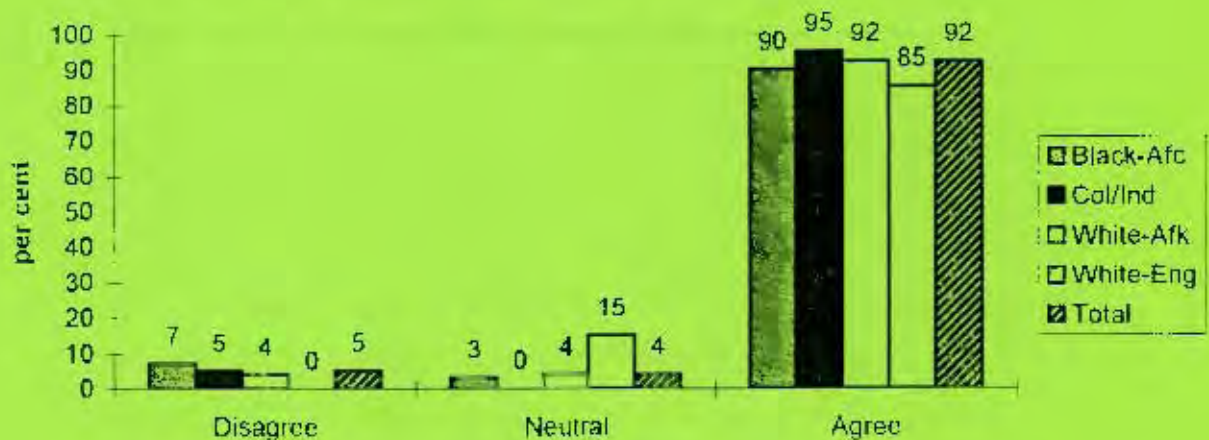
Closed responses of social work students

A very strong overall agreement (92 per cent) with the statement in **Item 14** by social work students is clear from the summary in **Figure 8.9** below. The relative strength of agreement is firmer than for educators with a ratio of 5:4 of 'agree' to 'strongly agree' being registered by students across most ethnic/race groups (see **Table 8.9** in **Appendix J**). However very slightly more White-Eng and White-Afk students give 'strongly agree' score than they do 'agree' scores.

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The proportions of students across all ethnic/race groups either disagreeing or remaining neutral is extremely low.

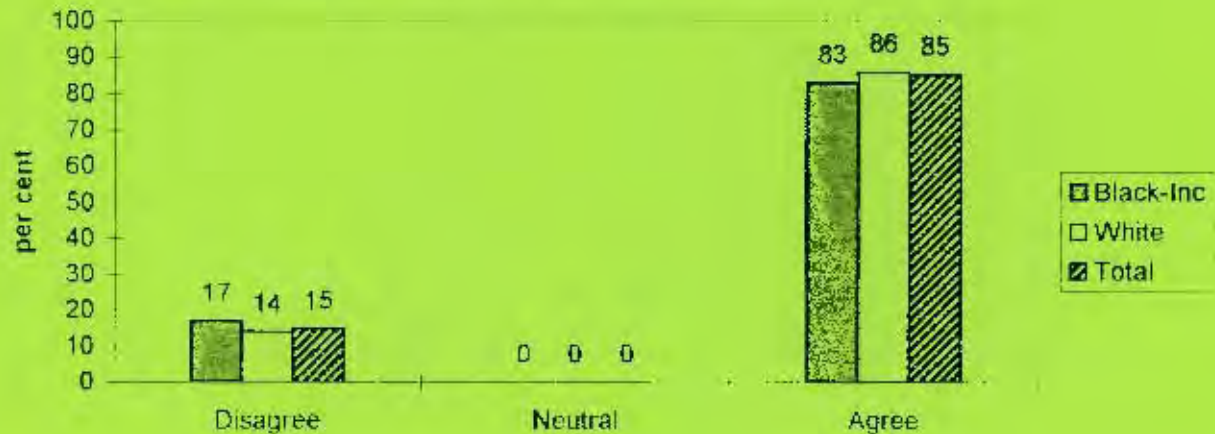
Figure 8.9: Social work students' responses to Item 14



Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

Fieldwork supervisors (see **Figure 8.10** below) show the same high overall agreement as educators (85 per cent) that communication between social workers and clients due to language diversity is problematic. The difference between the small Black-Ind group and the White group is insignificant except with regard to strength of agreement. White supervisors are evenly split between 'agree' and 'strongly agree' scores while Black-Ind supervisors register a distinctively 'softer' agreement with a ratio of 4:1 of 'agree' to 'strongly agree'. Interestingly however no fieldwork supervisor is neutral on this issue (although 2 supervisors record no response together with a written comment - see below) and a small but not insignificant proportion (15 per cent) disagree with the statement in Item 14.

Figure 8.10: Fieldwork supervisors' responses to Item 14



Item 22

Item 22: In what languages, other than their home language, do you think social work students should have a basic proficiency by the end of their undergraduate training?

Closed responses of social work educators

Social work students in training have different home language and second language competencies depending on their ethnic/cultural, regional, social class and educational backgrounds. Even though the majority of South African social work students would have had to learn both English and Afrikaans as school subjects, at least at a second language level, up to their final year of secondary schooling, their capacity to actually use one or both of these languages in a professional communication context would vary considerably. On the other hand most Coloured³ Indian and White students⁴, at the time of the survey in 1993-4, would not have had the option of learning an African language as a school subject and therefore it would have been the rare case for any individual student from these groups to have any meaningful competence in such a language.

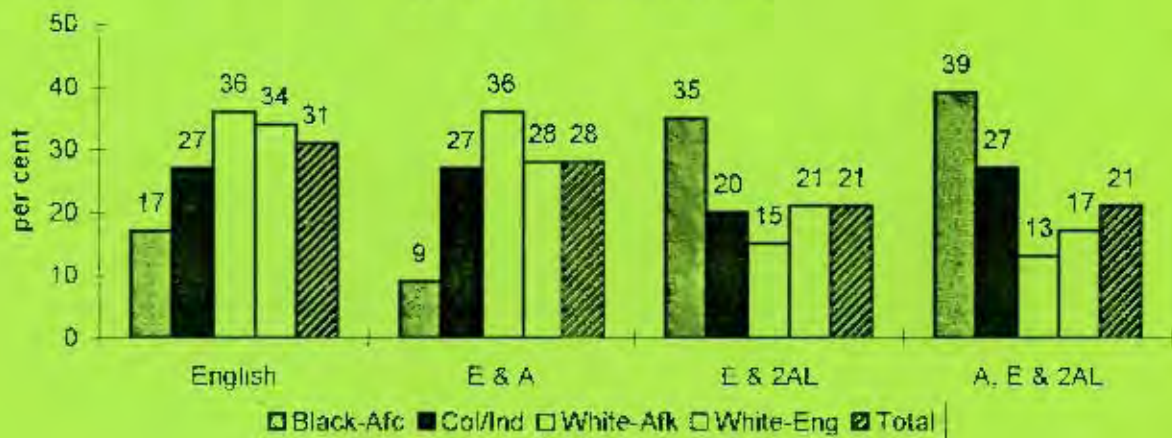
In order to attempt to take this diversity into account therefore, social work educators were asked to consider what they felt the desired language proficiencies of the different population groups (i.e. Black, Coloured, Indian and White) of social work students should be by the end of their undergraduate training. While recognising that home or second/third language competencies are related to a variety of factors, I initially felt that population group categories would, at least in

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part, allow respondents to address the different language competencies they felt students from different backgrounds should acquire. Educators were given closed options, as well as an 'Other' option, as regards the specific language in which students should have basic proficiency (see *Item 22* of the social work educators' questionnaire in **Appendix D.3** for the full layout).

The closed responses were grouped according to the language, or languages, in which respondents felt it necessary for social work students of different population group categories to acquire basic proficiency. **Figure 8.11a** summarises educators' responses in respect of Black African students - these grouped into four language competency options over and above their home language(s) which, it can reasonably be assumed, would typically include at least one African language.

Figure 8.11a: Social work educators' responses to Item 22 (Black African students)



As is evident from **Figure 8.11a**, substantial proportions of educators recorded preferences across all four of these language combinations with the largest proportions favouring English (31 per cent) or English and Afrikaans (28 per cent). When educators' responses are broken down by race/ethnic group however some marked differences in responses are evident. A large majority of Black-Afc educators (84 per cent) clearly favour options that include competency in a second African language as well as English (35 per cent) or English and Afrikaans (39 per cent). On the other hand, most White-Afk educators (72 per cent) and White-Eng educators (62 per cent) regard competency in the home African language plus English, or English and Afrikaans, as sufficient for Black African social work students. Col/Ind educators are almost equally divided between the four options.

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Interestingly, while basic proficiency in English is clearly regarded as a universal requirement for black students by all respondents, only half (49 per cent) of White-Afk educators include Afrikaans as a required competency for Black African social work graduates. While their respective views on English and a second African language differ, an almost identical proportion of Black-Afc educators (48 per cent) also specifically include competency in Afrikaans as necessary for these students.

Figure 8.11b: Social work educators' responses to Item 22 (Coloured students)

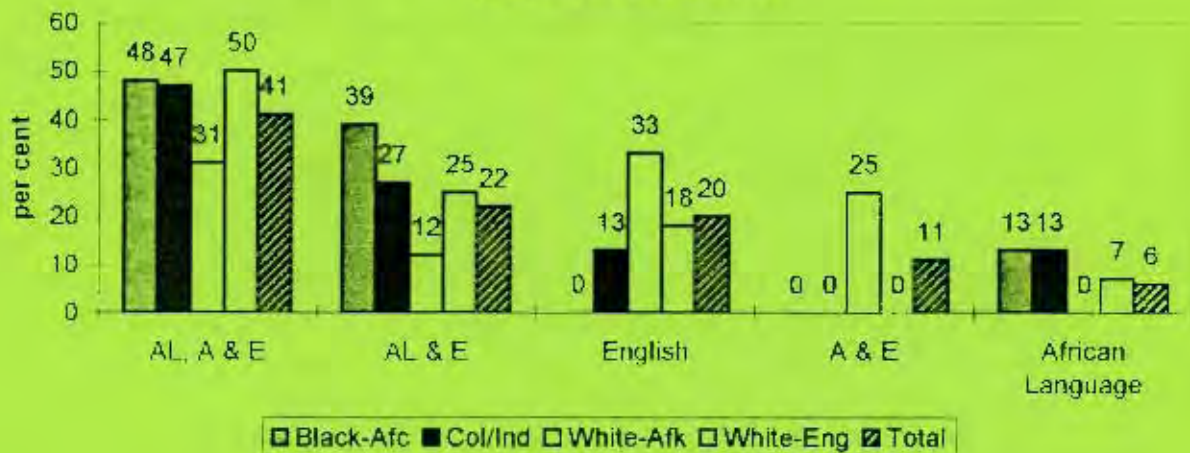


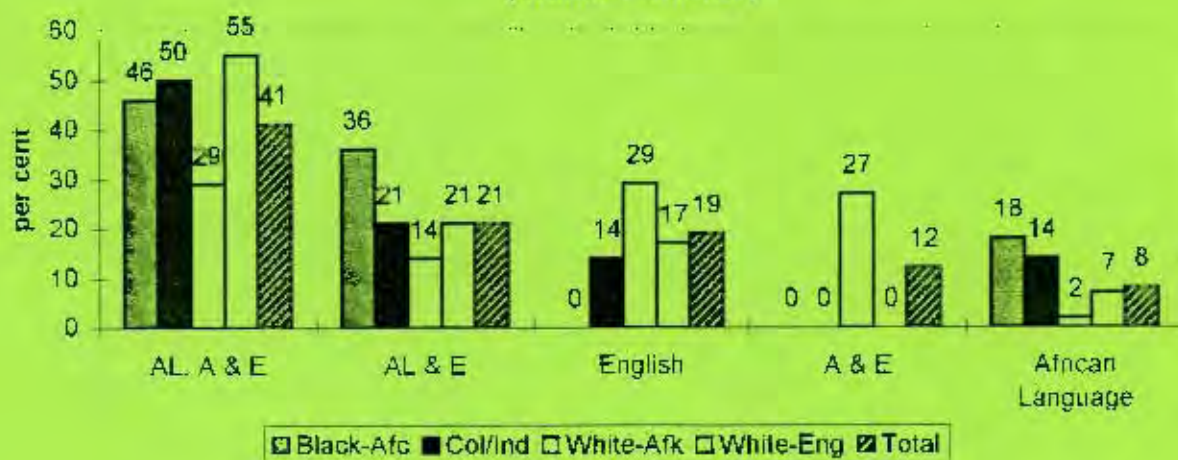
Figure 8.11b summarises educators' responses in respect of Coloured students. These responses are grouped into five language competency combinations - namely, and in order of educators' preference, Afrikaans, English and an African language (41 per cent), English and an African language (22 per cent), English only (20 per cent), Afrikaans and English (11 per cent), and an African language only (6 per cent). As it can be assumed that most Coloured students, particularly the majority who reside in the Western Cape, are generally competent speakers of both Afrikaans and English, the key issue here is whether an additional proficiency in an African language is perceived to be a requirement. An overall 69 per cent of educators took the view that such an additional competency was required by Coloured students.

