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**SOCIAL POLICY : TRANSFORMATION AND
DELIVERY : STUDY OF WELFARE AGENCIES IN
KWAZULU-NATAL**

by

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ABSTRACT

Welfare agencies are involved in a complex process of transformation and working to overcome the past unjust system of racial and social discrimination in welfare. Many new policies have been developed as instruments of transformation and reform. There has been a shift in welfare policy from a residual model of welfare to a developmental focus. This requires radical changes by those involved in the welfare sector.

This study assesses the level of transformation in service delivery in welfare agencies in KwaZulu-Natal: the link between policy and implementation. The White Paper of Social Welfare (1997) and subsequent policies will form the criteria from which transformation will be evaluated.

Child Welfare agencies in KwaZulu-Natal formed the sample in the study. A survey method was used. Management members and social workers the agencies were interviewed. Senior officials and staff being policy-makers of the National Council of Child Welfare were also interviewed.

It is argued that welfare agencies are grappling with the process of transformation and that delivery of services is far removed from that which the policies intend. Change, it is argued, has to be handled holistically, by combing policy, organisational change, re-directing of energy and social energy.

The results of study illustrates that what appears to have occurred thus far has been limited, incremental and piecemeal. The global economy and the macro-economic policy of GEAR has constrained achievement of the goals of developmental social welfare in that there has been minimal increases in social spending. Past policies have put a brake on the implementation of a relevant welfare system. It is unlikely that agencies have the capacity to deal with the

intensity of policy change, organisational development and new client bases. Overall, it can be argued that change has been haphazard, too rapid and poorly managed.

A proposed model towards transformation is recommended. There has to be a partnership in the public-civic interface based on synergy and co-production if welfare services are to be relevant and meet the needs of the majority of people of South Africa.

DECLARATION

The Registrar : Academic
University of Durban-Westville

Dear Sir

I, Neeta Gathiram, Registration Number 7913540 hereby declare that the thesis entitled *Social Policy : Transformation and Delivery : Study of Welfare Agencies in KwaZulu-Natal* is the result of my own investigation and research and that it has not been submitted in part or in full for any other degree or to any other University.

NEETA GATHIRAM [MRS]

DATE

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"When the National Council for Child Welfare was established in 1924 it committed its self to promote the interests and the welfare of the children of South Africa irrespective of race, class, politics or creed. It however did so in a segregated and unequal way and did not adequately speak out against injustices in the system which negatively impacted on the majority of South African children's lives." SANCCFW 1997 submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission cited in Chetty 1999).

1.1 MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

Presently State departments, welfare agencies and nonprofit agencies in South Africa are involved in the complex process of transforming and are working to overcome the past unjust system of racial and social discrimination in welfare. New policies have been developed as an instrument of transformation and reform. The White Paper of Social Welfare, 1997 (thereafter referred to as WPSW) is one such policy that has been formulated as a framework of ensuring a just and equitable system of welfare, a crucial aspect of South Africa's transition. This study assesses the level of transformation in service delivery in welfare organisations in KwaZulu-Natal as outlined in the WPSW tabled in 1997 and subsequent policies, namely the Social Welfare Action Plan, 1998 and The Financing Policy, 1999.

There is a direct link between policy and practice in the field, particularly during a time of rapid social change as is presently occurring in South Africa. The study of social welfare policies is crucial to those who practise in the social services, because they largely shape the forms of practice that professionals are called to use and determine the client-systems to be served. As Mazibuko argues: "Public and social policies have a direct impact on the welfare system and on social work practice in terms of resource allocation, budgeting, setting of norms and standards, selecting problem-solving strategies and other forms of interventions" (1996:14).

The socio-political and economic environment at any given point in time has always influenced, although not altogether shaped, the goals, priorities, targets of intervention, technologies and methodologies of the social work profession. Policy questions are of great consequence: the delivery of welfare affects the lives of millions of people. The nature of clients' problems - poverty, homelessness, single parenthood, lack of job skills or education, and poor health, to name just a few - are of such magnitude that only government has the resources and authority to address them in any significant way. Thus what happens to social programmes depends on government ideology and political preferences (Gilberman 1995:3).

This study will focus on the agency setting because the agency is a critical player in the process of integrating social welfare policy and social welfare practice, for it is within the agency that social welfare policy is implemented in South Africa. "Agency goals, technology, authority and power, and the dynamics of decision-making are directly connected to how a policy becomes a programme of client services." (McInnis-Dittrich 1994:5). The present study will examine the organisational structure and functioning of welfare agencies in KwaZulu-Natal, with special reference to Child and Family Welfare agencies, affiliated to or receiving services from the South African National Council of Child and Family Welfare (thereafter referred to as SANCCFW).

The Child Welfare Movement is an organisation which was initiated by communities to attend to their own welfare needs. The Movement was previously incorporated into the formal welfare structure, which was in receipt of a State subsidy and had to adhere to the policies of that time. As Ramasar explains: "Its growth and development, spanning nearly seven decades, have gone hand in hand with the development of welfare generally, and in keeping with wider national policy." (1991:333). The WPSW (1997:11) does recognise the contribution and experience of the formal welfare sector and commits itself to working in partnership with civil society. However, it outlines also the

restructuring of these agencies as one of its priorities. "Democratic change has paved the way for a radical departure from the previously discredited system of social welfare upheld by the former government and has posed a challenge to voluntary welfare organisations to transform their structural-functional profile towards becoming consistent with such change." (Jaggernath 1997:194). Initiatives for restructuring have been taken by agencies under their own impetus as well as through policy demands. This study will focus on these efforts, the impact of current policies on agencies, and the capability they have to mobilise, plan, strategise and carry out development activities.

Following the significant shifts in policy, it is necessary to undertake a critical review of welfare in South Africa, to identify and build on strengths of the new policies and to develop guidelines for dealing with problems hindering the transformation process. International trends in welfare with special emphasis on Africa will also be analysed so that we can learn from their experiences. The information gained from this exercise should be of value to policy planners, service delivery agencies and social work educators working towards transforming welfare.

1.2 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

In the years following the first democratic elections in 1994 there has been an accelerated effort to transform society and rectify past injustices. Within welfare there has been a radical paradigm shift: policy is changing and evolving on a continual basis. Fundamentally there is a shift from a residual welfare model to a developmental model of social welfare. There has been a move from the belief that problems emanate from individual pathology to a developmental approach which address problems holistically to include those that occur because of structures and systems in society.

The new policies demand substantial and often radical transformation of welfare agencies in both the nonprofit and public sectors. The WPSW sets out certain restructuring priorities. The mission of social welfare, as set out in the National Developmental Social Welfare Strategy, is "to serve and build a self-reliant nation in partnership with all stakeholders through an integrated social welfare system which maximizes its existing potential, and which is equitable, sustainable, accessible, people-centred and developmental" (WPSW 1997:7). This policy carries radical implications for welfare agencies.

Voluntary welfare organisations which were subsidised by the State before 1994 are now incorporated into organisations which can be registered under the NonProfit Organizations Act and Regulations, 1997 (Act No. 71 of 1999). The subsidy criteria in the past ensured that registered welfare organisations were under State control and implemented the state policy of the previous government. These organisations now need to be transformed to meet the demands of the WPSW. The transformation process set out in the WPSW demands a change in the status quo and thus deprives many powerful groups within welfare of their previous privileged positions.

It is argued here that welfare organisations are still grappling with the process of transformation and that the delivery of services is far removed from that which the policies intend. These processes are highly uneven and incomplete. Policy formulation in itself is only the first step: there is a gap analysis between policy and implementation. Welfare in South Africa, as elsewhere, is delivered through institutions, and policy change demands organisational change. Organisational change demands change in organisational structure, culture and operative procedures, goals and basic strategies for achieving these goals. Policy shifts demand change in the day-to-day tasks, roles and functions of social workers and management members. This study attempts to discover whether or not this has occurred.

The change process requires not only leadership but also a paradigm shift in attitude and behaviour of those involved. Have changes in fundamental attitudes of people involved in welfare service delivery occurred? Transformation has largely been externally imposed through the implementation of policies and legislation on organisations, which implies authoritarian and top down approach to transformation. How do agencies and individuals react? Are agencies responding defensively and becoming impassive or are professionals grasping the new policies with enthusiasm? The statutory processes require a non-voluntary compliance to the demands of these policies, but has there been a voluntary shift in policies of agencies or is the dominant strategy one of authoritarian change? Are the role players passive recipients of policy?

Change, it is argued, has to be handled holistically, by combining policy, organisational change, and implementation, re-directing of energy and social psychology. Yet what appears to have occurred thus far has, to many been limited, incremental and piecemeal.

A developmental policy choice requires partnership between the state and civil society. Yet, transformation is hindered on the side of the State in that government departments are also 'developing and transforming' and in the process nonprofit organisations are subject to ambiguous and contradictory policies and procedures. Official policies are often not followed through: for example, because of the Director-General of Welfare being suspended. It is commonly felt that social workers have become frustrated in being unable to reach developmental goals. This could lead to their becoming increasingly disillusioned and pessimistic because of work overload, job insecurity and the complexities inherent in assisting persons with social-psychological difficulties. Have agencies adopted coping mechanisms which do not reflect real transformation and are a manifestation of defensive-adaptation? Do they experience further role conflict as different constituencies impose differential

expectations on them, that is: the profession, management members and clients. There appears to be no guarantee of success in doing things in the new way.

This thesis also questions the capacity of civil society to implement developmental social welfare in a society with gross inequalities. To what extent is the potential for transformation based on the political economy of the country? This task is made more difficult because global trends and the policy stance taken in South Africa are based on neo-liberal policies, which demand the reduction of State expenditure in welfare. It is argued that the transformation of welfare demands more than just organisational change in the agencies. Structural changes in society are also necessary to overcome the complex inequities of South African society in order to achieve redistribution and development.

1.3 HYPOTHESIS

The following hypothesis will be examined and tested:

While social agencies accept the principles of developmental social welfare, they are grappling with new policy demands. They have a distinct organisational culture and location and find it difficult to adapt without greater resources.

Change, even necessary change, brings about stress and confusion. The socio-economic environment has become more austere and the contending forces of accelerating policy demands with restricted resources has led to 'defensive adaptation'. This is the process by which policy is not resisted by agencies but accepted while implementation is carried out reluctantly as existing procedures are brought under stress.

Delivery has accelerated but still remains far removed from policy intentions. The impact of past policies is an important brake, but the demands of the global economic imperatives and its associated social policy are also obstacles to extending welfare to all South Africans. The dissonance between restricted resources and sweeping policy change undermines morale, produces pessimism and undermines the prospect for transformation.

A new partnership has to emerge between the agencies which have local knowledge and the state which has resources and the authority to build initiatives towards completing the transformation process.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

To test the hypothesis advanced above, the objectives of study are to determine:

- the impact of past and current State policy on welfare;
- what constraints previous policies have placed on the implementation of a relevant welfare system;
- an examination of the welfare policy process in South Africa;
- the experiences of other countries in welfare policy development;
- the role and nature of welfare services within a transforming South Africa;
- whether the structure and functioning of organisations have been transformed to meet developmental goals;
- how policies are being translated into service delivery;
- whether the relationship between the State and civil society is restricting or facilitating transformation; and
- what key role-players recommend to facilitate development.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

The researcher has combined qualitative and quantitative research methods through a survey of welfare agencies in KwaZulu-Natal. Rubin and Babbie (1989:365) state that "you are on the safest ground when you use a number of different research methods in studying a given topic". They advocate the blending of qualitative and quantitative methods. This advice is taken up in this study and both methods were employed.

"Qualitative research is relatively unstructured. The research strategy is, to a large extent, open, so that in some cases the investigator may not have decided in advance precisely what is to be investigated. The argument for this is that an open approach allows the researcher to investigate unexpected topics, which may only become apparent after an investigation has begun." (Bouma 1995:207). The focus of the study; that is, change and transformation, to a large extent involves moving into an unknown area. In addition, organisations are complex entities, and the researcher has to capture their history, relationships, behaviour, perceptions, and intuitions of the key role-players. Collins (1991:304) also advocates the use of qualitative research for a topic dealing with issues such as change and transformation. "In a situation of development of a society, as is occurring in our country at present, progress is open-ended and outcomes cannot be specified." To record these meanings, moods, feelings, resistances and interpretations - the whole range of subjective responses of a changing environment a qualitative method of data-collection was therefore chosen in addition to quantitative methods. The following procedures were adopted:

- A literature review was undertaken to explore social welfare policies within South Africa and abroad.
- An examination was made of key documents of the Child Welfare Movement in South Africa.

- A review of relevant policies and legislation was conducted.
- An overview of State welfare and demographics in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal was undertaken.
- A survey was made of the Child Welfare Movement in KwaZulu-Natal.

In the description of these procedures below there will be extensive commentary on the precise methodology employed.

1.5.1 THE CASE STUDY

The Child Welfare Movement was chosen as a case study as it is the oldest and largest nonprofit organisation in South Africa. The WPSW also places much emphasis on the importance of the child and the family as the building block of society: "The Government is committed to giving the highest priority to the promotion of family life, and to the survival, protection and development of all South Africa's children." (WPSW 1997:55). The Child Welfare Movement takes its lead from government policy and was thus thought as appropriate organisation from which to assess transformation in the welfare sector.

The sample was drawn from the affiliates of the SANCCFW or those in the process of being affiliated to it in the KwaZulu-Natal region. In order to narrow the focus of the study it was decided that an organisation dealing with one field of service be chosen as a way of understanding the transformation process in order to compare the context of organisations. According to Upkong (1993:56), "The universe of NGOs is so diverse - the goals, values, starting-points, context, level and scope of activities and resources - that any overall guide must be assessed with the characteristics of the context in which a particular NGO operates."

Permission to conduct this study was sought from the SANCCFW, and thereafter permission was gained from each agency under study. Each respondent consented to being interviewed, with the proviso that his or her anonymity be assured. They were not identified on any of the questionnaires or during in-depth interviews. Likewise, the agencies are identified only by an identification-number in order to maintain their anonymity.

Stratified random sampling was used to ensure representation of the sample in terms of geographic location. Thirteen Child Welfare agencies in KwaZulu-Natal serviced by the SANCCFW were studied. A total of twenty-eight social workers and forty-five management members of the various agencies were interviewed, a proportional sample technique being used to determine the number of people to interview at each agency. This was to accommodate the varying size of the agencies in the various areas. Some difficulty was experienced in locating management members because, although many were officially members on the Board, they were not actively involved at the agencies. High-ranking officials and staff of the SANCCFW were also interviewed. These interviews took place after the data was collected from the various agencies. This was done so that their views could be obtained regarding policy, with reference to some of the results obtained from the agencies involved in actual service delivery. Although the focus of the study was not the structure of the SANCCFW, some information was gathered on the SANCCFW as it has responsibility for the planning and co-ordination of child and family welfare services on a national basis and of serving as a policy-making and standard-setting body for related organisations in the country. The main focus of the study was on policy interpretation and service delivery at each agency. A research assistant helped with data-collection under the continuous supervision of the researcher.

A non-scheduled structured interview was used as the main method of data-collection. Two questionnaires were constructed: one for members of the Boards of Management, and one pertinent to social workers. The design of the key

themes in the questionnaire is reflected in Annexure 1 and Annexure 2. The policies outlined in the WPSW (1997), the Financing Policy (1999) and the Social Welfare Action Plan (1998) form the policy framework of this study, and questions will revolve around key issues identified therein.

Interviews are an important technique in qualitative research and require planning and structure. A non-scheduled structured type of interview "is structured in the sense that a list of issues which have to be investigated is made prior to the interview. The list will contain some precise questions and their alternatives or subquestions, depending on the answer to the main questions. But it is a non-scheduled interview in the sense that the interviewer is free to formulate other questions as judged appropriate for the given situations. Respondents are not confronted with already stated definitions or possible answers, but are free to choose their own definitions, to describe a situation or to express their particular views and answers to problems." (Bless and Higson-Smith 1995:107). The advantage of this method is that it leaves room for the discovery of new aspects of the problem; the disadvantages are that interviewer bias could influence the results. It is also time-consuming and expensive. In addition, it was necessary to obtain quantitative data: for example, the areas of operation and demographics of the areas, and the ages of management members.

Data were evaluated in terms of meeting the policy objectives. Graphs and tables have been used to illustrate the data. The quantitative data has been analysed using the appropriate statistics package, employing the services of a statistician.

1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Possible limitations of the study could be the tremendous rate of transformation and changes, which are taking place at policy level, as well as on the service delivery level, while the study was being conducted. The study is essentially one

of movement and change rather than the structure of agencies. It is also difficult to generalise about agencies, as each is unique with its own culture, context, size and origin which might bias the results. Sampling representivity in terms of the various categories of agencies as the way in which they were categorised only became apparent once the study had commenced. Transformation is a sensitive topic, and the interviewees might not have been truthful. Interviewer bias might also play a role in data-collection.

The structure of the report is as follows: Chapter two will include policy development and the transformation process of welfare in South Africa and internationally. Chapter three will present the policy and agency context in South Africa. The study setting: KwaZulu-Natal welfare agencies and the challenge of change will be discussed in chapter four. Chapter five will present the responses to the new policy framework and the analysis and argument to the policy framework will be included in chapter six. The closing statement will be argued in chapter seven. Recommendations will also be made in this chapter.

1.7 Definition of Concepts

Certain concepts are central to the thesis. They will be discussed below.

1.7.1 Defensive Adaptation

Defensive adaptation is the process by which policy is not resisted by agencies but accepted while implementation is carried out grudgingly and reluctantly as existing procedures are brought under stress. In this process attempts are made to maintain the status quo.

1.7. 2 Social Welfare

Wickenden (cited by Jaggernath 1997:23) defines social welfare as including "those laws, programmes, benefits, and services, which assure or strengthen provisions for meeting social needs recognized as basic to the well-being of the population and the better functioning of the social order".

Mazibuko and Taback (1992:7) comment that the "primary value base underlying social welfare stresses that society has an obligation to ensure that people have access to the resources, services and opportunities to meet various life tasks, alleviate distress and realise their aspirations and values, and that the dignity and individuality of people should be respected in the provision of societal resources."

1.7.3 Social Work

Barker (1991:xvii) defines social work as "the applied science of helping people achieve an effective level of psychosocial functioning and effecting societal changes to enhance the well-being of all people".

Social work as a field of study and practice is not well understood, especially in Africa. African writers are of the view that Euro-American social work has been replicated in Africa which is inappropriate to the needs of the continent. They advocate that social work must be defined in the context of social development and social development concerns, such as the relationship of man to man, man to his social environment, his ability to identify and solve social problems, and his interest to participate in the efforts of the government to integrate social service priorities with other development goals and priorities (Osei-Hwedie 1993:21).

1.7.4 Social Worker

For the purpose of this study a social worker must be a professional person registered and authorised in accordance with the Social Work Act, 1978 (Act 110 of 1978) to practise social work.

1.7.5 Social Casework (Barker 1991:217)

This concerns "the orientation, value system, and type of practice used by professional social workers in which psychosocial, behavioural, and systems concepts are translated into skills designed to help individuals and families solve intrapsychic, interpersonal, socio-economic, and environmental problems through

direct face-to-face relationships. Many social workers consider social casework to be synonymous with clinical social work practice".

1.7.6 Groupwork (Toseland and Rivas 1998:12)

Groupwork is goal-directed activity with small treatment and task groups aimed at meeting socio-emotional needs and accomplishing tasks. This activity is directed to individual members of a group and to the group as a whole within a system of service delivery.

1.7.7 Community Work (Terminology Committee for Social Work 1995:13)

This involves joint, planned action of members of a community and a social worker to promote the social functioning of the community as a whole by:

- (a) increasing knowledge and the ability to cope at micro-level and by so doing empowering the community to cope with social problems and needs;
- (b) Ensuring at meso-level that effective resources exist which are adjusted to the needs of the community; and
- (c) Making possible democratic participation by the community at macro-level in formulating welfare policy.

1.7.8 Social Action (Barker 1991:151)

This is the co-ordinated effort necessary to achieve institutional change in order to meet a need, solve a social problem, correct an injustice, or enhance the quality of human life. This effort may occur at the initiative and under the direction of professionals in social welfare, economics, politics, religion or the military, or it may occur through the efforts of the people who are directly affected by the problem or change.

1.7.9 Social Agency

This is an organisation or facility that delivers social services under the auspices of a Board of Management and is usually staffed by human services personnel,

clerical personnel and, sometimes, indigenous workers. It provides a specified range of social services for members of a population group that has, or is vulnerable to, a specific social problem. The agency may be funded by combinations of philanthropic contributions and privately solicited donations, by government, fees paid by those served, or by third party payment. Social agencies are accountable to their boards through accessible financial records, statements of purpose, and representatives from the community who serve on the Boards of Management. The board members set overall policy and administrators co-ordinate activities to carry out those policies. The organisation has explicit bylaws that determine which clients to serve, what problems to combat, and what methods to use in providing service (adapted from Barker 1991:217).

1.7.10 Nonprofit organisation (Nonprofit Organisations Act And Regulations,1997)

A nonprofit organisation means "a trust, company or other association of persons:

- (a) established for a public purpose; and
- (b) the income and property of which are not distributable to its members or office-bearers except as reasonable compensation for services rendered."

All the agencies in this study are classified as non-profit organisations.

1.7.11 Volunteer

A volunteer is a person who offers his services or who is recruited to render a service at a welfare agency, usually without remuneration (Terminology committee For Social Work 1995:66). All Board of Management members are volunteers.

1.7.12 National Council

This refers to any organisation which in terms of its constitution has been established to organise and represent on a national or provincial basis welfare organisations pursuing objects which correspond substantially, and to promote,

propagate and co-ordinate the interests, objects and activities of such welfare organisations and to act in an advisory capacity for such organisations (National Welfare Act 100 of 1978 Proclamation R7 of 1996).

1.7.13 Transformation

The Financing Policy (1999) is one of the most important policy instruments for the fundamental transformation of both service delivery and its financing. This policy is critical to ensure that government policies are implemented.

This thesis will investigate the paradigm shift resulting in agencies adopting a developmental approach. The Financing Policy (1999), in keeping with the WPSW, outlines the required paradigm shift within social welfare services and operationalises the WPSW criteria for transformation.

This study will use the following envisioned paradigm shifts as objective criteria for assessing transformation (Financing Policy 1999:14-17):

Shift # 1: From a narrow focus on quantitative services to a focus both on qualitative and quantitative services. There is to be an emphasis on how effective services are in meeting the needs and ensuring the well-being of children, youth, women and older persons within the context of families and communities. This shift aims to attain a balance between quality and quantity.

Shift # 2: From per capita financing to programme financing. There is to be an emphasis on the quality and appropriateness of services. It will no longer be based on per-capita subsidy or financing of posts for welfare service organisations. This shift will be towards the financing of holistic service programmes.

Shift # 3: From a focus on financing specialist organisations and services to financing of holistic services with specialist components integrated. Financing will be given to services at one or more of the service levels with all levels functioning as a continuum:

Prevention strategies and programmes which strengthen and build the capacity and self-reliance of families, communities, children, youth, women and older persons.

1. Early intervention to vulnerable persons, to ensure that no further deterioration takes place, through strengths-based developmental and therapeutic programmes.
2. Statutory process where individuals have become involved in the statutory process. Services at this level are aimed at supporting and strengthening communities, families, children, youth, women and older persons and are based on a strong recognition that this period is a period of crisis, transition and uncertainty and that a specific range of services needs to be available.
3. Continuum of care and developmental services. These services range from community-based care to care in restrictive environments such as prisons, rehabilitation centres and the various forms of residential care.
4. Special development areas such as HIV/AIDS, poverty alleviation, crime prevention, substance abuse, survivor support and development and disability within each level and across the focus groups of children, youth, families, women and older persons.

Shift # 4: From supporting racially-based structures and practices to supporting those services that promote social integration, diversity and equity. Many organisations receiving financing have a strong racial bias in their governance structures, staffing and services. This shift will be towards financing services that demonstrate social integration of race and gender, a strong respect for diversity and provision of services to all South Africans in need on the basis of equity.

Shift # 5: Financing decisions will be based on the compatibility of policies and plans with identified needs (as based on a developmental assessment of provinces and communities), and the provision of an effective service that meets minimum standards.

Shift # 6: The new system will require that programmes and resources are re-prioritised towards needs that are identified as being of high local importance and significance. Services need to be provided and resources shared on a more equitable basis across the length and breadth of the country, particularly where services are concentrated in certain urban areas and completely lacking in rural areas.

Shift # 7: Financing of organisations that respect diversity and indigenous rights and cultures. Financing will, in future, support those services that are re-organising their operational environment to respond to the diversity of South African rights, culture and language, thereby linking with the concept and direction of the African Renaissance.

Shift # 8: There will be an analysis of the outputs that are required for a particular service, the outcomes required in terms of a social development perspective and the inputs needed to effect the identified outputs/outcomes.

Shift # 9: Financing may go to a network of organisations rather than an individual organisation, or to a community rather than individual persons or groups in the community.

Shift # 10: From financing of fragmented, specialised, or isolated services to financing of "one-stop" integrated services. Integrated holistic services be provided to individuals, families and communities as holistic services.