When broken down into race/ethnic groups however, significant differences on the importance of competency in an African language emerge. While all (100 per cent) Black-Afc respondents regard basic proficiency in an African language as important for Coloured students, only 43 per

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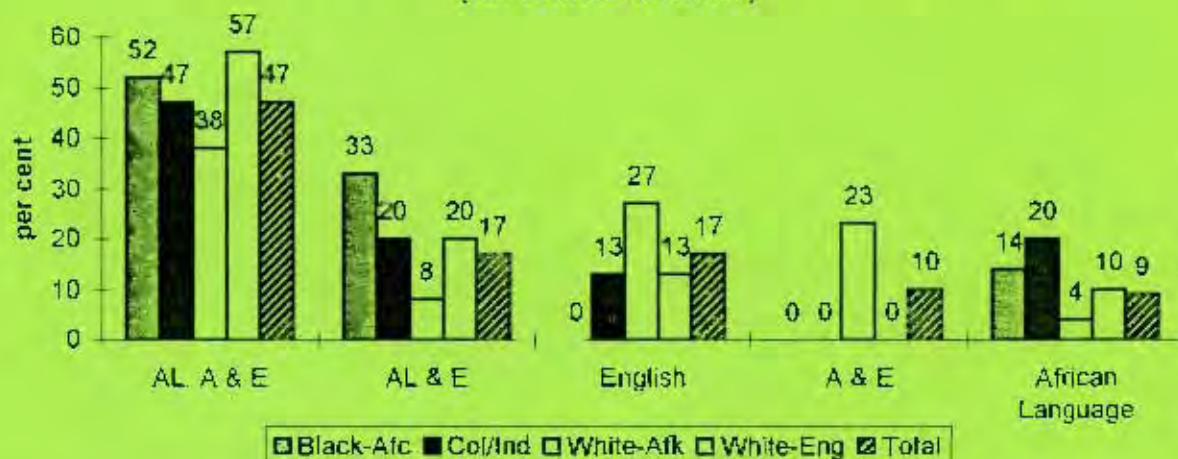
cent of White-Afk respondents do so. High proportions of Col/Ind (87 per cent) and White-Eng (82 per cent) educators indicate that some competence in an African language is necessary.

**Figure 8.11c: Social work educators' responses to Item 22
(Indian students)**



As **Figure 8.11c** shows, the response profile in respect of Indian students is almost exactly the same as for Coloured students (see **Figure 8.11b** above). An overall 70 per cent of educators felt that Indian students should have a basic competency in an African language. And, again, when broken down by race/ethnic group, sharp differences on this issue emerge. Only 45 per cent of White-Afk educators indicate that basic proficiency in an African language is desirable, compared to all Black-Afc (100 per cent), and the majority of Col/Ind and White-Eng (85 and 83 per cent respectively) educators who do so.

**Figure 8.11d: Social work educators' responses to Item 22
(for White students)**



The pattern of response as far as White students (no distinction between Afrikaans and English

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speaking students was made here as explained above) is generally very similar as that for Coloured and Indian students as set out above. As is evident from **Figure 8.11d**, nearly half (47 per cent) of all educator respondents indicate that basic proficiency in English, Afrikaans and an African language is required for White students. Again response differences between race/ethnic categories of educators are evident with all (100 per cent) Black-Afk educators regarding knowledge of an African language as essential with only 50 per cent of White-Afk educators doing so.

An interesting, if fairly minor, issue to note here is that in respect of both Coloured and White students (the majority of whose home language(s) would be either Afrikaans or English or both), White-Afk educators scored higher than other respondent groups in the 'English only' category of language proficiency. Put another way, nearly a third (27 to 33 per cent) of White-Afk educators did not feel it important that English-speaking Coloured and White students have basic proficiency in Afrikaans but did feel proficiency in English was important for Afrikaans-speaking Coloured and White students. Another quarter (23 to 25 percent) of White-Afk educators felt however that both English and Afrikaans proficiency for these students was necessary.

Closed responses of social work students

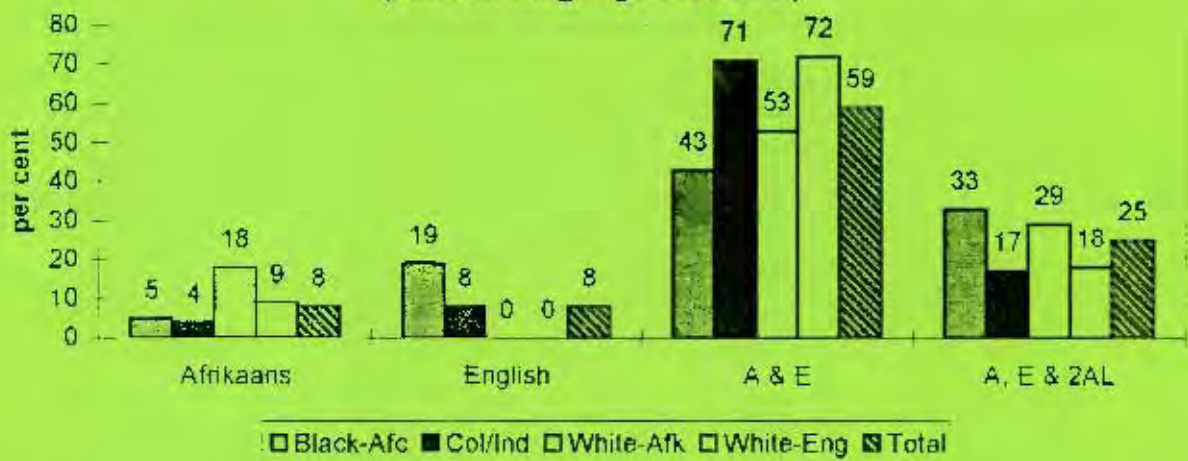
In the student and fieldwork supervisor questionnaires the format of *Item 22* was adjusted so that respondents were asked to specify the additional language(s), other than their home language(s), that social work students in training should acquire basic proficiency in, according to home language categories (an African language, Afrikaans or English) rather than population group. This change was made following a preliminary assessment of the responses to the educators' questionnaires which confirmed that this categorisation would elicit the data I sought in a different and more appropriate way in that language competencies, rather than the 'race', or population group of the reference group (social work students), would be the central focus. Additional language options were not supplied but respondents were asked to list these against the home language category (see **Questions 11 and 12** in the students' and fieldwork supervisors' questionnaires in **Appendices D.4 and D.5**).

Social work students' closed responses grouped into four main categories that differed from those that emerged from the responses of social work educators above in that very low

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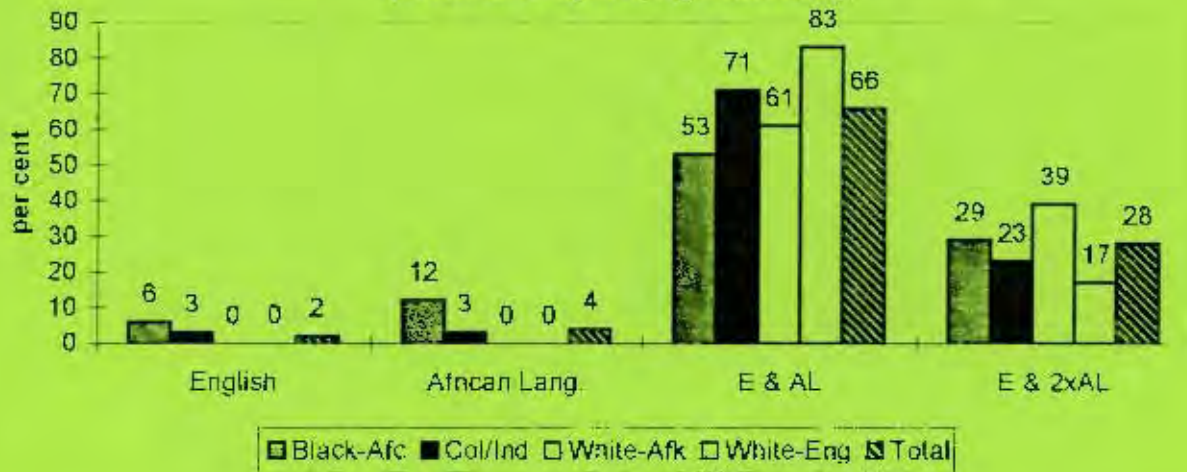
proportions of student respondents opted for English or Afrikaans only as additional language competencies for African language students. In addition an insignificant proportion opted for English plus a second African language. As **Figure 8.12a** below illustrates, the major language groupings chosen were a combination of Afrikaans and English (59 per cent of all respondents), followed by this combination plus an second African language. The fact that Afrikaans shows up with such a high language preference (92 per cent) of all student respondents, as against the preferences of educators (49 per cent), most likely reflects the fact that Afrikaans is the language spoken by the majority of the population in the Western Cape

**Figure 8.12a: Social work students' responses to Item 22
(African language students)**



When the responses are broken down by race/ethnic group some clear differences are evident. Substantial majorities of Col/Ind (71 per cent) and White-Eng (72 per cent) respondents opt for the combination of Afrikaans and English as additional language competencies while only around half of Black-Afc (43 per cent) and White-Afk (53 per cent) do so. While significant minorities of all groups opt for the all-inclusive combination of Afrikaans, English plus a second African language, this option is most strongly supported by the Black-Afc category (33 per cent) and, more surprisingly, by the White-Afk group (29 per cent). It is however very clear that the largest majorities of all race/ethnic categories (from 76 to 90 per cent) strongly prefer a broad set of language competencies for African language students that includes Afrikaans, English and at least one African language.

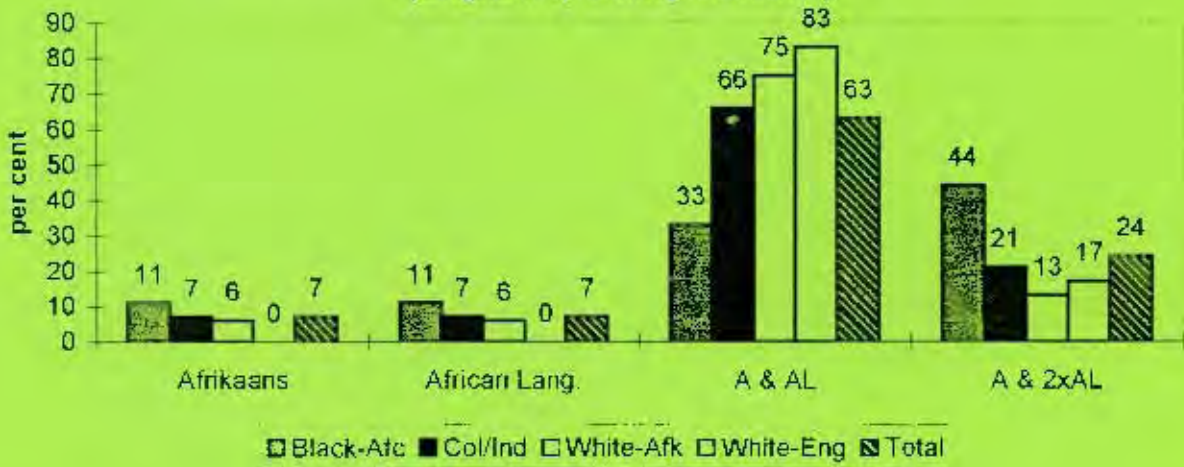
Figure 8.12b: Social work students' responses to Item 22
(Afrikaans-speaking students)



In respect of the further language competencies desirable for social work students whose home language is Afrikaans, nearly two-thirds (66 per cent) of all student respondents opted for basic proficiency in English and one African language. Most of the remainder of respondents (28 per cent) opted instead for proficiency in English and two African languages² with very small numbers indicating a preference for English or an African language only.

When broken down by race/ethnic group some interesting but minor differences in response emerge. Surprisingly, proportionately more White-Afk students (39 per cent) than any other group opted for additional competency in English and two African languages while a relatively low proportion (17 per cent) of White-Eng students (who might be expected to be more 'liberal' and inclusive in orientation) did so. While small proportions of Black-Afc and Col/Ind students opted for proficiency in an African language only, it should be remembered that most Afrikaans-speaking South Africans already have basic competency in English.

**Figure 8.12c: Social work students' responses to Item 22
(English-speaking students)**



As is apparent in **Figure 8.12c** above, most student respondents (63 per cent) felt that social work students whose home language is English should have additional basic proficiency in Afrikaans and an African language. Most of the balance of these respondents (24 per cent) felt that proficiency in both Afrikaans and two African languages was desirable. Much smaller proportions of student respondents opted for proficiency in either Afrikaans or an African language only.