Shift # 11: This shift expresses the concept of "a grant plus services" and seldom a grant in isolation. This shift in policy is a move away from mere handouts and brings together social security and social welfare.

Shift # 12: Shift from a top-down delivery to a participatory approach. Using a developmental assessment process, full participation of families, communities and individuals should take place. In assessing service needs and designing the service programme communities, families, children, youth, women or older persons should be involved.

The above criteria would be the basis for the transformation process in this study.

CHAPTER TWO

POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ABROAD

"The people of South Africa have spoken in these elections. They want change! And is what they will get. Our plan is to create jobs, promote peace and reconciliation, and to guarantee freedom for all South Africans." (Nelson Mandela, Inauguration Speech, 1994).

This chapter will give an overview of social policy and the process of transformation from a macro-policy stance. A historical outline of policy development to present day initiatives will be included. The policy process and reflections on the process in an emerging democracy is presented. Shifts in welfare policy in South Africa from a residual model of practice to a developmental model is discussed. The challenges facing the welfare field in adopting a developmental approach are included. Shifts in welfare policy internationally, with particular emphasis in Africa is reviewed.

2.1 SOCIAL POLICY AND THE PROCESSES OF TRANSFORMATION: AN OVERVIEW

The people of post-apartheid South Africa now have the opportunity to create a welfare system based on equity and on meeting the needs of the majority of the population. The past imbalances in service provision and promotion of social equity need to be urgently addressed. Enormous collective effort has gone into reviewing old policies and formulating new ones since 1994. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (hereafter referred to as the RDP) was adopted as the policy framework for the Government of National Unity. The RDP was an attempt to devise a set of social, economic and political policies and practices that could transform South Africa into a just and equal society. It is within this

broad context that the social welfare policy change process was launched in South Africa.

South Africa has adopted developmental goals, and the implementation of policy is the means of reaching these goals. Policy guides and identifies priority areas and processes for transformation. Transformation depends on sound policies and institutions in a society. The RDP now has been discarded as the main policy framework and replaced by the fiscally restrictive and neo-liberal Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy, a policy shift that has severe implications for welfare.

South African policies are guided by the South African Constitution and Bill of Rights, the National and Provincial strategy for Growth, Employment and Redistribution program (GEAR), the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development and many international agreements that have been ratified since 1994. These provide a broad institutional framework for policies and programmes (Vries 1998:1).

It has been argued by Hulme (1997:60) that while many factors influence the developmental record of countries, it is certainly the case that good policy choices and their effective implementation are major explanatory variables. The importance of policy in the transformation of welfare has been recognised in South Africa. A Chief Directorate, termed the Strategic Policy Development and Planning, in the Department of Welfare and Population Development has been given the function "to focus its activities on a number of areas which are central to the repositioning of welfare in a new developmental paradigm, as well as ending racial imbalances in social security inherited from the past and all other social programmes" (GCIS 1998).

According to Gilbert and Specht (1993:10) all modern states utilise public interventions to ensure that neither bad luck, economic distress, nor social

disadvantage fully determine the life chances of citizens. A public policy agenda on welfare is therefore an important priority in most developed countries. The essence of a public policy is how societies and nations recognise and deal with problems.

The adoption of a White Paper allows for the existence of a plan, which will create a framework for common and complementary macro-level national objectives and policies and also promote greater co-ordination of service delivery objectives. It lays out a set of preferences on the basis of which government acts in society. In addition, it sets a broad framework within which government decisions are made: the what, how and effect of the pursuit of a particular course of action (Western Cape Public Administration and Management Trust 1998).

Social policy becomes a public policy when legislated. Public policies are necessary as they bring about change, which might not happen if left to market or social forces. The importance of public policy is outlined below.

It explains:

- why and how a particular government seeks to use its power;
- what the priorities and criteria are in the use of government resources;
- how resources are allocated among different parts of society;
- the values held dear by society;
- some of the guidelines an organisation can use for daily decision-making purposes;
- the processes of government and, as a result, rendering these processes more predictable for those who have to order their lives by them; and
- how the particular policy embraces a broader sphere of governance (Western Cape Public Administration and Management Trust 1998).

South African society is very complex, and transformation entails a loss of privilege for certain groups. It is therefore necessary that transformation be enforced through the adoption of public policies. Public policies involve a considerable element of

power in implementation. Power tactics are based on the assumption that change necessarily involves conflict, which is resolvable only through domination and submission. The use of a power strategy is often associated with rapid organisational change (Neugeboren 1991:204), which is what is presently occurring in South Africa.

2.2 POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND THE POLICY PROCESS IN SOUTH AFRICA

A study of policy development in South Africa assists us to understand how social context, social roles and stages of development contribute to policy outcome. In addition, it is important to have a historic understanding of the development of welfare policies in South Africa as previous policies can constrain the implementation of a relevant welfare system. Many of the social conditions we are presently trying to address are legacies of our past. Although there are plans for important changes, the present welfare system has to a large extent remained unchanged and has only been adapted to meet the present challenges. Many of the staff and bureaucrats who administered the Department of Welfare under the apartheid government still hold office. It is therefore essential that we examine the ideology and historical development of welfare policy. Implementation of many of the present policies will be influenced by structures, economic as well as welfare policies, of the apartheid era. This section will outline critical points in terms of welfare policy developments in South Africa. Attention will also be paid to the development of policies with regard to 'private welfare organisations' which is the focus of this study. Opposition to change will also be included.

2.2.1 HISTORY OF WELFARE IN SOUTH AFRICA: FROM SECURING RACE TO SOCIAL EMPOWERMENT

Prior to the introduction of formal welfare into the country, family and kinship groups were responsible for this function. With the establishment of the half-way station at the Cape Colony, and the beginnings of 'industrialisation' and 'capitalism' and their resulting impact, it became necessary for welfare to become more formalised. This was the beginning of the adoption of a western welfare system. Initially the church's role was central. The State introduced legislation protecting children in 1913 and the Old Age Pensions Act for White and Coloured persons in 1928. The emphasis of welfare provision was centred almost exclusively on the White population group. The Carnegie Commission of Inquiry (1932) was instituted frankly to deal with the 'poor White' problem (McKendrick 1990:11). It recognised the economic and social structure, rather than personal inadequacies, as being responsible for the socio-economic plight of poor Whites. The recommendations of this Commission led to the establishment of the Department of Social Welfare in 1937, and to the development of university-trained social workers.

Poverty alleviation for the Whites was largely responsible for the shaping of welfare policies at that time, and employment was seen as the solution to the concurrent poverty crisis for Whites. Yet, simultaneously, poverty in the African group was growing in both urban and rural areas. The practices of segregation and, later, apartheid centered on the notion of the land and reserves having a welfare function. The migrant labour system began to show its effects on social order, and other associated social problems began to emerge: for example, the breakup of the traditional family system. The problem was seen as one of racial attributes rather than socio-economic causes. As Tapscott (1995:178) argues, economic underdevelopment and poverty were attributed to the backwardness of the Africans themselves and their resistance to modernising forces (Tapscott 1995:178). The practice of blaming the victims of the apartheid system in effect

obscured the relations of control in South Africa and served to legitimise the perpetuation of White domination (Tapscott 1995:179).

Many community-based organisations emerged to meet the needs of communities. Local community-sponsored organisations were co-ordinated into National Councils as demanded by the state. "Subsidisation via national councils ensured that government could dictate policy in the social service field by exercising control over a relatively small number of organisations, which would operate as unofficial government agencies" (Vitus 1996:38). National Councils were grouped together along the lines of specialist service delivery under State control. This involved discriminatory legislation influencing State-sponsored social welfare and social assistance programmes that largely excluded Africans.

In 1948, the National Party came into power, ushering in the apartheid era. Their policy was to implement separation in every aspect of South Africa's population. Separate development, as it was later defensively termed, was based on a belief in the national distinctiveness of the various ethnic groupings within the African population. In terms of the policy of separation in 1960, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development took over the welfare function for Africans from the Department of Social Welfare. The Departments of Coloured Affairs and Indian Affairs were then made responsible for Coloured and Indian welfare respectively.

During the period between 1951 and the 1980's the partnership between the State and private welfare organisations for meeting welfare needs was strengthened in a highly repressive way. During minority rule, the partnership between the State and voluntary sector was abused and became the basis for social control and the abdication of responsibility on the part of the State (Kaseka 1998:144). In 1966 more State control was imposed over voluntary welfare organisations: Circular No. 29 of 1966 dictated that separate welfare organisations be established for African, Coloured, Indian and White persons.

The Department suggested that White organisations should sponsor and guide organisations of other racial groups towards independence (McKendrick 1990:15). The State was able to exert its separate development policies by legislating rules for the registration of welfare agencies and threatening the withdrawal of subsidies if these organisations did not adhere to these rules.

Lund (1995:7) points out that some welfare organisations continued to operate on a multi-racial basis, while endeavouring to rectify "shortfalls in their organisations, for example parity in salaries of their social workers. There had always been racial and gender discrimination in the subsidy given for social workers' salaries, with White men receiving the highest, followed by White women, then Coloured and Indian men, Coloured and Indian women, then African men, with African women receiving the lowest subsidy" (Lund 1995:7).

Any rebellion was suppressed through banning and detentions. The law restricted the formation of political parties by all persons of colour. They were denied political representation and therefore had no direct political backing to formulate new welfare policies to serve the interests of African people.

Informal community welfare and support systems - for example, the stokvel and religious organisations - played a big role in filling the void in State welfare policy. Another means of ensuring survival of this included 'the economy of affection'. This involves solidarity action with extended family members, peers, comrades, political and other groups (Tucker and Scott 1992:102). These authors further state that this 'economy of affection' effectively subsidised the formal economy by providing informal social welfare for the indigent and care for the sick and orphaned. In this way, they point out, tradition was used as a means of retaining some level of self-respect in the face of ongoing humiliation and exploitation" (Tucker and Scott 1992:103). The income-earning members of the bigger solidarity groups who had to cope with large dependency ratios made enormous sacrifices. Development of the individual's full potential was

compromised in favour of the survival of the group. The Black Consciousness Movement also refused to consider the oppressed people as powerless and hopeless victims. According to Ramphela (1992:161), Blacks were projected as victims of racism and exploitation, and little attention was paid to the creativity and resilience which underpinned the strategies of survival that Blacks had elaborated over the years.

In 1973, the South African State created three homeland governments and four independent states for Africans in South Africa. These impoverished homelands were thereby made responsible for providing formal welfare functions for all Africans. Few resources were available to Africans in the metropolitan areas of South Africa.

2.2.2 RACIAL LEGISLATION TO ENFORCE POLICY

Legislation was necessary to ensure policy implementation and, during the apartheid era, presented the detail of difference and control. The National Welfare Act 1965 was legislated to co-ordinate, welfare and this strengthened State control over agencies. This Act provided for the registration of welfare organisations. Emerging from the Act was the establishment of the National Welfare Board and Regional Welfare Boards. There were twenty-seven Regional Welfare Boards in the country, and these were given statutory powers. This process was authoritarian and racially-based. Persons who served on the Board were ministerial appointments. The formal welfare sector was allowed to nominate candidates, but there was no election process. Regional Boards were responsible for determining welfare needs and for planning and coordinating regional welfare. Not least, their task also involved registration of welfare organisations seeking state subsidies. "One bizarre and uniquely South African effect of this proliferation of racially separate regional welfare boards was that an organisation wishing to provide welfare service in all regions to all race groups could only achieve this by making applications for registration as a welfare

organisation twenty-seven times over." (Lund 1988:28). There was a degree of resistance from some Boards that refused to follow the Government policy of segregation in welfare, but the Government overcame resistance by removing this responsibility from the Regional Welfare Boards and transferring it to 'Administrations of Own Affairs'. In 1983, the Tri-cameral Government was formed, and welfare became an 'Own' affair for each race group.

The Fund Raising Act of 1978 provided control over the collection of voluntary contributions from the public. Only those organisations that were recognised by the Director of Fund-Raising were allowed to collect funds from the public. This meant that progressive welfare agencies could be restricted in raising finance.

In addition, State control over the profession of social work and associated professions was implemented through the Social and Associated Workers Act of 1978. These legislations strengthened the control of the State over welfare. By 1990, welfare was delivered through 17 different administrations with voluntary welfare being subsidised through these separate administrations. Voluntary welfare organisations were non-existent in the homelands and independent states. The welfare of Africans in urban areas was delivered through the Department of Education and Development Aid, which was accountable to the House of Assembly. The overall trend ranged from one of benign neglect to the use of welfare for racial ordering. Welfare was thus functional to the separation of people and control over voluntary organisations. The present policies have to transform this complex situation.