Differential responses by race/ethnic group were again evident. Interestingly, and in sharp contrast to all other race/ethnic groups, most Black-Afr respondents felt that English-speaking students should gain proficiency in Afrikaans and two African languages (44 per cent) rather than in Afrikaans and one African language (33 per cent). By contrast, only 13 per cent of White-Afr student respondents felt that English-speaking students should have proficiency in Afrikaans and two African languages, whereas a high 39 per cent of this group (see **Figure 8.12b** above) felt that Afrikaans-speaking students (the category of which they themselves are a significant part) should have proficiency in English and two African languages.

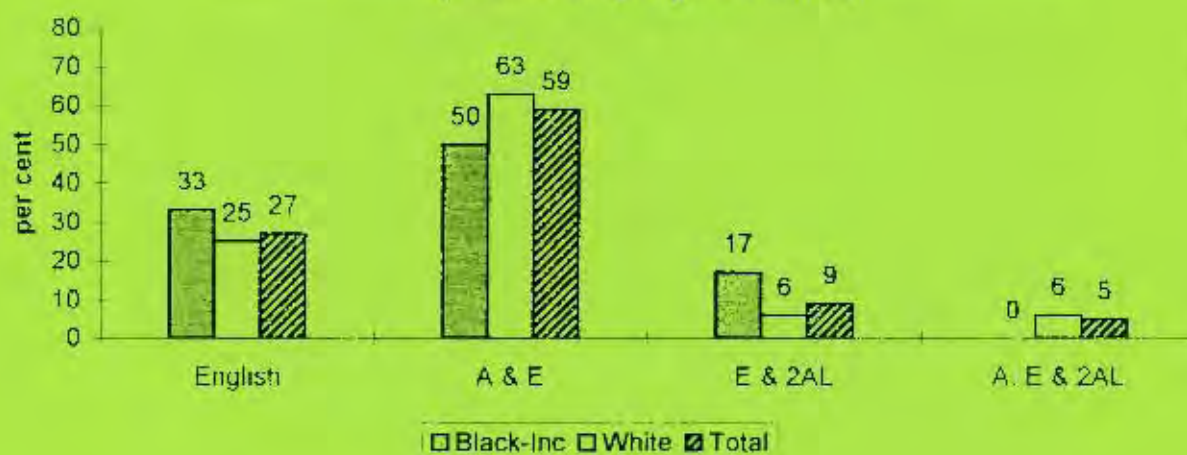
Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

As indicated in the above section, the fieldwork supervisors' questionnaires were adjusted, in line with those of student respondents, so that additional language proficiency was specified according to the home language categories (an African language, Afrikaans or English) of social work students rather than their population group.

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With respect to social work student whose home language is an African language, the same high proportion (59 per cent) of fieldwork supervisor as student respondents (**Figure 8.12a** above) regard basic proficiency in Afrikaans and English as sufficient. A lower proportion feel that a second African language, plus English (9 per cent) or Afrikaans and English (5 per cent) is preferable while over a quarter (27 per cent) opt for additional proficiency in English only. There are no marked differences in response patterns between the Black-Inc and White 'colour' groups here except to note that the support for Afrikaans by the Black-Inc group tends to be consistently lower (and conversely the support for English higher) than that shown by the White group.

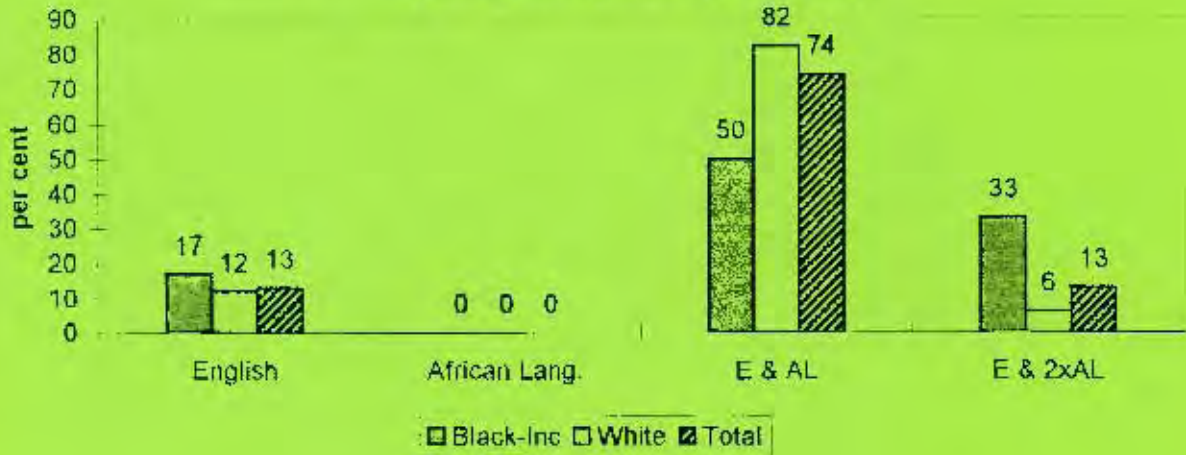
Figure 8.13a: Fieldwork Supervisors' responses to Item 22 (African language students)



In respect of Afrikaans-speaking students, the pattern of response by fieldwork supervisors (see **Figure 8.13b** below) is generally similar to that of student respondents. Three-quarters of the supervisors (74 per cent) feel that proficiency in both English and an African language is adequate with the balance split evenly between, on the one hand, requiring English and two African languages (13 per cent), and on the other, English only in addition the home language of Afrikaans (13 per cent). When responses are broken down into the two 'colour' groups, the Black-Inc group shows a relatively lower level of support for the English and an African language combination (50 per cent) and relatively higher support for English plus two African languages (33 per cent).

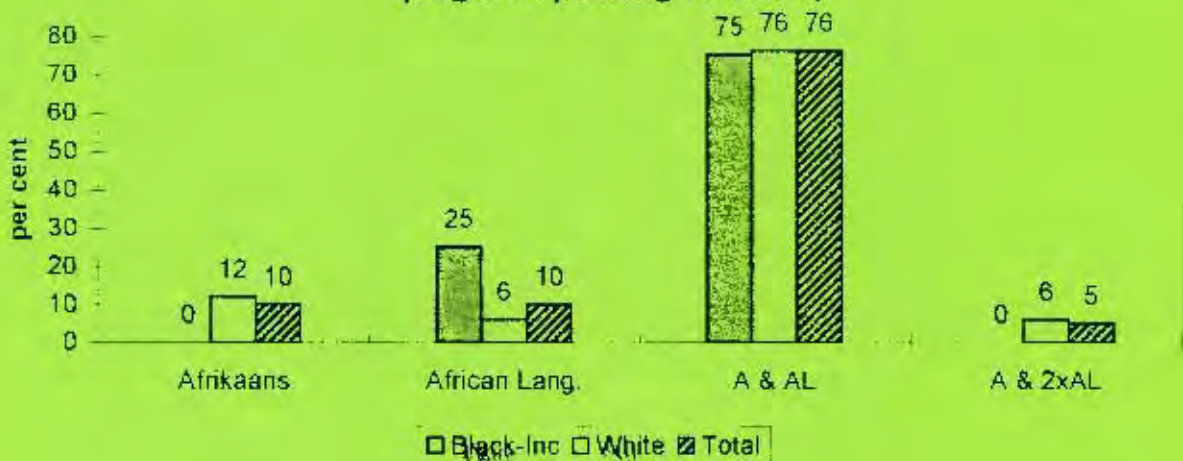
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Figure 8.13b: Fieldwork Supervisors' responses to Item 22 (Afrikaans-speaking students)



With regard to English-speaking social work students, a majority of fieldwork supervisors (76 per cent) indicate that basic proficiency in Afrikaans and an African language is desirable. The balance of responses are spread between the options of Afrikaans only (10 per cent), an African language only (10 per cent) and Afrikaans and two African languages (5 per cent). It is evident that while both 'colour' groups of fieldwork supervisors support the Afrikaans and African language option at the same high level as the White group, the balance of the Black-Inc group (25 per cent) regard the addition of one African language as adequate for English-speaking students.

Figure 8.13c: Fieldwork supervisors' responses to Item 22 (English-speaking students)



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Notes to Appendix N

- ¹ It should be noted that the wording of Item 11 differs slightly for student and fieldwork supervisor respondents in that for the latter two groups the words "Direct", "on the one hand" and "on the other" were omitted. The purpose was to simplify and shorten the statement without changing the meaning in any substantive way.
- ² It should be noted again here, as has been done in Chapter 5, that the Black-Ind group is unfortunately a numerically small one ($n=6$) within the group of 23 fieldwork supervisors and therefore not as representative as other race/ethnic groups in this survey.
- ³ In the Western Cape Coloured communities Afrikaans tends to be the predominant first home language of the majority with English more the preferred language of the middle and professional classes. However basic competence in both languages, together with a propensity to switch between the two at will, is the norm. This pattern is similar, with variations, in the smaller Coloured communities in other areas.
- ⁴ While the majority of White South Africans are either predominantly English or Afrikaans both linguistically and culturally, the boundaries between the two groups have always been permeable and there are, increasingly so, a significant proportion of bi-lingual and bi-cultural White families created either through marriage, co-habitation, schooling and/or neighbourhood interaction. Although the two mono-lingual groups would have basic competence in the non-home language through the school system, Afrikaans-speaking Whites tend to have higher competence in English than the other way around.
- ⁵ It should be noted here that because of the different way in which responses to this question were presented to student respondents, they had the option of indicating that social work students should be proficient in more than one African language. Thus the label '2xAL' in the fourth categories in Figures 8.12b and 8.12c indicates that two African languages were recorded. Although social work educators could also indicate a second African language by using the open 'Other' option, only one or two respondents chose to do this.

APPENDIX 0

**Chapter 9 results: Graphs & notes for closed responses to Items
21a-c, 25, 16, 17, 19a-b, 20, & 18a**

APPENDIX O

CHAPTER 9: Graphs and detailed notes in respect of closed responses of social work educators, students and fieldwork supervisors for Items 21a-c, 25, 16, 17, 19a, 19b, 20 and 18a

Items 21a-c

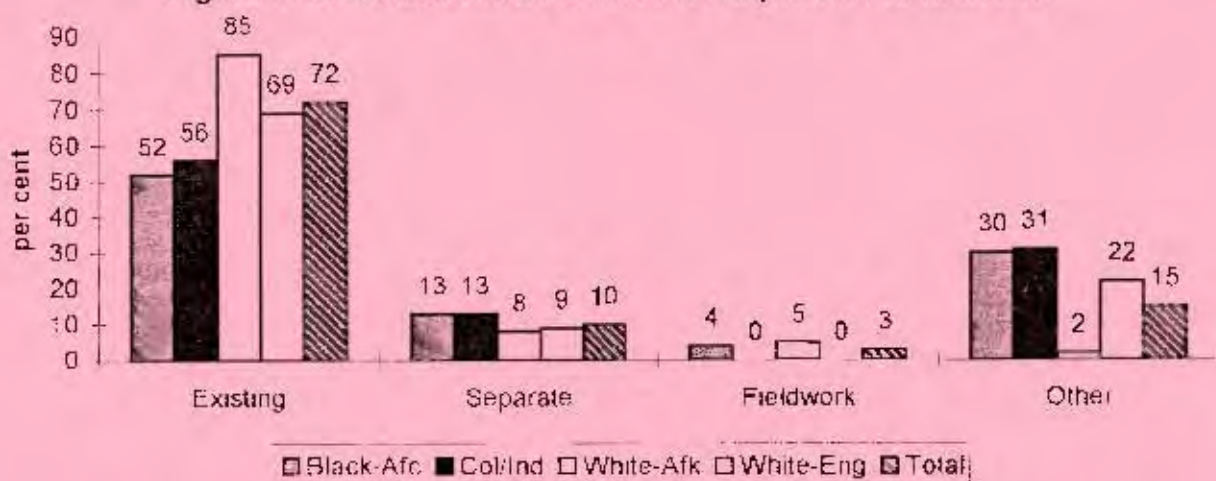
Closed responses of social work educators

Curriculum structure

In *Item 21a*, social work educators were asked to address the structural question of whether issues of race, culture and ethnicity should be included in the social work curriculum by way of inclusion in existing courses, in a separate course or courses, as part of fieldwork practice only or by other means.

Item 21a: How do you think that issues concerning race, culture and ethnicity as they relate to social work theory and practice ought to be addressed in the social work curriculum as regards structure?

Figure 9.15: Social work educators' responses to item 21a



As **Figure 9.15** sets out, a large majority of educators (72 per cent) were of the opinion that such content should be integrated into existing courses with 10 per cent preferring separate course(s) and 15 per cent suggesting alternatives to the three options given above. Just over a half of Black-Afc and Col/Ind educators (52 and 56 per cent respectively) preferred the

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integrated option with a third of both these groups (30 and 31 per cent) preferring 'other' options or separate courses (both 13 per cent). Almost all the 'other' options proposed that these issues should be addressed in both existing and separate courses. On the other hand a very high proportion (85 per cent) of White-Afk educators preferred the integrated option.

As the literature review in Chapter 4 indicated, what is meant by 'integrated' can range between a token and ad hoc inclusion of content around issues of race and culture at the one extreme and a thoroughgoing integration of racial, ethnic and cultural diversity issues (including related issues of gender, class, etc) into the curriculum, including the practical training, at the other extreme. The 'token' approach is typical of social work departments who take mainstream, status quo positions and profess 'equal treatment' or 'colour blind' policies. It is not possible to tell from the responses to this item alone whether this strong preference for an integrated approach is of the 'token' or more authentic varieties or a mixture of both. As the additional data gathered in the survey of heads of social work education departments indicates however (see above), there is some support for the conclusion that most of the approaches in local social work education departments were nearer the 'token' end of the integrated programme spectrum.

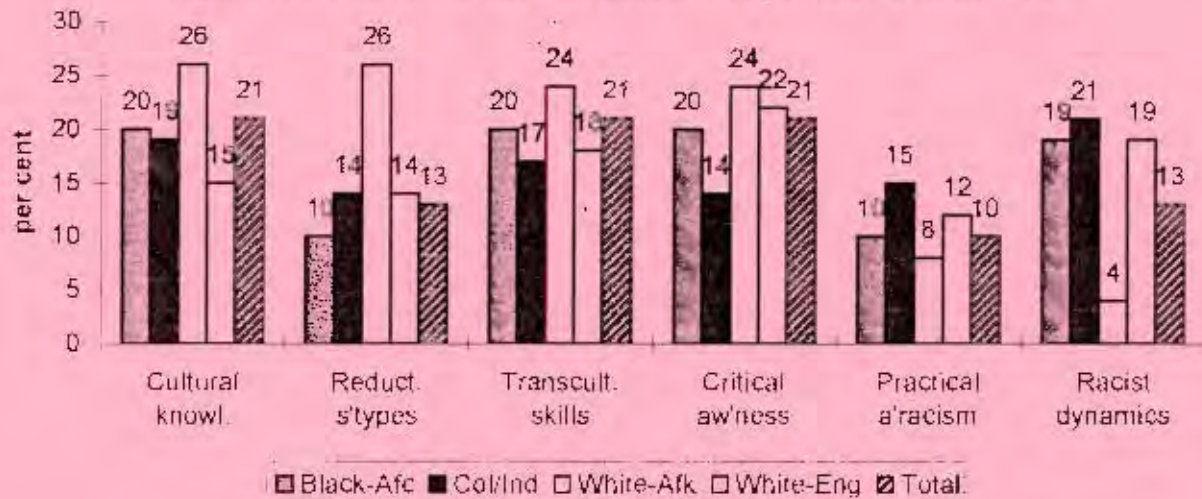
Curriculum content

The second issue educators were asked to respond to was what specific areas of knowledge and skill should be taught within a social work curriculum seeking to address issues of race, culture and ethnicity as they impact on theory and practice. Using both my review of relevant literature and my own experience of teaching in these areas, I included six such knowledge and skill areas as closed options, as well as an 'other' option, in the questionnaire (see **Appendix B**). There were insufficient of the latter responses to create a further category for comparative analysis. Respondents were asked to place these areas in rank order of their preference. There are various ways in which the responses to such a rank ordering could be analysed but as I was mainly interested in which content areas were seen as having priority, I have counted only the respondents' first three preferences (of the six options given). **Figure 9.16** summarises these top three preferences expressed as percentages (see **Table 9.16** in **Appendix K** for the actual numbers of responses)

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Item 21b: *How do you think that issues concerning race, culture and ethnicity as they relate to social work theory and practice ought to be addressed in the social work curriculum as regards content?*

Figure 9.16: Social work educators' responses to Item 21b



Generally speaking support across all the content areas was fairly evenly spread. Three content areas were clearly preferred by an equal proportion of all educator respondents as the most important areas that should be included in the social work curriculum. These were, 'Critical awareness of concepts of race, culture and ethnicity', 'Knowledge of different cultural/ethnic groups' and 'Generic skills for working transculturally' which all received endorsement by 21 per cent of educators. The next two content areas, of 'Reduction of cultural/ethnic stereotypes' and 'Dynamics of racism/ discrimination/ oppression', were both selected by 13 per cent of respondents while the sixth content area, 'Practical strategies for anti-racist practice', was selected by only 10 per cent of educators.

In terms of the race/ethnic breakdown, it was evident that the intra-group spread of preferences across the content areas is relatively even for the Black-Afc, Col/Ind and White-Eng race/ethnic groups where the largest differential between content areas is an average 9 percentage points. There is no strong pattern of preferences across these race/ethnic groups except that 'Reduction of cultural/ethnic stereotypes' and 'Practical strategies for anti-racist practice' tend to be fairly consistently rated at lower levels than the other four content areas. However the content area of 'Dynamics of racism/discrimination/oppression', is relatively highly rated by all three of these race/ethnic groups.

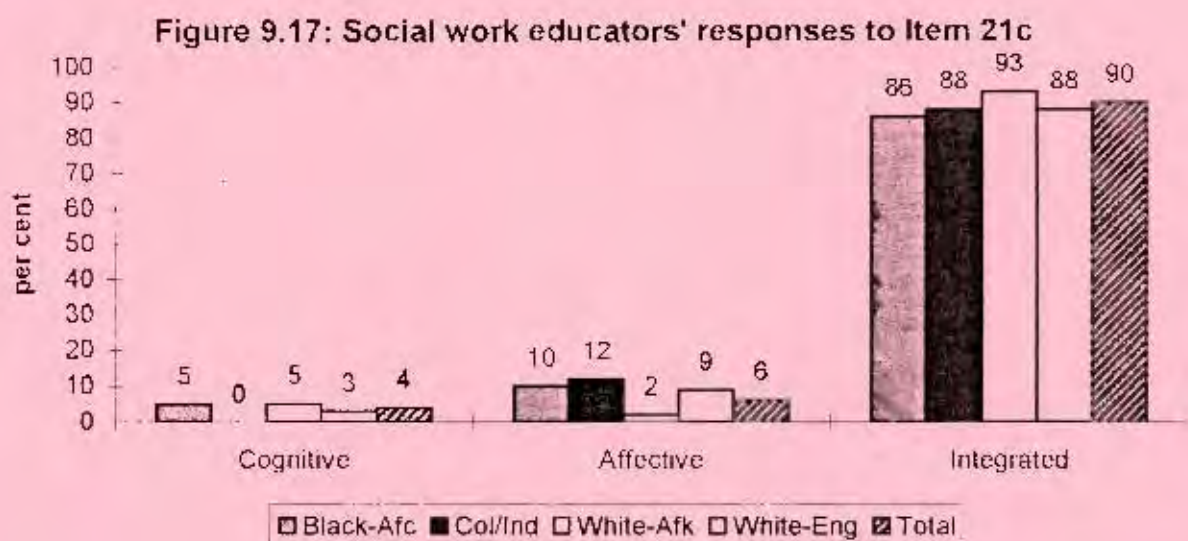
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The response pattern of the White-Afk educator group is strikingly different to that of the other race/ethnic groups however. This group shows a clear preference for those content areas concerned mainly with cultural and/or ethnic issues (24 to 26 per cent), with a contrastingly low preference for the two content areas that are explicitly concerned with racism, oppression and anti-racist practice (4 and 8 per cent). This gives a high average differential of 19 percentage points between the 'softer' cultural/ethnic areas and the 'harder' race/racism areas.

Teaching/learning methods

The third issue concerned the methods that are most suited to teaching and learning in this area of the social work curriculum and was addressed in *Item 21c*. Respondents were given three closed options, 'Emphasis on cognitive learning (e.g., lectures and readings)', 'Emphasis on affective learning (e.g., experiential exercises)', and 'Emphasis on a combination of cognitive and affective learning' as well as being invited to provide 'other' responses. Very few 'other' responses were made and **Figure 9.17** below summarises the responses to the three closed options only.

Item 21c: How do you think that issues concerning race, culture and ethnicity as they relate to social work theory and practice ought to be addressed in the social work curriculum as regards method?



There is clearly overwhelming support for a combined approach in which cognitive and affective learning is integrated. This is not unexpected from educational practitioners of an applied

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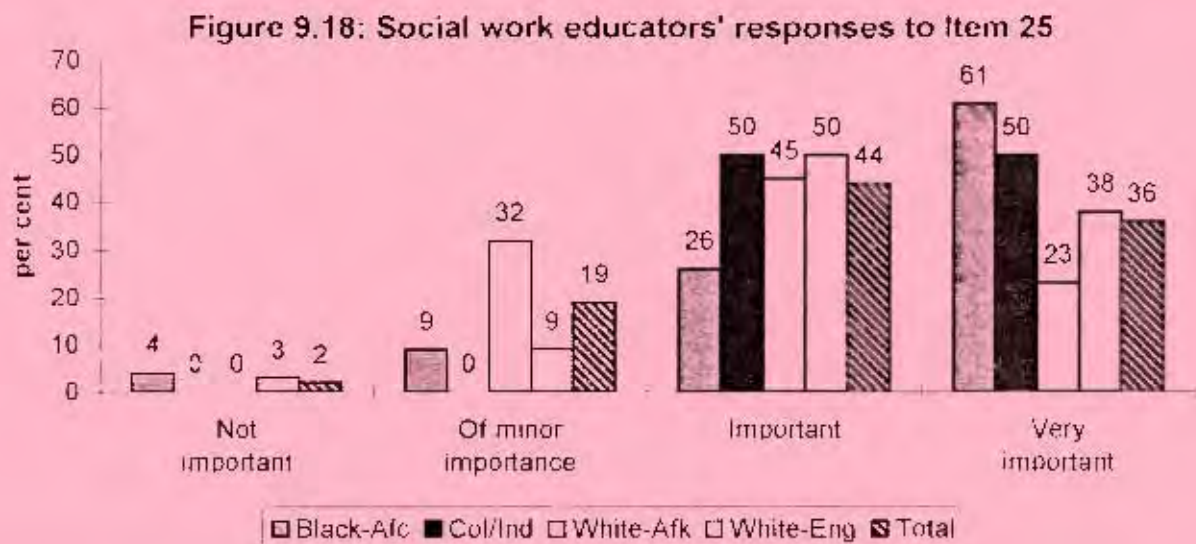
discipline such as social work which has traditionally placed an emphasis on the integration of theory and practice. There is therefore some evidence here that local educators are in line with the emphasis placed by certain social work authors (see review in **Chapter 4**) on the special importance of experiential learning in this area of the curriculum.

Item 25

Closed responses of social work educators

In this concluding item, social work educators were asked to rate the relative importance of content on issues of race and culture in social work practice within the context of the overall demands on the social work curriculum. A five-point rating scale ranging from 'To be actively discouraged' (1) through to 'Very important' (5) was presented to educators and the responses are summarised in **Figure 9.18** below.

Item 25: In terms of overall priorities within the social work curriculum how would you rate the inclusion of content on issues of race and culture in social work practice?



A large majority (80 per cent) of all educators rated the inclusion of content on issues of race and culture in social work practice as either "Important" or "Very important" with a small but significant fifth (19 per cent) rating such issues as "Of minor importance" and a very small number (2 per cent) regarding these as "Not important". When viewed by race/ethnic group, all Col/Ind respondents (100 per cent) rated the inclusion of this content as important or very important, followed by a high 88 per cent of White-Eng and 87 per cent of Black-Afc educators.

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A lower two-thirds (68 per cent) of White-Afk educators did likewise. The strength of agreement by the Black-Afc and Col/Ind groups was relatively high, with 61 and 50 per cent respectively rating the issue as very important, compared to only 38 per cent of White-Eng and 23 per cent of White-Afk educators.

What is particularly striking is the response pattern of White-Afk educators with almost a third (32 per cent) rating the inclusion in the curriculum of content regarding issues of race and culture in social work practice as "Of minor importance". As has been evident in many of the survey issues discussed above, the sharpest differences in race/ethnic group responses have tended to be between the White-Afk group and the other three groups collectively.

Written comments

Educators were invited to elaborate on their rating above but more particularly were requested to

'... indicate what other areas of the curriculum you regard as having particular importance for social work practice in a changing South Africa.'

There were very few clarificatory comments and those provided did not add substantially either to the closed response to this item or to previous comments on related items. I have therefore focused primarily on an analysis of the areas of the social work curriculum educators felt were important in preparing students for social work practice in a post-apartheid welfare context. Over three-quarters (78 per cent, n=105) of educators provided such commentary and between them identified a total of 191 areas of the curriculum. The common areas that emerged from the analysis of these comments have been grouped into broad categories and these are discussed in rank order of frequency.

The core social work curriculum

The largest, although most diverse, category (n=41) was a spectrum of comments that stressed the need to focus on the core content of the curriculum needed to produce professional social workers able to work effectively within a South African context. These comments however provided a variety of different emphases as to the nature or ethos of this core curriculum.

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At one end of this spectrum were those comments (n=21) that stressed the importance of teaching the core social work theory, methods and skills as fundamental to good and competent practice. While some of these comments added the rider that this basic curriculum should acknowledge local needs (e.g. more emphasis on community work or group work relative to casework), they reflected an overall sense of certainty as to what is generally (i.e. universally) accepted as the core social work curriculum and a correspondingly limited amount of attention paid to local context. Almost all these comments were made by White-Afk educators.