2.2.3 OPPOSITION AND CHANGE IN WELFARE: CRISES OF APARTHEID

In an attempt to initiate welfare reform, in 1985 the Department of National Health and Population Development released the outlines of a new welfare policy. The report was entitled 'Social Welfare Policy and Structures of the Republic of South Africa'. However, this policy further entrenched the racial

segregation of welfare provision, with welfare classified 'an own affair' in the Tricameral Parliament. It also promoted privatisation of welfare with the State to act as a safety net only where individuals, communities and the private sector were unable to take on new responsibilities in welfare provision. Many welfare functions previously undertaken by central government were to be transferred to provincial and local authorities (Lund 1988:25). At this stage in the late 1980s, opposition to the above proposals was more organised and there was surprisingly strong reaction from the welfare sector. Throughout the oppressive years, social work associations were comparatively weak and racially divided, and resistance to welfare policy had been minimal. Social workers reinforced the policies of the State through the continued implementation of its social policies without making an effort towards changing them, wittingly or unwittingly becoming allies "by working within the insidious policies, administration and the worldview of the government of the country" (Dlamini 1995:26). The Social Workers Association of South Africa (SWASA) constituted conservative White social workers. Their philosophy was that social work was apolitical and that social workers should therefore distance themselves from politics. The Society for Social Workers (SSW) was set up as a non-racial society and its membership consisted of mainly White, Coloured and Indian social workers. The South African Black Social Workers Association (SABSWA) was Black, but *de facto* African (Lund 1998:5).

However, issues around welfare did assist in mobilising people in the resistance against apartheid policies, and specific issues affecting workers, youth, women and communities were addressed. Alternative organisations emerged. These movements were located around the broader national liberation movements. People's organisations and a wide range of community service associations emerged for example; resident associations and advice desks. Various initiatives were launched to reconsider welfare issues and address problems relating to the youth, women and communities in particular. Other organisations that were also vocal in their fight for welfare rights were the Black Sash, the National Children's

Rights Committee, and the Detainees' Parents Support Committee. The ideological focus of these movements (alternative social welfare) was on the material, emotional and psychological deprivation caused by apartheid and racial capitalism (Taylor 1997:69).

During the 1980s, welfare began to become more organised. The State began to realise the importance of reform and in 1989 convened a conference of non-governmental organisations to debate "the Place of Social Welfare in the Future in the Republic of South Africa". It was, however, criticised for the lack of representation from smaller grassroots organisations. According to Jaggermath (1995:144), "the Conference adopted 130 different resolutions" which stressed the need for a single department of welfare, the rationalisation of national councils, the development of grassroots services, improved research input, improved primary care and work in rural areas, parity between grants and pensions and the development of a national welfare scheme. Once the African National Congress was unbanned in 1990, the welfare agenda for a new South Africa gained momentum.

2.2.4 THE RISE OF FORUMS AND NEW POLICY INITIATIVES

Following the democratic elections of 1994, a Welfare Summit was convened to create a social agenda for a democratic South Africa. The National Welfare, Social Services and Development Welfare Forum (NWSSDF) was launched at this summit. The Forum can be viewed as a link between the State and civil society on specific issues relating to welfare, serving as one of the organised and coherent structures on policy, and restructuring matters affecting social welfare (Mazibuko 1995:11). The forum played a critical role in the White Paper Process. For the first time there was an institution with government and non-government representation, with broad legitimacy, which was representative of the welfare sector (Lund 1995:10).

In conclusion, it is clear that although welfare policy in South Africa developed essentially along two parallel systems, one for Whites and the other for Blacks, ideologies and rationalisations of policy were often contradictory. It is apparent that the system for Whites was institutional and based on western-style social welfare, although the government of the day publicly rejected this ideology. The system for the other race groups was residual. The State also realised the importance of the relationship between economic and social development for the White community. Unfortunately, race was entrenched in every segment of South African society, and welfare became a mechanism of control. Resistance to apartheid-based welfare policies was slow to gather momentum. Resistance to the inequities could be attributed to the oppression of the time or to active support for them by conservative professionals. The State created racial divisions - for example, disparity in salaries - and also used force by way of banning and legislation to impede the mobilisation of the people. In South Africa, there could be little doubt that welfare policies suppressed the development of the majority of the population. Lund (1998: 8) suggests that, to understand the role of welfare at that time, one has to ask not whether there has a policy for welfare, but, rather, how the public and private institutions of welfare were used to support apartheid.

2.3 POST-APARTHEID POLICY INITIATIVES

Many new policy initiatives have emerged in post-apartheid South Africa. Social policy is the instrument for social change designed to correct past imbalances. In South Africa there were raised expectations, that with liberation, people would have a right to services. Welfarism is enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa:

1. Everyone has the right to have access to :
 - (a) health care services, including reproductive health care;
 - (b) sufficient food and water; and

(c) social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants, appropriate social assistance.

2. The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of each of these rights (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996: 13).

With the adoption of the Constitution, there has been a philosophical shift from a residual model of practice to new citizenship. Marshall puts forward the view of social services as a component to citizenship rights in the modern democratic state (Mishra 1981:28). These rights consist of three different components: civil, political and social. Civil rights guarantee individual liberty and equality before the law. The right to vote and to seek political office falls under political rights. Social rights comprise a modicum of economic welfare and security and the right to share fully in the social heritage and life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in society. Civil, political and social rights together form the basis for the full membership of a modern community (Mishra 1981:28). Marshall is of the view that equal status as a citizen is quite compatible with inequality in other respects; for example, material rewards resulting from the operations of the market and other structures of capitalism. This model provides the rationale for an institutionalised model of welfare. These principles have been espoused in the Constitution of South Africa.

In addition, the Government has also been committed to the introduction of a 'dole' system in South Africa that is based on the principle of universal access to social security. The Minister of Welfare has been investigating the feasibility of an income for the most vulnerable citizens, those living under the poverty datum line (Streek 2000:39).

One of the problems of the model of citizenship is deciding what constitutes a social right. Rights are inevitably resistant to clear definition and subject to

contentious challenge. A major concern in western capitalist society is the extent to which communities can afford to grant themselves 'social rights' at the expense of economic limitations. According to other welfare philosophers, it is this very language of rights that divides people from one another and disrupts those communal bonds that make welfare meaningful (Barry 1990:82).

The problem of entitlement has already emerged in South Africa. Rights-based welfare provides continuing, explicit, almost irresistible encouragement to clients to demand more and more by way of fulfilment of the State's promises, while giving nothing in return (Marstrand 1996:177). Nelson Mandela, on the anniversary of the first democratic election in 1995, insisted that citizens rid themselves of the culture of entitlement and pointed out that together with rights go responsibilities (Marstrand 1996:177). Some are of the belief that citizens should take on greater responsibilities for their children, elders etc. It is therefore the issue of rights and responsibilities - the balance between them and the implications for the State and other institutions - that offers one of the most fruitful ways of advancing the debates that have started in recent times (Wicks 1995:275). It is significant that South Africa has embarked on the Masakane Campaign, which maintains that rights go hand in hand with responsibilities and stresses the obligation to pay for services.

The most ambitious attempt to turn the legal rights into social entitlements came with the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The Government of National Unity adopted the RDP as a plan for national development. It is a comprehensive socio-economic policy framework, which was envisaged as a response to addressing the inequalities caused by apartheid. Its aim is to transform all existing welfare services so as to ensure that all South Africans, especially the 'historically disadvantaged' would enjoy their basic welfare rights (ANC 1994:52). These rights were linked to basic needs for shelter, food, health care, work and income security and to all those aspects that promote the physical, social and emotional well-being of all people in our society (ANC

1994:52). The five sub-programmes of the RDP are: meeting basic needs, developing human resources, building the economy, democratising the State and implementing the RDP.

All developmental social welfare policies and programmes have been aligned with the guiding principles of the RDP, with the consequence that the RDP must have had considerable influence on the WPSW and subsequent policy formulation.

The White Paper of Social Welfare was developed as a conceptual framework for welfare in South Africa and has been concluded after intensive participation by welfare agencies and administrations. The White Paper of Social Welfare (1997) proposes a developmental approach to welfare within the framework of the Reconstruction and Developmental Programme (RDP). The WPSW and subsequent policies and legislation are seen as central to the transformation process. Following this process all welfare organisations are required to set priorities in relation to government policy and will be resourced on this basis.

"However the RDP could not be translated into practice and (it was) effectively replaced as the strategic development centrepiece by the plan for Growth, Employment and Redistribution (thereafter referred to as GEAR) in mid 1996." (Munslow and Fitzgerald 1997:42). Under pressure from international finance institutions and local business, this policy framework shifted from one of empowering finance to one of redundancy. GEAR is a longer-term macro-economic package based on reducing the budget deficit, increasing interest rates, and growth through exports. Unlike the RDP with its comprehensive developmental thrust, GEAR provided "a familiar package of global orthodoxy: discipline in the fiscus and in monetary policy, increasing public and private investment, pursuing a stable exchange rate, reducing tariffs, and encouraging a strategy of export-led growth" (Munslow and Fitzgerald 1997: 42). Gear aimed to achieve an annual economic growth rate of 6 % by the year 2000 and to create

an average of 400 000 new jobs each year. Although none of this has been achieved, the policy is more resolute than ever. Concurrently with the transformation of welfare policy, initiatives are made to interdependent departments and sectors. The South African Public Service is also being transformed with the adoption of the White Paper on the Transformation of The Public Service, 1995. Welfare in South Africa is delivered in partnership with the State and civil society; therefore this policy is to impact on voluntary welfare organisations. The public service is targeted to play a key role in the social and economic transformation of the country.

"In moving ahead with the process of reconciliation and development, the South African public service will have a major role to play as the executive arm of the government. To fulfil this role effectively, the service will need to be transformed into a coherent, representative, competent and democratic instrument for implementing government policies and meeting the needs of all South Africans." (White Paper: Transformation of the Public Service 1995: 3).

Transforming service delivery is recognised as a priority of the public service. A White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (Batho Pele White Paper) was developed in 1997 to provide a policy framework and a practical implementation strategy for the transformation of public service delivery. This White Paper sought urgently to introduce a fresh approach to service delivery which would pressure on "systems, procedures, attitudes and behaviour within the Public Service" and reorient them in the customers' favour, a people-centred approach (White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (Batho Pele White Paper 1997): 12).

2.3.1 POLICY CONTRADICTIONS

There are presently many contradictions and ambiguities in policy in South Africa which confuses implementation and therefore is important to this study. One such contradiction is that the RDP remains the official government and ANC policy. Many have argued that the RDP is no longer functional because the

Minister, the relevant department and the parliamentary monitoring committee have disappeared. The African National Congress has quietly abandoned the last RDP structure: the RDP Portfolio Committee in the National Assembly (Streek 1999).

GEAR appears to have replaced RDP policy. Critics are sceptical about GEAR and argue that the macroeconomic policy is not attuned to the White Paper of Developmental Social Welfare. It is argued that modern societies can compete effectively in the global market only if they drastically reduce social expenditure (Midgely 1998: 90). In effect, conservative advocates of the global economy have simply revived the old adage that "what is good for business is good for the public" (Karger 1994:7).

GEAR signals to foreign investors that South Africa is keeping in line with global policy frameworks. The overall effects of the global economy on welfare programmes are complex. Globally it has led to the scaling back or dismantling of welfare institutions (Karger 1994:19). Short-term steps will necessarily be to unburden the State of the stock of public assets, with the aim of reducing the budget deficit, while a longer-term goal will be to embark on the more complex task of utilising private resources to perform public services. This entails enhancement of voluntary and nonprofit groups (organised around the family, religion, community and tradition) which deliver services based on need and reciprocity (Lusk 1992:15).

"The upshot is that the government isolates poverty from the process of capital accumulation and economic development and reduces the solution to designing specific social policies ... in such a context, the RDP functions not as a developmental framework but as an aggregation of social policies designed to alleviate poverty without impacting on the economic policies and practices that reproduce poverty and inequality" (Development Update, June, 1997:10).

The challenge will be to appease demand while pursuing macroeconomic policies that sustain growth.

In *NGO Matters* (April 1998:12), it is pointed out that the World Bank played a major role in the writing of GEAR and has called for further financial cuts to meet Gear targets. The World Bank claims that GEAR is 'complementary' to the RDP, and that the RDP was much closer to the lines of policy advocated by UN agencies. Some critics maintain that GEAR totally reverses promises made in the RDP. GEAR has been described as "a homespun structural adjustment programme" (Marais 1997:6).

In addition, the system based on citizenship and universal access to welfare conflicts with policies such as GEAR. This is also illustrated by the inadequate allocations made to welfare in the Budget. The government argues GEAR enables greater social expenditure to take place.