A much smaller group (n=4) of comments stressed the need to develop and teach appropriate assessment and intervention skills that addressed the diversity of South African social needs while another small group (n=5) specifically stressed the challenge of cultural diversity for social work all intervention. These comments were made by all race/ethnic groups of educators.

Further along the spectrum was another subgroup (n=6) which emphasised that all types of diversity needed to be respected and addressed within a core social work curriculum. A few comments here framed this emphasis specifically in terms of the need for the whole curriculum to deal with all "isms" i.e. racism, sexism, and all discriminatory attitudes and practices towards any typically marginalised groups such as the disabled, homosexuals, religious minorities etc

At the end of the spectrum were a handful of comments (n=5) that promoted the need for whole curriculum approaches that embraced an empowerment and/or "conscientising" perspective that should inform all teaching. Most of the educators commenting in these last two subcategories were Col/Ind, White-Eng or Black-Afc educators.

Community work and development

A fairly substantial number of educators (n=23) identified the need for a focus on community work and or community development methods and skills and many related this specifically to the priority needs of the most disadvantaged groups or communities in South Africa. Some educators also specifically criticised the traditional, and inappropriate, emphasis on casework or therapeutic work with small numbers of individuals and pointed to the requirement for alternative or supplementary developmental approaches. Comments in this category were made by educators from all race/ethnic groups.

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Poverty

Another substantial number of educators (n=23) felt that the issue of poverty was a major social problem that deserved far more attention than it had received within the local social work curriculum and that social work students should therefore be prepared by their training to assist in developing strategies to deal with this phenomenon. While educators from all race/ethnic categories identified poverty as a major issue, the majority came from the Col/Ind, White-Eng and Black-Afc respondents.

Human and intergroup relations

Another group of comments (n=17) centred on the need for training and skills in the broad field of interpersonal and intergroup relations with some specifically referring to the need to change attitudes and break down stereotypes. A subgroup here focussed on future social workers acquiring the skills of negotiation, mediation and conflict resolution as they could be applied in community and organisational contexts. Most of these comments came from Black-Afc, Col/Ind and White-Eng educators.

Inequality and basic needs

A loose grouping of comments (n=14) centred around the need for the social work curriculum to pay close attention to historical, socio-political and contextual realities. Most of these comments focused on the extreme material inequalities that exist in South Africa, particularly as between the population groups, while others emphasised the need for the curriculum to address basic needs such as housing, hunger, illiteracy, education and social security. Almost all these suggestions were made by Black-Afc, Col/Ind and White-Eng educators.

Social policy and planning

Another group of comments (n=11) identified the need to teach social work students content around social policy, planning as well as welfare and related legislation both existing and that which still needed to be developed in order to address key social problems. Almost all these comments were made by Black-Afc, Col/Ind and White-Eng educators.

Gender issues

A few (n=9) educators felt, mostly fairly emphatically, that gender and specifically women's issues should be an important element in the social work curriculum. One or two pointedly

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remarked that this issue was an omission from the study itself. Two comments specified the need to include the issue of homosexuality or sexual orientation within this area of the curriculum. Over half of these comments were made by White-Eng women and all were from White-Eng or Col/Ind educators.

Social work values and ethics

A smaller group of educators (n=8) felt that the values and ethics traditionally espoused by social work should be emphasised within the curriculum with some comments indicating that these provided a solid base for intervention in any particular field or problem area. A small subgroup felt that it was important that social work students were taught the philosophical foundations of different approaches to social work practice. Again most of these comments were made by Black-Afr, Col/Ind and White-Eng educators.

HIV/AIDS issues

Several comments (n=7) specified that there was a need for the curriculum to include content on the challenge thrown up by AIDS and/or HIV as a major problem facing South Africa. All these comments came from White-Eng or White-Afr educators.

Violence

Another small group of comments (n=6) from educators in all sectors identified violence, its causes and ways to reduce it, as a key area that needed to receive priority attention within the social work curriculum. All these comments were made by White-Afr or White-Eng educators.

Rural development

Five comments, all by Black-Afr, Col/Ind and White-Eng educators, identified the need for social work intervention in respect of rural needs and development to be addressed in the curriculum.

Indigenous research and literature

Another group (n=5) of educators, from all race/ethnic groups, specified the need to use and further develop local research and literature for use in the teaching of social work. Respondents from the HBI sector tended to use the term 'indigenous' to refer to this research and/or literature.

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Other issues

A range of other issues were also identified by either small subgroups (n=<5) or individuals. These included the need for a focus on health and primary care, funding for social work agencies, economics, class, unemployment, human rights and democracy, the creation and expansion of services and the promotion of healthy family life. One educator each mentioned environmental issues, modernisation issues (the transition from traditional to industrial social formations), marketing and management skills, cost-effectiveness of services, industrial social work, welfare programmes and welfare rights education. Again the majority of these diverse topics were recorded by educators from the HWI-Eng and HBI sectors.

Item 16

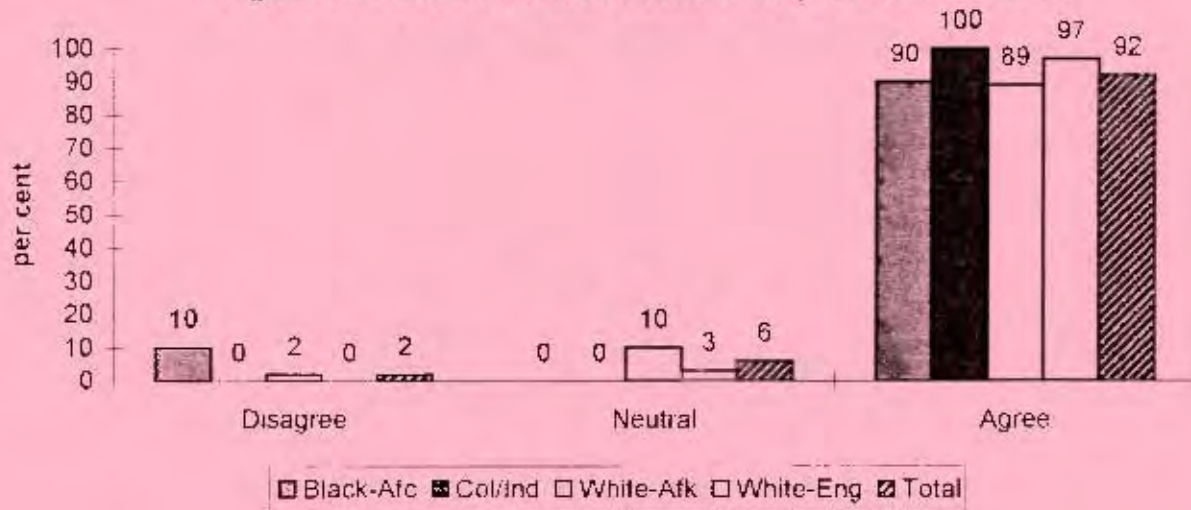
Closed responses of social work educators

As is apparent from **Figure 9.1** below, a very high proportion of educators (92 per cent) agreed that some form of transcultural education is necessary for social workers. Only three educators disagreed and eight recorded a neutral response. The relative strength of agreement was not significant with a ratio of 8:7 of strong to moderate agreement overall. When viewed by ethnic/race group, 10 per cent of White-Afc educators remain neutral on the issue and 2 per cent disagree - they also record a weaker strength of agreement than other groups. Ten per cent of Black-Afc educators record their disagreement although the strength of agreement of the majority of this group is high relative to other groups.

***Item 16:** Social work education should equip students to practise transcultural social work (ie, work with clients/communities of different ethnic and/or cultural characteristics and experiences to themselves).*

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Figure 9.1: Social work educators' responses to Item 16

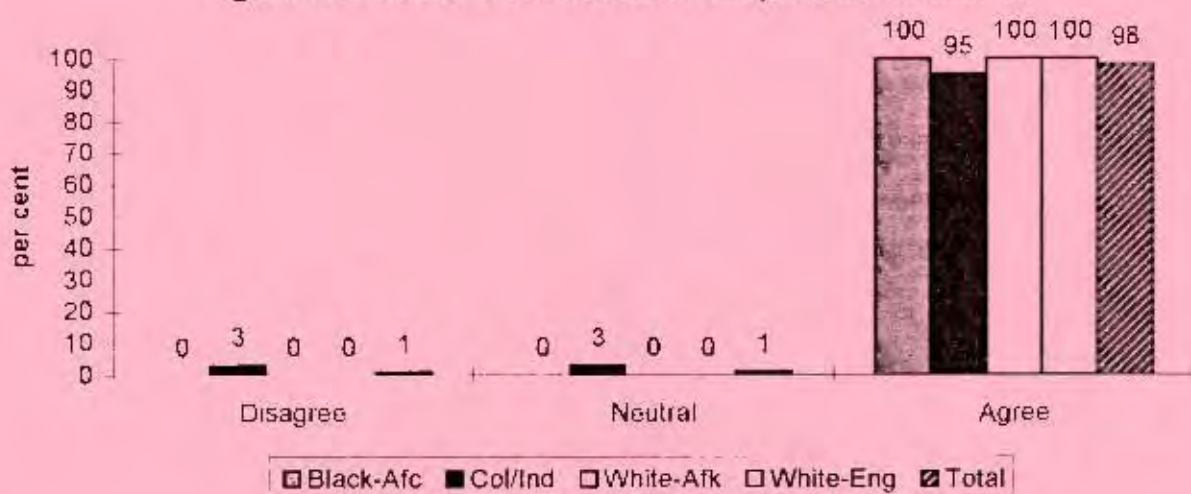


Educators were also asked whether, if they agreed with *Item 16*, they felt that this need applied mainly to any specific population group of students (i.e. Black African, Coloured, Indian, or White), or to all students. Almost all respondents who answered this question indicated that such training should apply to all students regardless of population group.

Closed responses of social work students

As *Figure 9.2* below records, virtually all social work student respondents (98 per cent) agreed that social work education should equip students with skills in transcultural work. One Col/Ind student disagreed and one remained neutral on the issue.

Figure 9.2: Social work students' responses to Item 16

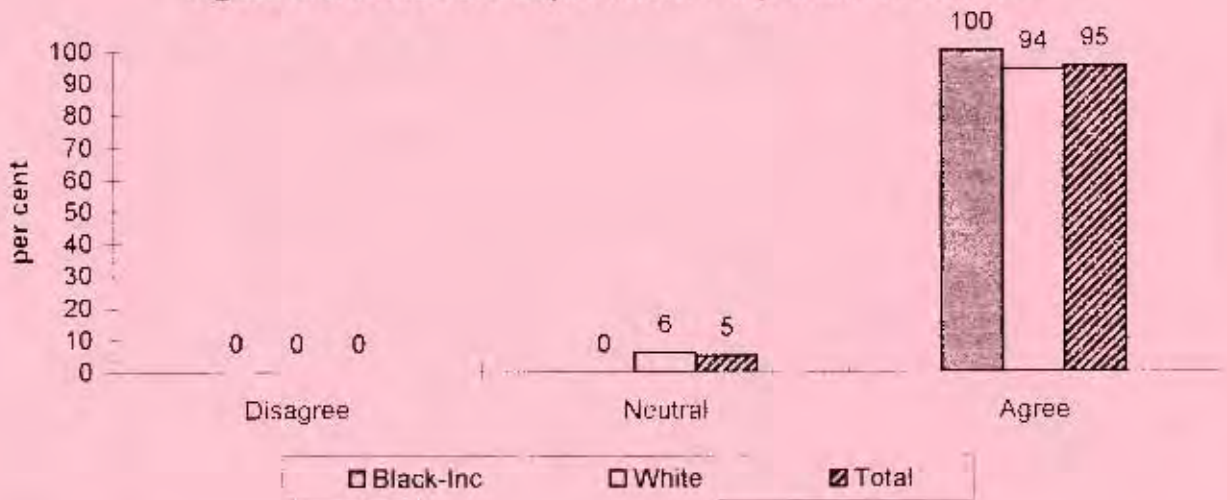


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Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

As set out in **Figure 9.3** below, all but one of the fieldwork supervisors who responded to this item agreed that social work education should equip students to practise transcultural social work. Only one (White) fieldwork supervisor recorded a neutral rating.

Figure 9.3: Fieldwork supervisors' responses to Item 16



Item 17

Closed responses of social work educators

As apparent in **Figure 9.4** below, a relatively large majority of educators (85 per cent) agreed with the proposition that student social workers should be educated to actively combat racial discrimination in social work practice. Although the overall percentage agreement compared to that for the related **Item 16** above is down by (7 per cent) the strength of agreement is considerably higher with a ratio of more than 15:7 of strong to moderate agreement. When broken down by race/ethnic group, a clear difference between the White-Afk educator group and the other groups is clear with only three-quarters of the former group (74 per cent) agreeing with Item 17 - eight White-Afk educators recorded their disagreement, and seven their neutrality, with respect to this issue. A single educator in the Black-Afk group disagreed with the statement - however this rating, when read with the accompanying comment, appears to be an error or a misunderstanding of 'anti-racist'ii - while another recorded a neutral rating. Two White-Eng educators also disagreed that students should receive anti-racist training.