The South African Government is caught in the double-bind situation of attempting to meet the expectations of the people, providing basic social and economic services to the poor, and enhancing economic growth by competing in the global economy. The Minister of Finance, in his Budget Speech in 1999, observed that "integrating the South African economy into the world has been a major challenge in the past four and a half years. We inherited an uncompetitive, in-ward looking, protectionist economy. We have since 1994 sought to open up the economy in a measured and sustainable way".

However, the action of cutting down on social spending at the expense of economic growth can have negative consequences. In a country such as Sri Lanka, recent attempts to retrench social programmes and attract foreign investments have resulted in heightened inequality and deteriorating social conditions (Jayasuriya, cited in Midgley 1998:123). There is a good deal of evidence to support the contention that people in industrial countries enjoy high standards of living not only because of economic growth but because of government social policies and expanded social provision (Midgley 1998:123). The advanced countries' increasing social expenditure on unemployment

benefits and measures to overcome some of the effects of recession and austerity are financially not possible in South Africa.

There is also evidence to show that social programmes and social expenditures promote economic growth and contribute to the economy in particular by reinforcing demand from the poorest of society. If social integration promotes economic development, it follows that social welfare programmes foster social harmony and have positive consequences for the economy. Robinson and White (1997:35) cite Moser's study, which documents the extent to which the 'economic' crisis has eroded trust and co-operation in a number of important respects, notably by increasing crime and insecurity and reducing the time available for women to collaborate in community activities. It has already been shown that investors are reluctant to invest in a country, like South Africa with a high crime rate. In the short term, the economic conditions could create more costs to the welfare sector as this sector will have to deal with poverty and its consequences.

Another contradiction is in the policy process. There is a move from a consultative process to one of non-negotiation as in the development of GEAR and the Financing Policy (1999).

"The history of Africa and elsewhere has shown the inability of the current social-welfare system to live up to expectations and promises, and the persistent inability of the political and socio-economic process to respond to concrete community preferences, redistribute resources efficiently and fairly, and redress inequalities." (Kawewe 1995:307). The question to ask is whether South Africa is to be another country in Africa unable to deliver and implement change in the lives of its people and whether policy will remain a philosophical document.

2.4 POLICY PROCESS IN AN EMERGING DEMOCRACY

The policy process has been included in the study as it sets the tone for transformation. It is based on the new ideals of consultation and participation, which forms the philosophical basis of welfare policy. In addition an evaluation of the process is important as it reflects the capacity of society and the acceptance of policy by the people. This has a direct bearing on its implementation.

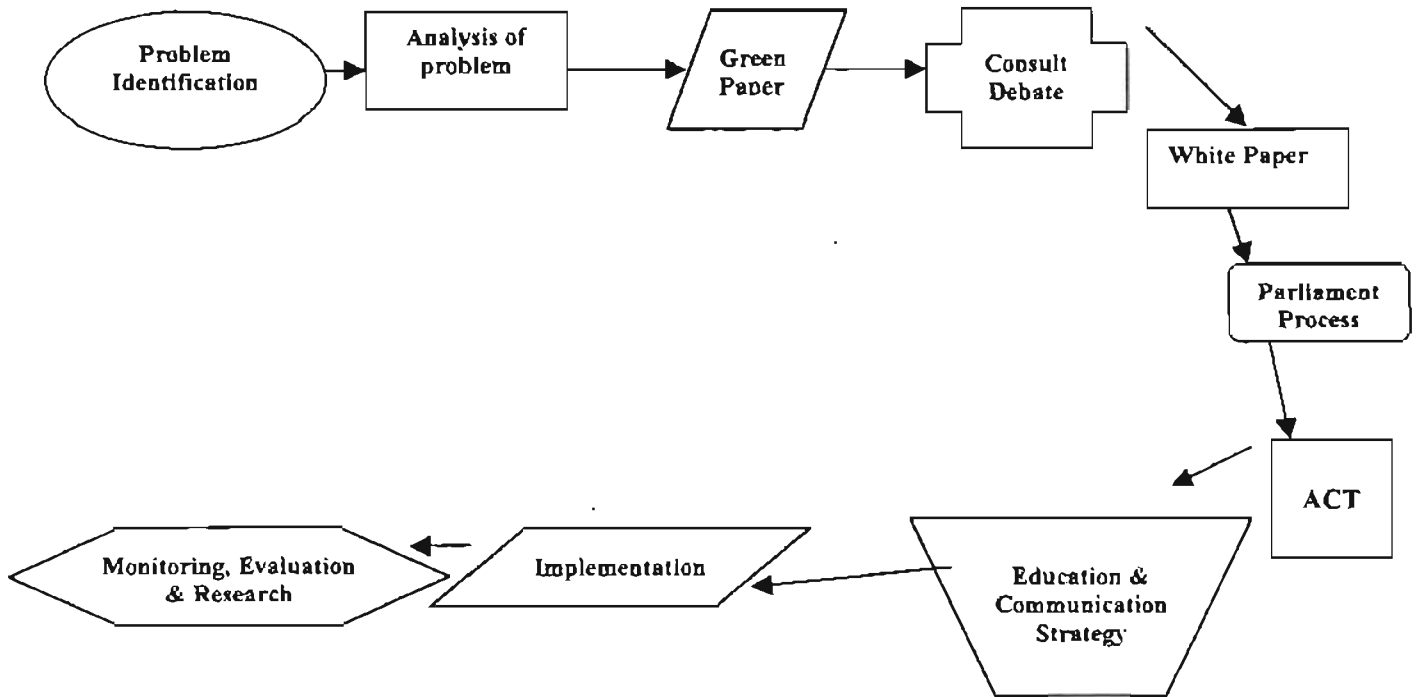
2.4.1 A CONSULTATIVE/LEGISLATIVE CHANGE PROCESS

The 1994 elections marked the beginning of the transformation of South African society. The apartheid era welfare system denying support to the majority required urgent transformation to one based on the principles of equality and equity. A process was put in place to develop a new social welfare policy framework. The principles that underline it are those of inclusivity and accessibility to all parties in the welfare field, enabling stakeholders to participate in the process, transparency, accountability and cost-effectiveness in conducting the process (Welfare Update 1998:3).

The policy process is very important because small differences in policy process can produce at times large differences in policy product and outcome (Horowitz 1989:240). A White Paper is a policy document for the government, for experts in the field, for civil society and, broadly, for the people. Parliament is the compiler of White Papers, and these have to go through stringent Parliamentary Process (Electronic Work Gazettes Workbook 1999).

The key steps in the policy-making process in South Africa is outlined in the diagram below (adapted from Friedman cited in Taylor 1997:219).

TABLE: 2.1 THE POLICY PROCESS



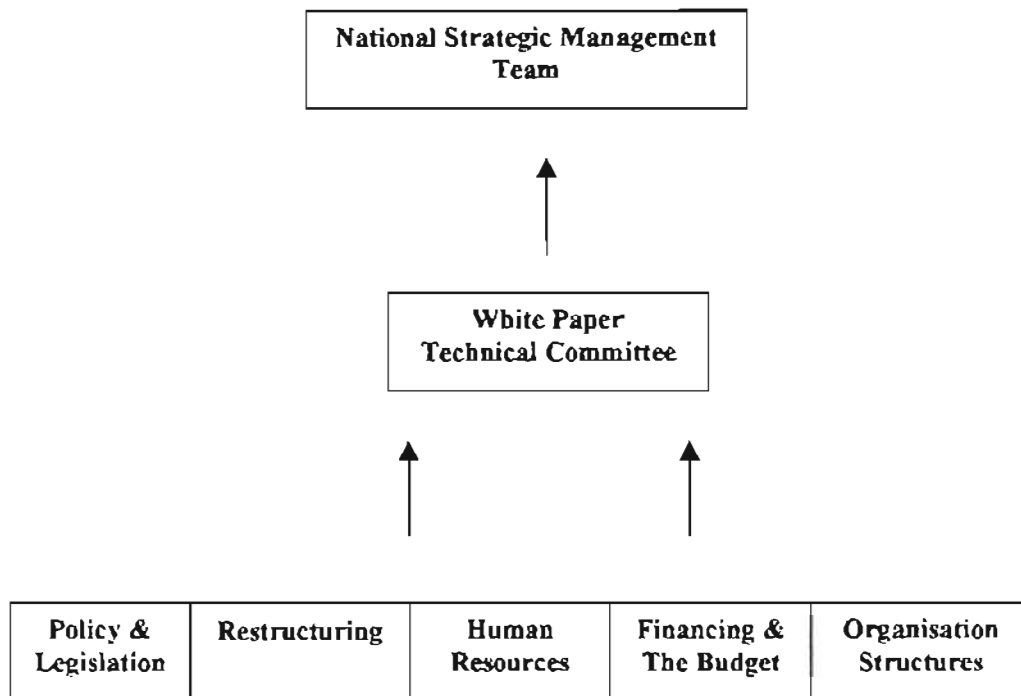
As depicted in Table 2.1, following the thorough analysis of a given problem, recommendations are encapsulated in a Green Paper. There is then a process of consultation and debate after which recommendations are adopted in a White Paper and it then goes through a parliamentary process. This is then formally included in a Bill following its review by the state legal advisor. The Bill then goes through a standing committee in Parliament, and after parliamentary debate, is adopted as an Act. Formal implementation of the policy is monitored and evaluated extensively.

2.4.2 THE WHITE PAPER OF SOCIAL WELFARE PROCESS

Different ministries have chosen different processes for developing their policies. Ministries have had to strike a balance between getting a policy through speedily, so that delivery begin to take place, and enabling participation, which necessarily slows things up (Lund 1998:10).

The development of the White Paper of Social Welfare began in January 1995. Structures were set up to conduct and guide the policy process (Letsebe 1997:77-82).

Figure: 2.1 Graphic presentation of the Strategic Management Teams



Source: Letsebe (1997:78)

The National Strategic Management Team and five technical teams were tasked to advise the Ministries during the transformation process. These committees were task teams set up for the compilation of the WPSW.

2.2.3 NATIONAL STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT TEAMS

The main function of this team was to co-ordinate the change in the management process. The team is composed of the National Minister of Social Welfare Population Development, a nominated member of the executive from each of the nine provincial ministries; a representative nominated by the National

Welfare and Social Service Forum and four other representatives. Furthermore, technical committees were established to compile the White Paper. Five such committees were set up:

National Policy and Legislature Technical Committee - The task of this committee was to review all existing legislation of welfare and make recommendations for amendments.

The Technical Committee on Restructuring the Social Welfare Delivery System - the task was to review existing systems and structures of welfare and examine the functional division between the national, provincial and local levels of government as far as welfare was concerned. Furthermore this committee was tasked to address the issue of the plan and functions of population and community development; and consider the relationship between Government, the private sector and non-governmental organizations.

Human Resources Development Technical Committee

The task of this committee was to consider the needs of human resource development in relation to the economy, addressing issues pertaining to all categories of staff in the social welfare delivery system, and developing common accreditation standards for community-based organisations.

Technical Committee on Financing and Budget Restructuring - the task was to ensure that the budget was adjusted, to consider the establishment of a national financial management system and to examine existing state financing of services, financial criteria and alternative sources of funds.

The Technical Committee on Organizational Structures and Relationships

This committee was to determine the relationships, lines of communication and accountability between the national and provincial departments; attend to the

relationship with and lines of communication between the different levels of government and other stakeholders; identify the organisational structures needed in the social welfare delivery system, for example, Councils; and determine what structures were needed to share resources and attend to multilateral and bilateral agreements. These structures were replicated in each of the nine provinces.

Submissions were called for publicly, the process for participation advertised extensively, and the public encouraged to send submissions. The National Welfare, Social Service and Developmental Forum (NWSSDF) represented civil society in the policy-making process. The idea was to draw as many people as possible into the process. There must have been an assumption that with such wide representivity, consensus could be managed and conflicts resolved. Based on the work of the technical committees, and on public submissions, a draft discussion document was drawn up and circulated to the various stakeholders for comment. A National Consultative Conference was held in Bloemfontein in June 1995. The Discussion Document was accepted as a basis for the White Paper. This Discussion Document was gazetted in November 1995, and further submissions were received. Towards the end of 1996, the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee held public hearings over a two-day period to ensure public input into the process. The White Paper for Social Welfare was published early in 1997. A three-year Social Welfare Action Plan (SWAP 1998) has been developed to guide the implementation of the White Paper and determine welfare priorities. The action plan includes key performance indicators for the monitoring and evaluation of programmes. A financing policy has also been adopted as the key to transformation.

2.4.4 EVALUATION OF THE POLICY PROCESS

Some problems in the policy process of the WPSW were identified. One important core issue that became apparent in South Africa was that, because of past racial divisions, Black people had not previously held senior management and policy positions. In consequence, they were largely marginalised in the initial key decision-making process (Lebetse 1997:84).