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Item 17: *Social work education should equip students to practise anti-racist social work (ie, to actively combat racial discrimination in social work practice).*

Figure 9.4: Social work educators' responses to Item 17



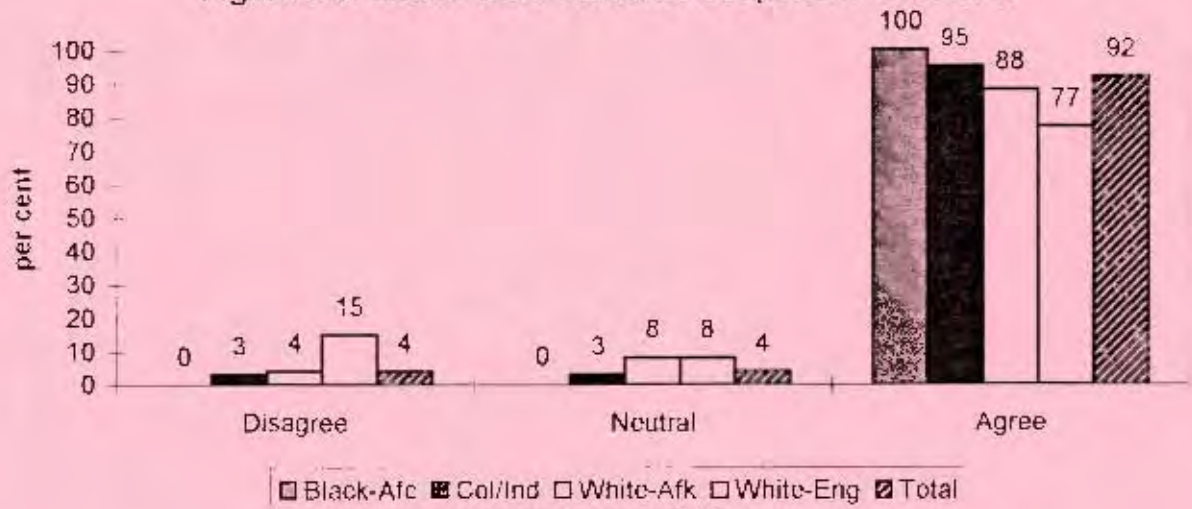
As for Item 16, educators were also asked here whether, if they agreed with Item 17, they felt that this need applied mainly to any specific population group of students (i.e. Black African, Coloured, Indian, or White), or to all students. Almost all respondents who answered this question indicated that such training should apply to all students regardless of population group.

Closed responses of social work students

As set out in **Figure 9.5** below, a high majority of student respondents (92 per cent) agreed with **Item 17**. The differences in responses between the race/ethnic groups is however interesting in that the highest percentage of student respondents disagreeing with, or remaining neutral towards, the statement that social work student should be equipped to practise anti-racist social work, were White-Eng students (23 per cent) rather than, as for educators, White-Afk students (12 per cent). Although the actual numbers are rather small (this percentage represents 3 out of a total 13 White-Eng student respondents) the trend is noticeably different to that within the educator respondent group and not in line with stereotypical expectations. One Col/Ind student also disagreed and one remained neutral while all Black-Afc students agreed with the Item 17.

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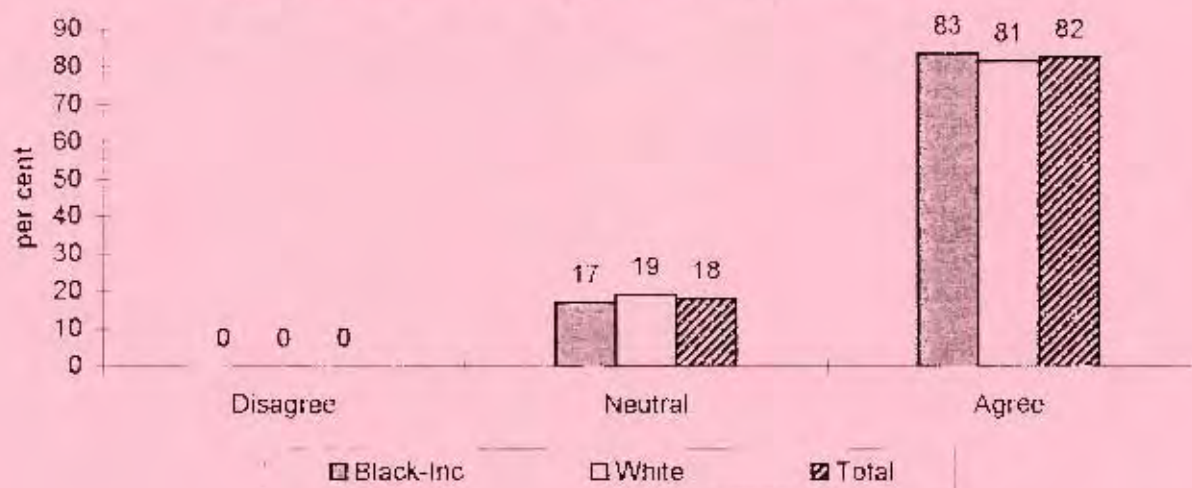
Figure 9.5: Social work students' responses to Item 17



Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

While the responses of fieldwork supervisors show a relatively high agreement (82 per cent) that social work education should equip students to practise anti-racist social work, in line with but slightly lower than the responses of educators, all other responses from this group record a neutral stance rather than overt disagreement. This pattern is also common to both the White and Black-Ind race/ethnic groups.

Figure 9.6: Fieldwork supervisors' responses to Item 17



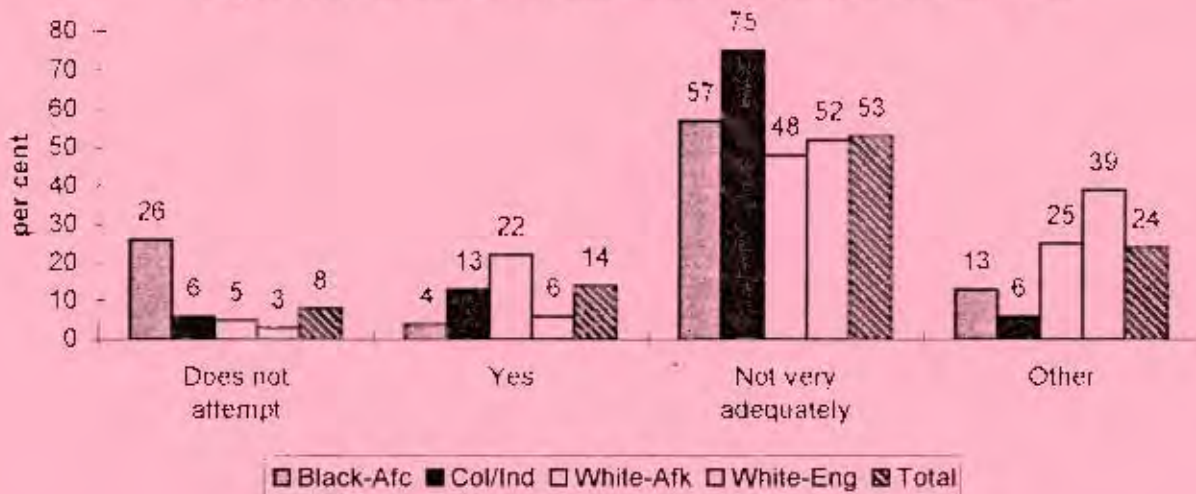
Item 19a

Responses of social work educators and students

Social work educators were first asked whether they felt that undergraduate students in their own department were adequately prepared for transcultural practice. As is evident from Figure 9.7 below, just over a half of educators (53 per cent) felt that such preparation was not very adequate and only 14 per cent answered with an unqualified yes. Interestingly White-Afk educators (22 per cent) were most positive that their students were adequately prepared in this regard (although this does not relate only to the HWI-Afk sector as over a quarter of the White-Afk educators in this category work in one of the other tertiary sectors) while Black-Afc (4 per cent) and White-Eng (6 per cent) educators were the least positive. On the other hand, Co/Ind educators (all of whom work in the HBI or HWI-Eng sectors) felt significantly more negative (75 per cent) than other race/ethnic groups in respect of the ability of the departments within which they worked to prepare students for transcultural practice.

Item 19a: Does the undergraduate social work curriculum offered in your Department adequately prepare students for transcultural social work practice?

Figure 9.7: Social work educators' responses to Item 19a



It should be noted that a quarter (26 per cent) of Black-Afc educators (most of whom work in the HBI sector) recorded that their departments did not attempt to prepare student for such work and one educator from the HBI sector commented that this was related to the fact that all their

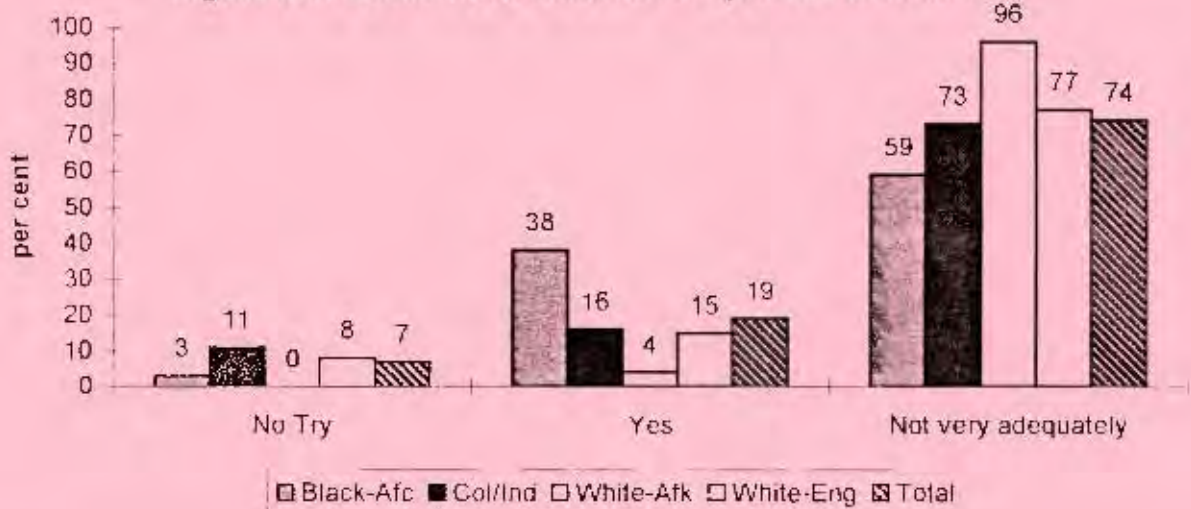
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students were Black-Afc and typically went on to work in agencies or government welfare departments that historically served black African communities.

Student social workers (who, it should be remembered were all students at Western Cape institutions) were asked for their views as to whether they felt their social work education had adequately prepared them for transcultural and “non-racist” practice (see Figure 9.9 below). Apart from the regional versus national difference between the respective respondent groups, the question itself is therefore not strictly comparable to that asked of the social work educators as the latter did not include the “non-racist” descriptor - this should be borne in mind in the following discussion.

Item 19a: Do you think that your social work education has adequately prepared you for transcultural and non-racist social work practice?

Figure 9.9: Social work students' responses to Item 19a



Given this greater inclusiveness of the question asked of students, it would be expected therefore that students would be more likely to have a lower “Yes” response to the question. In fact students rated their overall preparation for the two areas slightly more positively than educationists did for transcultural education only. A relatively high proportion of Black-Afc students (38 per cent as against an overall average of 19 per cent) felt that their social work education had prepared them for transcultural, non-racist practice. This sharp difference between Black-Afc educators and students in this rating is possibly related to the fact that the two institutions from which the Black-Afc student respondents were drawn are relatively

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“multicultural” in their staff and student bodies and urban in setting thus with opportunities for interaction across race/ethnic boundaries quite apart from formal curriculum-based input on a theoretical level.

Nevertheless perhaps the most telling result here is that a high three-quarters of student respondents (74 per cent) felt that they were not very adequately prepared for transcultural, non-racist practice. Notably all White-Afk students except one (96 per cent) felt this way. All these latter students were from the HWI-Afk institution. Referring back to the responses of the social work educator staff of this institution ($n=9$) to Item 19a above, two felt that their students were adequately prepared for transcultural practice, and three felt that such preparation was not very adequate, while the remainder gave ‘other’ responses.

Despite the fact that the student item included an additional non-racist descriptor, such a sharp divergence between the perceptions of students and educators in the same department is clearly of concern. In the departmental survey however (see details reported in Section C below), this social work department reported that both transcultural and anti-racist issues were covered as part of their general curriculum and they also had a requirement (the only department to do so) that students had to work with all population groups as part of their practical training. There is therefore some preliminary evidence in the case of this department, which is assuredly not alone in this respect, that departmental goals for adequate preparation in these very new practice areas are most likely not being achieved.

Responses of fieldwork supervisors

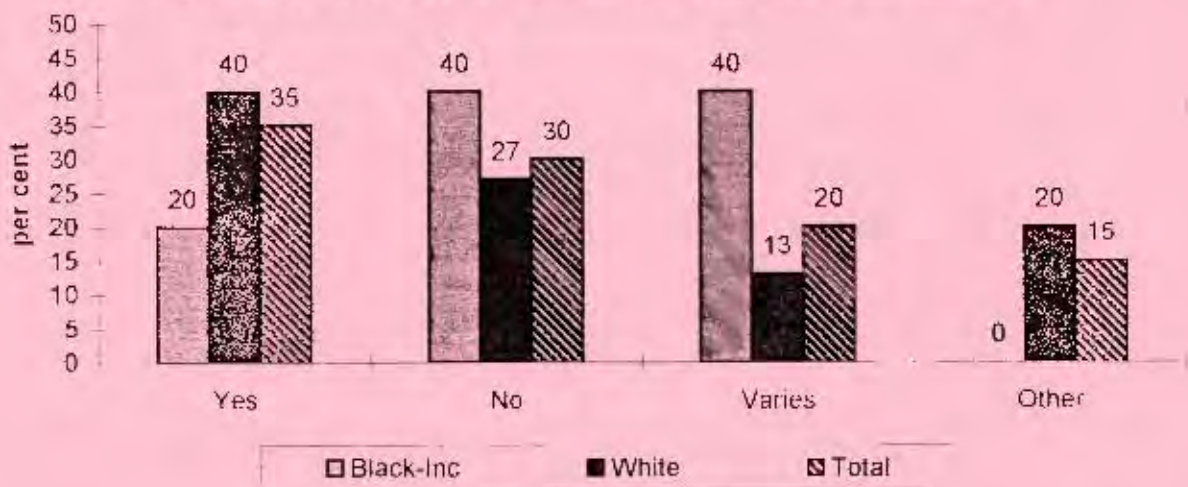
Although in most cases they would have no direct knowledge of the curriculum content of the university social work departments for which they supervised students, fieldwork supervisors were nevertheless asked for their opinion as to whether they thought the curriculum adequately prepared students for transcultural social work practice. As set out in Figure 9.10 below, just over one-third (35 per cent) of supervisors felt that generally this was the case although White supervisors were twice as positive (40 per cent) in their answers as Black-Inc supervisors (only 20 per cent). Almost another third (30 per cent) of supervisors felt that, in general, the students they supervised had received inadequate preparation for transcultural practice. As would be expected, some supervisors commented on how difficult it was for them to assess what the

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theoretical input had been. Others made the point that it was also hard to know whether to attribute the student's preparedness to the course curriculum or to the student's own life experience. Yet others felt that theory was of limited use and such training needed to be mainly practical.

Item 19a: Do you think that the social work curriculum taught in the university social work department(s) for whom you supervise adequately prepares students for transcultural social work practice?

Figure 9.10: Fieldwork Supervisors' responses to Item 19a



As was clear from the responses to the survey of the agencies in which these supervisors were based, they supervised students almost wholly from the two local HWI-Eng and HBI institutions respectively. Interestingly, only 27 per cent of the educators at the HWI-Eng institution and 11 per cent of those at the HBI institution felt that their own departments adequately prepared students for transcultural social work practice with a high 56 per cent of educators in both cases recording that such preparation was inadequate. Thus fieldwork supervisors, on the whole, felt more positive with regard to the efficacy of their training for transcultural practice than did the educators who actually taught the courses.

Precisely because of the importance of opportunities for practical implementation of transcultural practice, fieldwork supervisors were then asked if their agency/organisation attempted to provide the students they supervised with such opportunities. As Figure 9.11 sets out, nearly two-thirds of all supervisors answered in the affirmative with most of the other respondents indicating in

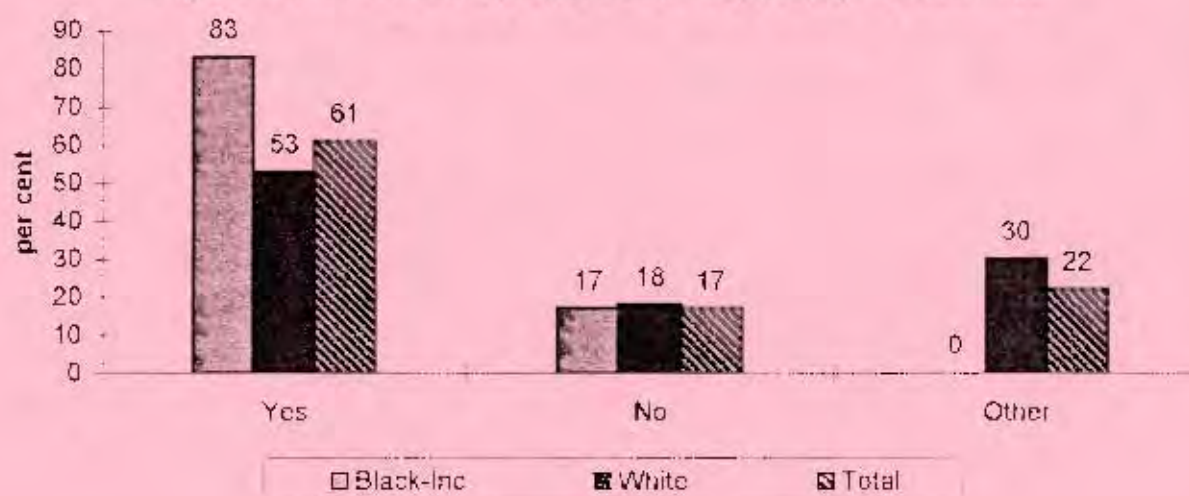
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their comments that it was agency or setting limitations (for example, availability of clients, language needs or position within a specific homogeneous community), rather than policy, that prevented this from happening.

Item 19b

Item 19b: Does your agency/organisation attempt to provide all social work students on placement with opportunities for transcultural practice?

Figure 9.11: Fieldwork Supervisors' responses to Item 19b



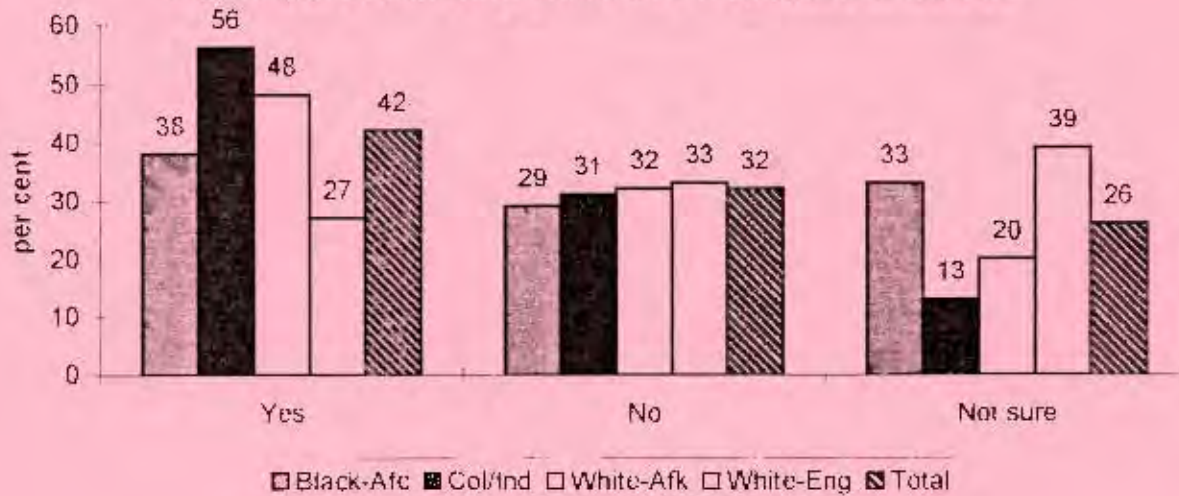
Item 20

Despite the generally low rating most educators gave to their departments in respect of preparation for transcultural practice, they had much more confidence in their own ability to carry out such training. As Figure 9.8 below shows, just below a half (42 per cent) of all educators felt that had adequate knowledge and skills to help social work students prepare for effective transcultural practice. Col/Ind (56 per cent) and White-Afr (48 per cent) educators were most positive in this regard with almost consistent one-third of all race/ethnic groups feeling they did not have the requisite knowledge and skills while the White-Eng (39 per cent) and Black-Afr (33 per cent) groups were most uncertain.

Item 20: Do you think that you have adequate knowledge and skills to help prepare social work students for effective transcultural social work practice?

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Figure 9.8: Social work educators' responses to Item 20



Contemporary educational practice in social work departments

In order to gain a sense of what actual educational practice was within local social work departments responsible for training social workers, the survey of heads of these departments addressed this issue by asking a series of questions with regard to the areas of transcultural and anti-racist training within the curriculum. Heads of departments (HOD's) were specifically asked (see questionnaire in Appendix E) whether content in respect of both transcultural and anti-racist social work practice, if offered (or to be offered), was (or would be) presented in a separate course or courses or whether it was (or would be) included as part of an existing course or courses.

Of the 18 HOD's who responded ($n=21$), fourteen (6 of 7 HWI-Afk, all 4 HWI-Eng and 4 of 6 HBI) reported that their social work curriculum explicitly addressed transcultural social work practice - defined as practice with clients and communities of different ethnic and/or cultural characteristics and experiences. Eight departments (4 HWI-Afk, 3 HWI-Eng and 1 HBI) indicated that such content was included in both separate and existing course content, 5 departments (2 HWI-Afk, 1 HWI-Eng and 2 HBI) covered this area as part of existing courses only and one department (HBI) offered a separate course only. Only 4 departments (1 HWI-Afk, 2 HBI and 1 DIST) did not offer any teaching in this area at all. Those HOD's reporting the existence of a separate course in transcultural social work were asked to provide the course title(s) of the courses offered. Several however recorded the name of a generic year level (e.g. SWK 1) or methodology (e.g. Community Work) course or even, in one case, an allied discipline

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(i.e. Sociology) course. It would appear therefore that a significant proportion of these 'separate' courses, and therefore probably the majority of teaching in this area, consisted at most of a specific section within a whole semester or year course. There is therefore a question mark over the degree of commitment to teaching for transcultural practice and how thoroughly social work students are actually prepared for such work.

With regard to anti-racist social work content (defined as practice that actively combats racial discrimination in social work), 11 HOD's claimed to explicitly address such content in their curriculum. Six departments (3 HBI, 2 HWI-Afk and 1 HWI-Eng) reported that this content was included in existing courses only, 4 departments (2 HWI-Afk and 2 HWI-Eng) indicated that such content was taught in both separate and existing courses, and only one department (HWI-Eng) offered a separate course only. Again indications from the comments made by HOD's were that most of this content, even in the 'separate' courses, consisted of a section or topic within a larger course.

Seven HOD's (3 HWI-Afk, 3 HBI and 1 DIST institutions) reported that no content on anti-racist social work practice was included in their current curriculum. Of these two HOD's from HWI-Afk institutions commented that no racial discrimination was allowed or tolerated within the department and 1 HOD from an HBI setting claimed that as there were "no anti-racist problems" at the university there was no place for such a policy. The HOD from the one DIST institution asserted that the department preferred not to talk in racist terms and regarded "all people as human beings." Given the highly discriminatory nature of welfare services and the history of the social work profession in South Africa, the fact that at least a third (of the total of 21) of local social work education institutions did not feel the need to have any explicit focus as to how racism in social work practice could be addressed, is disturbing in itself and evidence of a distinct lack of commitment to preparing social work students for practice in a post-apartheid dispensation. The responses from the majority of social work students from the three Western Cape institutions (see Figure 9.9 and discussion above) to their experience of preparation for both transcultural and anti-racist practice, would appear to support such a conclusion.

This picture is compounded to an extent by the apparent lack of commitment to carrying through theoretical teaching around transcultural issues into the fieldwork placements. As has been

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identified in the literature reviewed in Chapter 4, a key indicator of the multicultural and anti-discriminatory commitment of social work education is the extent to which this is so. Of the 18 HOD's who responded to the question as to whether students were required to experience at least one placement in which they were expected to practise transcultural social work (as previously defined), only 1 replied in the affirmative. Some HODs insisted that, while this was not a course requirement, most students either had this opportunity or that it was encouraged wherever possible. In addition some HOD's acknowledged that this had not been considered up to that point but that it was likely that it may become necessary or good practice to introduce this in the future.