In practice, there was resistance expressed in negative attitudes to change in addressing huge discrepancies in social welfare resource allocations across racial lines. Members of the civil service who were employees of the previous government played a role in slowing down and sabotaging the process (Lebetse 1997:84). One of the conditions for political settlement was the "Sunset Clause" whereby, for a period of five years after the election, all civil servants would be assured of their jobs. The extent to which this has slowed down the design and implementation of new policies is inestimable in the opinion of Lund (1996: 237).

Another problem that emerged was managing the change process, which, according to Lund (1996), required the maximum preparation of personnel for impending changes. This process could have been more comprehensively addressed. In Third World countries, there is a shortage of trained personnel and, in many, data is far from adequate for policymaking (Horowitz 1989:245). In addition, according to Lund (1996:237), the process was hampered initially by a lack of logistical and financial planning, which caused delays. Demographical statistics were not totally representative of the population in South Africa before democracy. This placed an enormous obstacle to formulating a national plan in a country where even the Government was not sure of the size, age, and geographical distribution of the population. Its freedom to pursue a rational or synoptic solution can be drastically curtailed by such factors (Jones 1990:262).

Bernstein (1999) is of the opinion that South Africa needs to increase its capacity in the field of policy-making and its implementation. She states that 'White Papers' inform us regarding where we need to get to, but that there is no thought about how to do it. Many civil servants are also new to policy-making and do not have the requisite skills or experience to handle the process. In addition, Bernstein (1999) is of the opinion that there has been inadequate linkage between policies and budgetary constraints.

The principles, which followed the process, were commendable as they were based on consultation and ensured representivity. Kaseke (1998:145) is of the opinion that "in Southern Africa there has been limited participation of the various stakeholders in determining the nature and scope of social welfare. South Africa now seems to be the exception in the region as it has sought the participation of various stakeholders in determining welfare policy".

Although considerable effort was expended to ensure participation, in a study in South Africa Taylor (1997:218) reports that community members were not aware of significant policy shifts and that these changes were not communicated to them. This was attributed to the speed at which policy changes took place, which did not allow for the active participation of community members, who therefore felt distant from the process.

Horowitz (1989:199) also concludes that community participation in the policy process occurs to a lesser degree in developing countries than in the West, and some sectors hardly participate at all and are politically inert. A survey showed that a moderate to high level of political information and participation occurred in only 37% of Kenyan people. This means that there is very little participation and poor communication in the policy-making process. Overall, it is far more common in developing countries for significant sectors to be politically inert, at least until there is more political awareness and knowledge of rights (Horowitz 1989:199).

The South African population might need more time to adjust since they were excluded from any political process during the forty-eight years prior to 1994. People do not yet know their rights. Community participation in public policy formulation was not allowed under apartheid rule. The majority of people do not know what the process entails or how to inform the process to ensure that their interests and needs are included in new policies (Taylor 1997:218). Innovative ways of involving mass participation and reaching grassroot people in the policy process are needed. In Botswana, for example, the Kgotla, the meeting-place in front of the chief's residence, is the traditional forum for debate and discussion of local issues (Osie Hwedie 1998:8). In South Africa, there is a tradition of mass meetings and civic organisations, but this has not been tapped. Hui (1989:254) has stated that no social policy is complete without including public education as its basic component.

However, with the development of subsequent policies such as the Financing Policy and GEAR, there has been a lack of consultation and a move to positions of non-negotiation. Fast tracking of the Financing Policy has also been raised as a concern by the NSWWF. The Department of Welfare has left the entire welfare social service and development sector behind in the development of its new financing policy (Ramklass 1999: 2).

The consultative process has been unacceptable, especially as the Department of Welfare has a stake with civil society ... two to three people were chosen to produce the policy document (financing document) and this task was completed in just three weeks (Ned 1999:3).

2.5 SHIFTS IN POLICY: FROM A RESIDUAL MODEL TO A DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACH

Different perspectives or theoretical approaches to social welfare policy are identified in the literature. Welfare structure of a society is a reflection of broader cultural and societal conditions. "It seems to be a feature of 'modernism' that

social and political theories are evaluated or ranked by reference to the way they deal with welfare, or what welfare-enhancing policies, in a material sense, can be derived from them." (Barry 1990:5). Gilbert and Specht (1993:43) are of the view that policy-makers and planners have to make social welfare policy choices which revolve around four questions:

- What is the basis of social allocations?
- What are the types of social provisions to be allocated?
- What are the strategies for the delivery of these provisions?
- What are the ways to finance these provisions?

A variety of different theories and philosophies, including the perspectives on social problems, influences the decision-making of planners and policy practitioners. In order to understand the problems of social policy adequately, and to contribute to their solution, it is necessary to understand the wider social context of policy. There is a need to understand structural patterns and arrangements and the nature and meaning of welfare within a wide societal perspective through which needs are met and has therefore been included in this study.

There are two basic models of welfare in the scope of statutory provision; namely, residual and institutional welfare. Within South Africa, there has been a move from a residual model of welfare policy to one based on citizenship and development.

2.5.1 RESIDUAL WELFARE

South African welfare policy was based on the principles of residualism. A residual view of welfare holds that state provision should come into play only when there is a breakdown in the natural mechanisms for support of individuals; that is, family, market and voluntary charities. The State intervenes in welfare as

a last resort. Its ideal-type organisational form is means-tested poor-relief (Lundstrom 1989:264). Access to services is based on selectivity. The nature of services is based on individual pathology. Residual programmes are reactive and are developed and funded only when the demand for services exceeds the ability of society to meet those needs in the private sector. Social welfare provision is of a short-term temporary nature, helping clients over a crisis period. The safety-net concept, based on the proposition that people should be prevented from falling below a certain minimum standard owing to misfortune, represents residualism.

2.5.2 INSTITUTIONAL WELFARE

It was expected that welfare in South Africa was to become institutionalised and some kind of welfare state was to emerge after democratic elections in 1994. Luiz (1994:330) also agrees that South Africa has much to learn from the welfare state, despite the unlikelihood of this system ever being entirely reproduced in this nation. Luiz (1994:330), while not advocating a welfare state (in South Africa) in its European form, believes that there is much to be learnt from their approach, especially on how to achieve consensus and humanise market forces.

Service provision in the institutional model is towards statutory welfare. Access to services is based on the principle of universality. Services are available to everyone regardless of their personal circumstances. Institutionalised services are seen as an investment in the well-being of the individual and part of the effort to encourage healthy and productive citizens. There is no connection between what you pay and what you get out of the system. Benefits are supposed to give the individual a decent standard of living.

2.5.3 THE WELFARE STATE

A welfare state is a nation that has at least a minimum level of institutionalised provision for meeting the basic economic and social requirements of its citizens.

The concept refers both to intention of the idea of state responsibility for welfare and the state mechanisms, (the institutions and practices for delivering services and provisions) (Mishra 1981:xi). The notion of the welfare state has been justified by the concept of justice that is specifically redistributive. The concept of the welfare state had its origins in Britain. The Beveridge Report of 1942 had an important influence on its development. Taken in conjunction with the commitment to Keynesian macro-economic policies, the idea of welfare had become completely associated with a social philosophy designed not to replace the market but to correct it where appropriate (Barry 1990:47). This welfare state had two dimensions, full employment and an extensive range of public services (Gladstone 1995:2). The system did recognise the 'rights' of citizenship in that redistribution was not seen as an act of charity, but as a consequence of membership of the community (Gladstone 1995:2).

Today, the welfare state is in a state of crisis. It is important for South African policy-makers to review the situation so that they can learn from the experiences. The present system is being seen as financially unsustainable, providing money to everyone in disagreeable circumstances renders such conditions more bearable and so reduces the incentive for self-support (Butler 1995:242).

Research has clearly indicated that the welfare state's aim of equality, achievement, and maintenance of minimum standards of provision, and of the maintenance of social cohesion and collective responsibility, has at best been only partially achieved (George and Wilding cited in Ife 1995:3). In addition, western capitalism has learned that the principles of the welfare state are too costly and involve too great a transfer of political and economic power to the middle and working classes (Gould 1993:10). Research has also shown that welfare has not reached its intended target and that the middle class has benefited most.

Weekes (1994:235) states that at present a co-existence or blend of a residual and institutional/socialist model is what is likely to work best in South Africa. If rationally planned and effectively implemented, such a mix of systems could become more practically workable, politically desirable and economically feasible than the outright creation of a welfare state.

Midgley (1995) is of the opinion that neither model, the residual or the institutional, addresses development issues, and furthermore that both models assume that the cost of social welfare will be met by the economy. He therefore proposes a model which promotes a developmental perspective in social welfare.

2.6 DEVELOPMENTAL SOCIAL WELFARE

The WPSW adopts a developmental approach to social welfare in South Africa and constitutes a paradigm shift from the residual model of welfare. South Africa has chosen the path of developmental welfare as its policy choice and a reformist approach to explaining social problems. The orientation of social welfare policy to date has been polarised around the two alternatives of residual or institutional welfare.

The White Paper on Welfare (Department of Welfare 1997) refers to Developmental Social Welfare as "an integrated and comprehensive system of social services, facilities, programmes and social security to promote social development, social justice and the social functioning of people".

It recognises the causative influence of social factors on social problems and allows for the formulation of state policy to address social causes. There is an emphasis on strategies and policies being given primarily to structural creation and modification (Weekes 1999:3). Mazibuko (1996:150) points out that the essence of developmental social and welfare policies is to help solve problems,

create opportunities, provide access to resources and allocation of resources, promote natural helping and support networks, and enhance peoples capacities.

The Minister of Welfare and Population Development (HANSARD 1994:3304), in her statement to Parliament in adopting the definition of developmental social welfare, is quoted as saying: "This definition is important, not only because it has been accepted by the people of South Africa, but also because it provides us with a vision of the type of social change that is needed to address both the psychological wounds of apartheid and deal with the root causes of social problems. It helps us to address the problems that emanate from the systems and structures. With this holistic approach and multipronged policy direction in social welfare, we are therefore challenged to move away from the incremental, *ad hoc*, fragmented response to the needs of the people within the public sphere of provision."

2.6.1 THE POWER OF DEVELOPMENT

One of the ruling ideas of our time is that of development: the transition from poverty and traditionalism to wealth and indemnity. Its power as an organising principle is well acknowledged. Cowen and Shenton (1995:27) have called it the central organizing concept of our time and say it "would be difficult to find a single nation-state in the North who does not have its departments or ministries of local, regional and international development". No Third World can nation expect to be taken seriously, they contend, "without the development label prominently displayed on some part of its governmental anatomy" (Cowen and Shenton 1995:27).

Staudt defines development as "a process of enlarging people's choices, of enhancing participatory democratic processes and the ability of people to have a say in the decisions that shape their lives, of providing human beings with the opportunity to develop their future potential and of enabling the poor, women, and free independent peasants to organise for themselves and work together.

Simultaneously, development is defined as the means to carry out a nation's development goals and to promote economic growth, equity and national self-reliance." (cited by Cowen and Shenton 1995:28).

While the issues encompass the range of the concept, there is no consensus on the meaning of development. Turner and Hulme have proposed six points on what constitutes development:

1. an economic component dealing with the creation of wealth and improved conditions of material life, equitably distributed ;
2. a social ingredient measured as well-being in health, education, housing and employment;
3. a political dimension including such values as human rights, political freedom, and enfranchisement;
4. a cultural dimension in recognition of the fact that cultures confer identity and self-worth to people;
5. the full-life paradigm, which refers to meaning system, symbols, and beliefs concerning the ultimate meaning of life and history; and
6. a commitment to ecologically sound and sustainable development so that the present generation does not undermine the position of future generations (1997:11).

Kurien argues that for the bulk of the people, development connotes sufficient food, adequate housing, reasonable clothing, secure employment, the opportunity to widen their horizons and the conditions to have free and peaceful interactions with those around them (1998:38).

The principle of developmental social welfare seen from the perspective of many of these notions and in policy terms implies a major shift for South Africa: to move away from a welfare system based on residualism and handouts to an integrated, empowering model. ✓

2.6.2 SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: IMPLEMENTATION OF SOCIAL CHANGE

A developmental approach to welfare is built around the concept of social development which focuses on growth and change. Midgley (1995:25) views social development as an extension of the residual-institutional dichotomy, this being a third approach to social welfare which promotes a developmental perspective in social welfare.

At the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995 (United Nations:1998), governments, including South Africa, pledged to make the conquest of poverty, the goal of full employment, and the fostering of stable, safe and just societies their overriding objectives. The ten commitments were to:

- eradicate absolute poverty for all by a target date to be set by each country;
- support full employment as a policy goal;
- promote social integration based on the enhancement and protection of all human rights;
- achieve equality and equity between women and men;
- accelerate the development of Africa and the least developed countries;
- ensure that structural adjustment programs include social development goals;
- increase resources allocated to social development;
- create an economic, political, social, cultural and legal environment that will enable people to achieve social development;
- attain universal and equitable access to education and primary health care; and
- strengthen cooperation for social development through the United Nations.