Item 18a

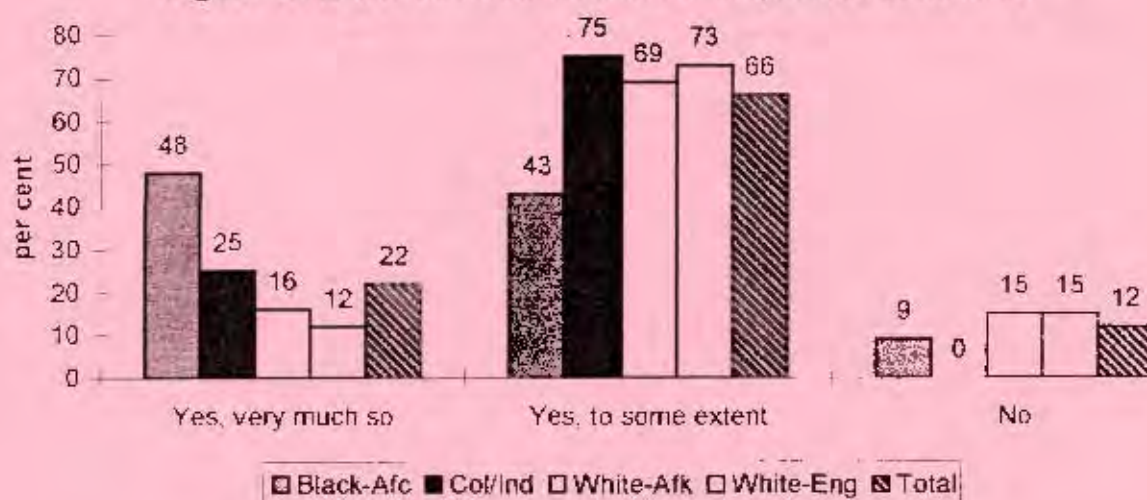
Closed responses of social work educators

Educator respondents were invited to use one of the three closed responses set out in Figure 9.12 below to record their personal viewⁱⁱⁱ. Only two educators took the option of answering in their own words.

Item 18a: Social work has been criticised by various critics in the developing world as being based on Western cultural assumptions and First World socio-economic conditions. American and British social work theory is therefore seen as not necessarily appropriate to the needs of most clients and communities in non-Western developing countries. Do you agree with this criticism as it applies to South Africa?

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Figure 9.12: Social work educators' responses to Item 18



As is evident from Figure 9.12 above, a large majority of educators (88 per cent) felt that mainstream social work theory, as contained in the bulk of the available social work literature in North America and Britain, is not necessarily appropriate to the needs of most clients in South Africa. Of this majority, three quarters of respondents gave a 'weak' or qualified response indicating that this was so "to some extent" with the remaining quarter indicating a "strong" endorsement that this was "very much so".

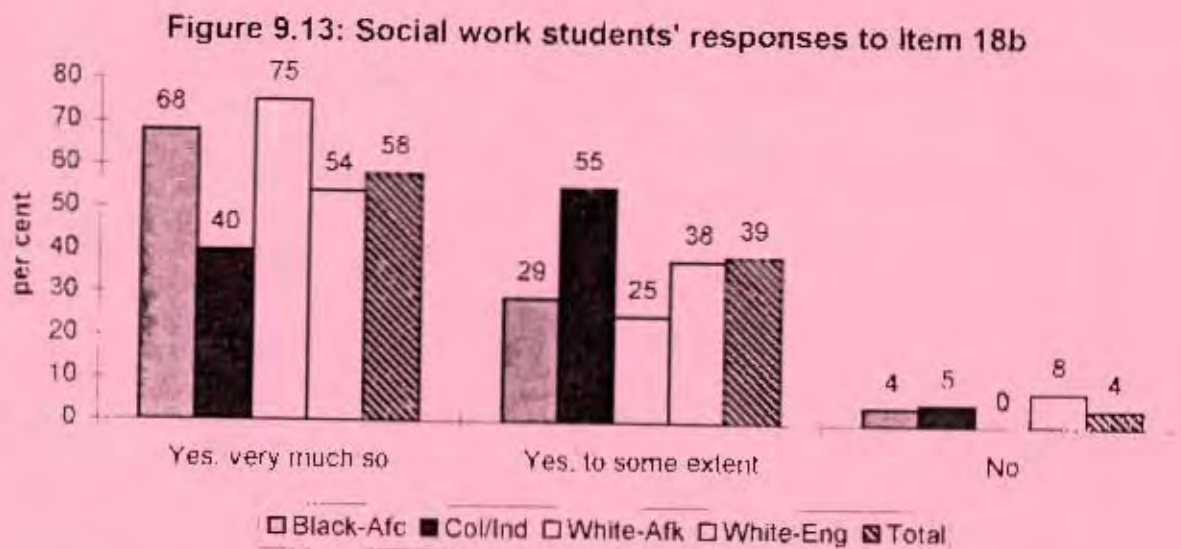
In terms of the differential responses of race/ethnic groups, it is clear that black respondents, particularly Black-Afc educators (48 per cent) were more likely to give a 'strong' endorsement to the proposition than were white educators. The degree of consensus however between three of the race/ethnic groups (Col/Ind, White-Afk and White-Eng) on this issue is remarkable given the differences in views that have been apparent on many other issues addressed in this study. It does need to be noted however that, in contrast to the 15 per cent of each white group (and 9 per cent of the Black-Afc group), no Col/Ind educators disagreed with the proposition as framed in Item 18.

Closed responses of social work students

The formulation of this item was made more concise for the student and fieldwork supervisor questionnaires while attempting to retain the original meaning. The only semantic difference is the sharper phrasing of "inappropriate" (as opposed to "not necessarily appropriate") in this version, but otherwise the options given remained the same as for the educators' version. Figure 9.13 below summarises the responses by student social workers to this item.

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Item 18b: *Social work has been criticised as being based on Western cultural assumptions and First World socio-economic conditions. This perspective views American and British social work theory as inappropriate to the needs of most clients and communities in South Africa. Do you agree with this criticism?*



A massive 97 per cent of social work students felt that Western social work theory was, at least to some extent, inappropriate to the needs of most South African clients and communities. Well over a half (58 per cent) of student respondents indicated a 'strong' agreement with this proposition.

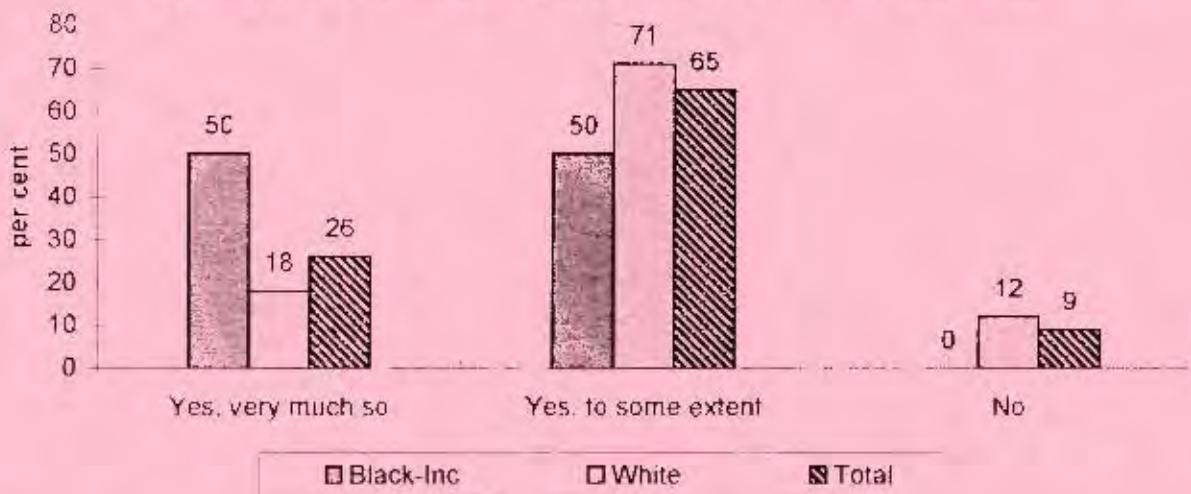
The race/ethnic breakdown provides a response pattern that is somewhat unexpected in that the highest proportion of any group indicating a 'strong' endorsement of the inappropriateness of Western social work theory is that of the White-Afk group (75 per cent). Further, not one White-Afk student felt that this was an invalid criticism. Also surprising is the extent to which the Col/Ind group is more moderate in its endorsement of this criticism (only a 40 per cent 'strong' response but a highest 55 per cent 'weak' response) compared to any other race/ethnic group. As could perhaps have been more expected, the Black-Afc group recorded a relatively 'strong' endorsement of the proposition (68 per cent) even though this was not as high as the White-Afk group.

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Closed responses of fieldwork supervisors

The same reformulation of this item as was used in the student version of this item was also used in the fieldwork supervisors' questionnaire. Figure 9.14 below summarises the responses recorded by fieldwork supervisors to this item.

Figure 9.14: Fieldwork Supervisors' responses to Item 18b



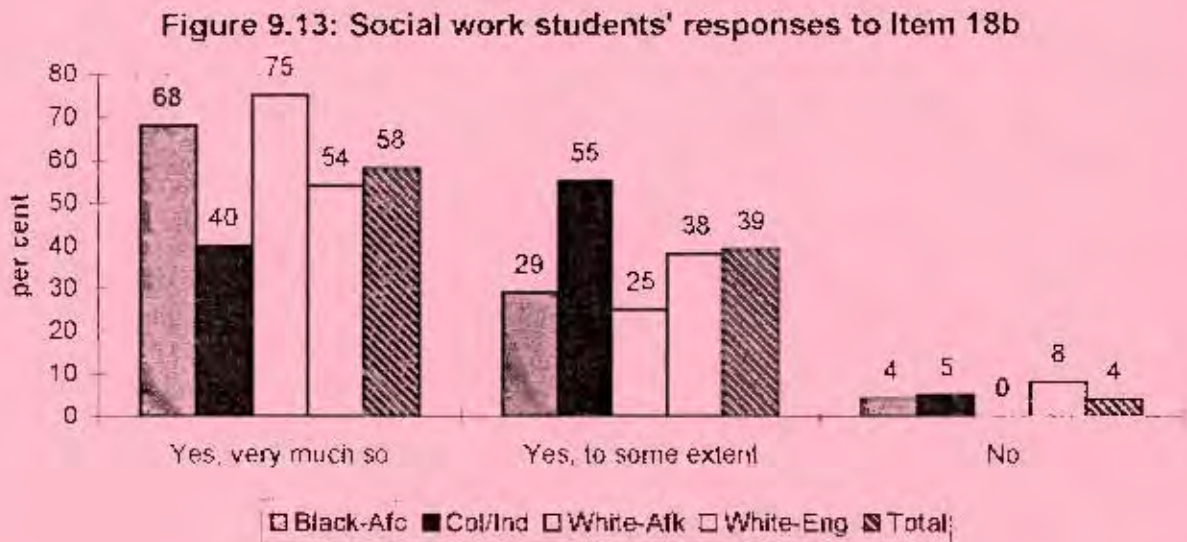
As in the case of educators and students, a very high majority (91 per cent) of fieldwork supervisors felt that Western social work theory was, at least to some extent, inappropriate to the needs of most South African clients and communities. In a similar pattern to that of the educators, nearly two-thirds (65 per cent) of supervisors indicated a 'weak' endorsement of the proposition. When broken down by "colour" however it is evident, again mirroring the overall pattern of educator responses, that a full half (50 per cent) of Black-Inc respondents indicate a 'strong' endorsement as against less than a fifth (18 per cent) of the White respondent group.

Notes to Appendix O

- i) The total number of times each content option was ranked by a respondent in their top three preferences is recorded in Table 9.16 in Appendix J. Figure 9.16 above is constructed from these totals expressed as a percentage of the total number of responses ranking items from 1 to 3.
- ii) The respondent, although circling the "strongly disagree" rating, comments: "The current training is definitely perpetuating anti-racist social work because it's theory that does not quite address the scarcity of resources." My reading of this response, especially viewed in the context of this educator's responses to other related questions in the questionnaire, is that "anti-racist" has been read as "racist" in error. If this reading is correct, then there is a 96 per cent agreement by Black-Afc respondents with the one neutral response accounting for the other 4 per cent.
- iii) The full text of these options was as set out in Figure 9.12 except for the third option which read 'No, not a valid criticism' (see Questionnaire in Appendix B).

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Item 18b: *Social work has been criticised as being based on Western cultural assumptions and First World socio-economic conditions. This perspective views American and British social work theory as inappropriate to the needs of most clients and communities in South Africa. Do you agree with this criticism?*



A massive 97 per cent of social work students felt that Western social work theory was, at least to some extent, inappropriate to the needs of most South African clients and communities. Well over a half (58 per cent) of student respondents indicated a 'strong' agreement with this proposition.

The race/ethnic breakdown provides a response pattern that is somewhat unexpected in that the highest proportion of any group indicating a 'strong' endorsement of the inappropriateness of Western social work theory is that of the White-Afk group (75 per cent). Further, not one White-Afk student felt that this was an invalid criticism. Also surprising is the extent to which the Col/Ind group is more moderate in its endorsement of this criticism (only a 40 per cent 'strong' response but a highest 55 per cent 'weak response) compared to any other race/ethnic group. As could perhaps have been more expected, the Black-Afc group recorded a relatively 'strong' endorsement of the proposition (68 per cent) even though this was not as high as the White-Afk group.