(United Nations:1998).

Obviously the elimination of global poverty should form the basis of any social development (Lusk 1992:11). Social development incorporates the political, economic and cultural changes as part of a deliberate action to transform society.

It has the ultimate goal of alleviating poverty by transforming society and redistributing resources to a more equitable distribution between urban and rural contexts (Gray 1998:32).

Midgley (1995:25-29) outlines the following characteristics of social development:

- Social development is inextricably linked to economic development.
- It has an interdisciplinary focus in analysing and dealing with current social problems and for promoting social welfare.
- It invokes a sense of process of growth and change.
- Change is conceived of as progressive in nature.
- Social development is interventionist. Organised efforts are needed to bring about improvements in social welfare.
- It is fostered through various strategies which seek to link social interventions with economic development efforts.
- It is concerned with the population as a whole, especially those who are neglected by economic growth or excluded from development which takes place within a wider context of intervention that promotes the welfare of all.
- It advocates the adoption of a macro-focus, which directs attention to communities, regions and societies and seeks to promote social welfare within specific spatial settings such as inner city areas, rural communities, cities, regions or countries.
- The goal of social development is the promotion of social welfare. The condition of social welfare is fostered through various mechanisms or institutions.

In conclusion Midgley (1995:28) argues that "Social development is inclusive of interventionism, commitment to progress, macro-focus, universalism, integration of social policy with economic growth, socio-spatial focus and eclectic, and pragmatic approach. It is thus the most inclusive of all approaches for promoting social welfare today."

In addition social development has many other benefits. Social development as a democratic process to improve livelihoods, is supposed to be managed co-operatively for the benefits of the grassroots. The mobilisation of human and natural resources, equitable distribution and utilisation of the resources, of socioeconomic and popular control of the decisions are some of the associated processes (Osei-Hwedie 1998:2). Furthermore, social development has a strong philosophic base. Estes (cited in Dlamini 1996:30) proposes several values that are central to social development; namely conscientisation, distributive justice, non-exploitation, rationality, detribalisation, co-operation, the emergence of humanocracy and participation.

2.6.2.1 NEW CHALLENGES CONFRONTING SOCIAL WORKERS

In adopting a social development model, Anderson and Wilson (1994:75) identify four characteristics of social work as being salient and which will pose new challenges to social workers:

- The social development model is one based on direct services and not reliant on conventional casework methods. These services must take into account factors such as traditional religious beliefs, the role of village headmen and chiefs, extended family and tribal systems, and cultural values.
- Practical development skills include those related to setting up and managing rural co-operatives, the growing of vegetables and raising livestock.
- Social workers should be able to deal with the effects and ramification of dire poverty and engage in economic development activities aimed at providing for basic needs.
- Social work must reflect the principle of 'indigenisation' and be appropriate to the people and the country.

Social workers in South Africa will have to rethink their changing role within a framework emerging from a social services perspective to a developmental perspective. Considering how deeply embedded the perception of the curative role of social work is in the minds of many social workers, a radical paradigm shift is needed to make social workers more receptive to the idea of development, especially as far as the economic component is concerned (Rankin 1997:189). According to Kaseke (1998:46) the social work curriculum at universities continues to be clinically oriented. There is therefore a predominance of casework as a main method of intervention. The social development model or practice stresses greater involvement on the part of social workers in the tasks of social policy and planning, programme evaluation and community organisation. This requires knowledge and skills in working with professionals in the areas of economic development and planning, health and education. It further requires sensitivity to socio-cultural and political factors and knowledge of how to engage in effective social action strategies (Anderson et. al 1994:74).

Midgley (1996:20) envisages that a developmental perspective is more likely to emerge if social workers focus on forms of intervention that promote the attainment of material goals. A materialist perspective is also compatible with the responsibility of social work to address the problems of poverty, deprivation and material need. As discussed earlier, poverty is a major problem in South Africa (Midgley 1996:20). Midgley is of the opinion that there are at least three ways in which social work can contribute to economic development:

- It can assist in the mobilisation of human capital for development. Many Third World countries, for example, use social workers to mobilise communities to establish day care centres which can be used for other purposes; for example, maternal health education.
- Social workers can become involved in the formation of social capital. This concept refers to the creation of economic and social infrastructure such as roads and bridges, provision of drinking water schemes, and other facilities.

Yet another use of the term relates to the ability of communities to create co-operative and 'dense' social relationships conducive to productive economic activities.

- Social workers can contribute positively to economic development by assisting low-income and special needs clients to engage in productive employment or self-employment (Midgley 1996: 22).

The Department of Welfare has embarked on a flagship pilot projects programme to investigate what constitutes development in South Africa. These pilot projects are in operation in all provinces. It is hoped that this will help the process of capacity building of social service personnel and contribute to the development of an indigenous knowledge base.

2.6.2.2 RADICAL APPROACH TO SOCIAL WORK

Mwansa (cited in Osei-Hwedie 1993: 23) argues that social work must be coerced to depart from its current liberal character and adopt a more pragmatic, radical approach. The radical view holds that there have to be structural changes in society to uproot poverty and improve the welfare of its people. In Africa this would include assisting disadvantaged people to develop the necessary skills to participate in national debates, organise for social justice, and demonstrate and agitate on behalf of themselves (Anderson 1994:77). The central element of a radical approach places emphasis on the desire for the disadvantaged to work collectively towards changing alienating conditions. This orientation means that social work focuses on structural change, inequality and social disadvantage, thereby taking a preventative stance. It also stresses self-reliance and popular participation aimed at enhancing people's capacity to work for their own welfare (Anderson 1994:77).

There are other voices, Ntebe (1994) also agrees that social workers in South Africa have to adopt a radical approach. She proposes a radical stance for the following reasons:

- It offers the ideals of a humanitarian and egalitarian society.
- It locates the source of problems in the socio-economic system.
- There is an emphasis on change instead of adjustments, and this demands an understanding of fundamental change processes which is not offered by traditional social work.
- It encourages collective action and solutions in consultation with people.
- It recognises the need for political action.
- It requires social workers to be consistent and persistent in their roles as enablers, facilitators and advocates in their struggle for a humane welfare society.

However, Midgley (1995:28), believes that social development should enhance and not replace conventional functions. Developmental activities should be harmonised with conventional remedial roles so that social work can make a meaningful contribution to the promotion of welfare in Third World countries.

2.6.2.3 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Social development is located in a paradigm of development which is humane and people-centred. In the opinion of Vries (1998:4), community development is the vehicle, the process, the strategy that will keep social development honest and people-centred. Social development provides us with a map; it is not the territory but merely a map of how to negotiate the territory... and it is a new map. Social development is the destination (and provides a route), and community development the vehicle.

The community development approach will also inform the reorientation of social welfare programmes towards integrated and development strategies (WPSW:1997). Community development is about enabling people through the process of empowerment to participate equally in the process of decision-making so as to ensure sustainability and self-reliance (Mbatha 1998: 4). Mbatha (1998:4) envisages the process of community development as comprising of the following:

- empowering people;
- participation by people;
- fostering self reliance;
- unlocking creativity; and
- building on what people know.

2.6.2.4 EMPOWERMENT OF PEOPLE AND COMMUNITIES

Sustainable development cannot take place without active citizen participation or involvement in the development process. According to Mbatha (1998:4), the word 'empowerment' has been used to imply the promotion of community development through self-help, with an emphasis on the process rather than on the completion of participation projects. It also refers to the process of collective decision-making and collective action and popular participation. The empowerment process fosters self-reliance and participation of the people in problem-solving.

Abatena (1995:15) views community self-help activities as being instrumental in mobilising available community resources such as talents and skills, leadership, human energy, and capital and material resources. He further states that local self-help activities facilitate:

- co-operative and collaborative undertakings and the development of team spirit;

- joint decision-making and responsibility;
- effective mobilisation of community efforts and community resources;
- acquisition of better organisational and management skills;
- development of leadership skills; and
- development of an ability to initiate and accomplish a task.

As a consequence of community development, significant structural transformation can take place at the community level; that is, social system learning (social system change and development) takes place when learning (experience acquired by individuals in a system) is achieved through problem-solving situations involving social actions. In other words, real change in social systems comes about as a result of real life experiences involving problem-solving situations in which individual members within the system work together towards the fulfilment of system goals and objectives (Dunn cited in Abatena 1995:16).

Buckland (1998:236) is of the opinion that there is a need to mobilise indigenous social and political capital that would build, or re-build, community capacity and ensure sustainability of impact. He believes that the notion of social capital, measuring the levels of norms of reciprocity and networks in a society, is helpful in understanding how to achieve participation as empowerment and re-establishing indigenous sustainable organisations and institutions. Community empowerment occurs when new networks and norms of trust and reciprocity evolve in the face of national and global changes, and when they move beyond traditional kinship and ethnic groups to encompass all members within a spatial community. Participation is important in that it ensures that development projects are oriented to producing outcomes that meet the felt needs of the community.

Ukpong (1993:5) is of the view that the primary role assigned to NGOs is empowerment. "The role is played by assisting local people to build counter prevailing power structure, acquire bargaining and leadership skills and the

provision of enabling resources with which to sustain local initiatives, thereby enjoying a degree of autonomy in rural development," he says.

Molefe (1996: 25) believes that the essential prerequisite to participation in South Africa is conscientisation and defines conscientisation as "a process through which people achieve awareness of socioeconomic, cultural and political realities which shape their lives". In his view, conscientisation amounts to the creation of the will to change, which is an essential ingredient of community involvement, because if the will to change is absent, it will not be possible to involve the community meaningfully. Non-formal/social education has a part to play in the process of the consciousness-raising of the poor. Social action is a way of making the poor conscious of their collective strength and aware of the role of various institutions that are designed for their welfare and development.

2.6.2.5 OBSTACLES TO DEVELOPMENT

Molefe (1996:28) identifies obstacles to community development and rural development. Poverty and lack of self-sufficiency and self-reliance make it difficult to involve the community in development efforts; thus the very reason for community development may become an obstacle. Other attitudinal obstacles she cites are:

- Illiteracy, which can cause an inferiority complex. People are afraid to take part or to be fully involved, thinking that they cannot make worthwhile contributions.
- Customs and traditions. People feel obliged to follow customs and traditions even if they work against development. She cites the inferior position of women as an example of this.
- Apathy.
- Dependency. People become dependent on authorities/agencies, and receiving handouts becomes a norm.

2.7 ROLE OF STATE IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Midgley (1995:151) argues that governments must play a leading role in harmonising developmental strategies and managing the social development effort. Policies and programmes must support the process. He proposes an institutional perspective that requires the establishment of an organisational system. Furthermore, the overall responsibility for managing this system should be entrusted to a government agency which is responsive to the interests of diverse groups that are involved in social development (Midgley 1995:157).

Atampurge et al (1998:364) believe that, in Africa, the State, through national level stimulation, promotion and co-ordination, remains the most appropriate vehicle for promoting integrated development. Social development is best promoted when governments play a positive role in facilitating, co-ordinating and directing the efforts of diverse groups of individuals, groups and communities and effectively utilising the market, community and State to promote social development (Midgley 1995:161). South African policies have adopted this approach. Simultaneously local service development is being advocated.

Checkoway (1995) is of the opinion that local service development is becoming public policy in many countries, but that this is dangerous when translated into a national policy. One of the disadvantages is that it places the burden on local communities to modify its responses rather than on society to deal with the conditions that create the problems. He is of the view that major forces affecting local communities are not local but are largely social, political and economical in larger society, and it is therefore the State that must take overall responsibility.

Goulet (cited in Whitmore and Wilson 1997:168) holds a similar view that participation ought to be linked to political activity in broader arenas and should not be confined to small-scale, problem-solving efforts. He cautions that an exclusive interest in promoting local self reliance and participation leaves

oppressive governments or elites 'free space' for them to shape the larger forces. This means not impeding the entry into macro arenas of participating groups which have previously operated in micro arenas; it means creating 'free space' for them to win legitimacy and a voice in negotiation processes. This actually means that for social development to work properly, national or even global planning is required so as to bring the sectors of society into an integrated, holistic, inclusive attempt to combat poverty. South Africa embodied these principles in the RDP (Gray 1998: 214).

A study undertaken by United Nations Research Institute For Social Development (Ghai 1997) investigating the success of social development in Chile, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Kerala, Sri Lanka and Vietnam suggests the programmes were successful. Despite some variants as to structures in these countries, some commonalities in their approach to development were found:

- There is a strong governmental commitment to the universal provisioning of basic social services.
- The State played a key role, albeit with wide variations, in the institutional frameworks for the involvement of central, regional or local government: as well as in the relationship between the private and public sectors.
- The way in which money was spent was more important than how much was allocated to a programme.
- These countries sought to protect their social programmes through the management of their stabilisation and structural adjustment programmes. None of them sought to 'roll back' the State at the expense of such achievements, and there was significant cross-party consensus on what constituted these achievements, and on their importance.

It can be concluded that the State plays a crucial role in implementing developmental policies, but that collective responsibility with civil society is also imperative.

2.8 COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Crucial to the development process is the involvement of civil society. The promotion of national social development is a collective responsibility and the co-operation of civil society will be promoted (WPSW 1997:11). Collective responsibility involves welfare pluralism in terms of service delivery, which incorporates the voluntary sector, State and the market, a structure presently operating in South Africa. The White Paper also recognises that the promotion of civil society is crucial in building a democratic culture.

The involvement of civil society has many benefits. Swilling (cited by Singh 1993:2) "sees civil society as a sphere within which ordinary citizens, who do not control the levers of political and economic power base, have access to locally constituted voluntary organisations that have the capacity, know-how and resources to influence and even determine the structure of power and the allocation of material resources".

As has already been discussed for development to be sustainable it must be people-centred. Singh (1993: 2), states: "The positive dimension, of the idea of civil society as employed within the South African debate pertains to the fact that, although the individual's rights of free association may be the basis of traditional liberal conceptions of civil society, it could also foster solidarity, communitarian values and an associational ethos that leads citizens to achieve social goals together."

In addition, the voluntary sector is perceived to be involved with a series of attributes conducive to better quality service provision and developmental outcomes. The assumption is that voluntary organisations are smaller, more participatory, less bureaucratic, more flexible, more cost-effective, with an ability

to reach poor and disadvantaged people, all of which appear to justify an enhanced role in service provisioning (Robinson and White 1997:4).

However, Mayo and Craig (1998 :198) warn that the participation of civil society can become part of the justification for 'rolling back' the State, reducing spending on social welfare, and shifting the burden from the public sector to communities, including those in greatest need. Mayo & Craig (1998:200) are of the opinion that resourcing community services through voluntary labour as well as cash contributions enables governments to evade demands for equitable redistribution.

The Chief Director of Welfare was open about the cost-effectiveness of using civil society in South Africa (Bloch 1996:129): "...despite the political benefits of the involvement of civil society the South African Government is clear that it is a necessity because of economic reasons. In view of fiscal constraints, low economic growth rates, rising population growth rates and the need to reconstruct social life in South Africa, the Government cannot accept sole responsibility for redressing past imbalances and meeting basic physical, economic and psycho-social needs. There is a debate as to whether we are simply off-loading responsibilities, but the reality is that welfare systems are under threat throughout the world. There are not enough government resources to go around. So we need to look at mobilizing communities". Whatever the motives, the Government will facilitate the development of an inclusive and effective partnership with all the role-players in civil society. However, the WPSW does realise that "there are problems in the existing partnerships, that given the diversity of stakeholders in the welfare field there is a wealth of knowledge, skills and resources which should be harnessed by the government and its partners in a restructured welfare system" (WPSW 1997:23).

Given the scale of the ravages of apartheid, civil society cannot hope to achieve a variety of development objectives on its own, independent of the state. The role of the state will be central to restructuring South Africa. Clearly it will have to be the central agency of social transformation since civil society cannot perform that function. It will also have to forge a national and civic unity

out of a fractured and divided population. The State will have to generate a measure of social and political consensus on the basis of which development strategies could be undertaken while avoiding the dangers of statism. (Singh 1993: 5).

Gilberman and Bass (1996: 44) state that the "salience of voluntary involvement with government is based on the simple axiom that government controls the allocation of the majority of human service resources, including how much, to whom, and through what service delivery mechanisms."

However, Robinson and White (1997:44) are of the opinion that the concept of participation, community and civil society has been glamorised to a large extent. In their opinion, there are numerous examples of voluntary failure, and a determined bid to replace state by voluntary provision raises problems of ensuring quality control, limited prospect for sustainability, pervasive amateurism, and inadequate co-ordination. For these reasons, the state has to ensure that services are of high quality and delivered efficiently. However, in view of manifest problems of bureaucratic failure and resource constraints, potential solutions lie in the creation of collaborative, synergistic partnerships between State and non-State providers. Such partnerships are premised according to a scenario where the State has overall responsibility for ensuring a coherent policy framework and the bulk of financing, with civic organisations performing an essential catalytic role, fostering innovation and community initiative, while avoiding a wholesale transfer of responsibility for the financing and provisioning of resources to the voluntary sector (Robinson and White 1997:45). In this model, organizing synergy would be a long-term priority in developing societies. They are of the opinion that this would involve paradigm shifts and suggest an intellectual approach that recognises the separate importance of both public and civic institutional sectors. There should be systematic consideration of the institutional character and effectiveness of external agencies engaged in development interventions. There has to be a rethinking of concepts; for example, social capital could be extended beyond civil society to cover the public-civic interface. The public sector should also be restructured to become more efficient and

accountable. Relationships should be based on mutual trust, respect and co-operation across the State/society divide.

At the practical level, the detailed experience of action to organise various forms of synergy, co-production and partnership can be drawn together in search of potential lessons, and best practice, and new models of project/programme design which can be successful in achieving effective complementarity between State and voluntary agencies.

Mayo (1997: 4) agrees with a synergy model and suggests that by combining their knowledge, resources, approaches and operational cultures, the partner organisations would be able to achieve more together than they would by working on their own.

Canaan (1995:240) illustrates the development of a partnership in service delivery between State and agencies in the European Union based on synergy, collaboration and partnership. A partnership exists among a number of different ministries, and intersectoral collaboration is encouraged. All contribute funds to the programme. Similarly, social work services are co-ordinated at district level by the local State department that brings social workers together from the various agencies and fields of social work in order to plan interventions according to local needs and to encourage innovative and synergistic ways of working. Thus social welfare becomes programme-based rather than project-driven. All stakeholders come together to develop shared programmes within the overall priorities of a national plan. This approach overcomes the problems of small *ad hoc* projects struggling for existence in isolation. The importance of providing an enabling environment for the relationship between State and civil society to flourish is very important.

Within South African welfare policy, an element of corporatism has also been adopted. Cawson (cited in Schreiner 1994: 4) defines corporatism as the process

of negotiation and implementation of agreements between sectors of the State and powerful monopolistic interest organisations whose co-operation is indispensable if desired policies are to be implemented. There is a close relationship between State and the private sector within a corporatist model. The State and the private sector jointly fund welfare. Accountability is to government and to independent boards. Organisations such as the National Economic Development and Labour Chamber (NEDLAC) have been established which encourage national consensus between conflicting interests groups; namely, capital and labour.

Rankin (1997:186) argues that South Africa has a heterogeneous population whose different needs have to be catered for. It is unlikely that one particular welfare model will be the absolute answer to the social ills of a country because communities tend to be unique. This leaves room for a 'mix-and-match' approach to social welfare, which will lend some flexibility to our welfare policies. Rankin (1997:186) further argues that each of these approaches is not mutually exclusive. While South Africa must clearly find its own solutions to its own specific problems, it is nevertheless important to ensure that the process is informed by lessons from other countries in Africa and further afield.

2.9 THE AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

African countries have to deal with the legacy of colonialism in terms of welfare provision after their independence. Osei-Hwedie (1998:9) is of the opinion that, from a historic perspective, a combination of ideology, resource availability, politics and culture has been instrumental in shaping social policy in the region. At independence there were strong nationalist sentiments. The population had high expectations and was looking for a new ideology. African socialism emerged, and development efforts were geared towards structural transformation based on the notions of social justice and egalitarian redistribution (Osei-Hwedie 1998:10). In reality this was not easy to achieve; for example, in Zimbabwe there

were inadequate resources to meet the demands of the population (Kasekwe 1998:27). The economic and political performance of sub-Saharan Africa in the first three decades of independence has too often been disastrous. Various experiments in populist socialism have failed in Tanzania and Zambia, while Marxist-Leninism has been discarded in Angola and Mozambique. The ruling party in Namibia has moved from its pre-independence Marxist-Leninist rhetoric to an acceptance of a mixed economy, and the Zimbabwean government's continued official commitment to 'scientific socialism' is not mirrored in its liberalisation of the economy.

By the mid 1970s African economies were on the decline. This introduced a new period in African history: the era of structural adjustment (Osei-Hwedie 1998:11). There is greater unanimity at government level on economic systems in Southern Africa today than has been the case in the last fifteen to twenty years (Schire 1992:206). The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank were involved in structural adjustments. Structural adjustment is based on neo-liberal economic principles. The State is required to divest itself of direct participation in the economy and the provision of social services. Governments have to meet strict conditions, which limit their ability to adopt radical socialist policies (Schire 1992:202). In the era of structural adjustment, governments have, among other things, introduced some fees for social services, reduced government funding in service provision, withdrawn consumer subsidies, privatised public enterprises and retrenched workers, as part of their measures to improve the economy. This was contrary to the expectations of the people at liberation. The long-term benefits are still to be assessed, but in the short-term it has been devastating. What distinguishes the use of these measures and implications in Africa, however, is that it caught governments unprepared and with virtually no safety nets to contain the adverse effects (Osei-Hwedie 1998:16).

Macroeconomic forces have also been important in encouraging the increase in non-governmental organisation numbers and activities. The IMF and World

Bank's conditions on structural adjustment loans, national indebtedness and further adverse movements in the terms of trade have meant that many countries, and particularly those in Africa, have seen vast reductions in public expenditure. This has led to the withdrawal of State-provided services. Local organisations and higher level NGOs have stepped into these vacuums in an attempt to maintain basic levels of service (Turner and Hulme 1997:207). African governments are increasingly calling upon community development associations that are home area associations to fill the gap created by the retreating state (Atampurge 1998:354).

Another problem cited in the literature for the limited impact of social policy in Africa has been the adoption of inappropriate Western approaches. However, as Midgley (1997:121) points out, not all policies have been shaped by foreign influences and some have developed unique forms of social provision, such as community development, that are suited to local realities. Many governments are now reformulating their social policies to enhance their appropriateness. Karger (1996:11) suggests, in rethinking policies in Africa in the global context, that values such as productivity, reciprocity, familial responsibility, social cohesion and social choice must direct social welfare policy in Africa.

According to Lund (1998:3) South Africa has an extremely well-developed set of welfare organisations, and social service provision compared to many African countries. The present welfare structure in South Africa is based on welfare pluralism lines. However, they far from meet the needs of the population.

2.10 WELFARE SYSTEMS AND WELFARE PLURALISM: INTERNATIONAL TRENDS IN WELFARE

Internationally, a number of countries with welfare policies that are primarily of a residual nature (for example, the United States of America, and South Africa in

part) are being pressured by communities suffering the effects of economic recession to consider welfare policy models of a more institutionalised nature. At the same time, a number of developed countries which adopted institutionalised models (such as Sweden and the UK) are now reassessing their policies, primarily for economic reasons. Similar rethinking is also occurring in many developing countries adapting to transition periods of post-colonialism and increasing democracy (Weekes 1994:226).

The trend in global economy is towards free market capitalism (Gould 1993:7). In the West and in Eastern Europe today, the old 'capitalism versus socialism' debate is regarded as outdated. The last century closed with an international retreat from the comprehensive provision of the northern welfare state (Lund 1998:2). By 1990 the Marxist-Leninist road to socialism appeared to be unsuccessful both in the semi-peripheral areas (like the USSR and Eastern Europe) and in the contested Third World (Garner 1996:176). Few governments or significant opposition parties currently advocate specially socialist policies, and they have largely been dropped from conventional policy discourse (Ife 1995:5).

Gould (1993:237) is of the opinion that what we are now witnessing is the development of a new convergence towards welfare pluralism. Many countries have begun to move in the direction of welfare pluralism. A welfare system is a term which can be used to cover the different welfare mixes which allows for welfare pluralism. These can take a variety of forms and include various combinations of state, voluntary, fiscal, occupational, private and informal welfare (Gould, 1993, 237). This is illustrated by a mixed economy of care in the United Kingdom. However, within this model of welfare pluralism the State continues to play an important role in the delivery of welfare.

Economic rationalisation and privatisation has also received some support. This was predicted by Schire (1992:204) who observed that in the 1990s more attention would probably be directed at the institutional framework in a country

which will allow the market and state to interact in such a manner as to promote efficiency and equity, perhaps along social market lines. These were the policies of Thatcher and Reagan, where the aim was to dismantle state structures for public provision of services, and to replace them with market-driven, private sector activity. This is in the belief that the market with minimal or no regulation, is the best mechanism for the provision of human service in that it maximises efficiency, encourages competition and maximises individual choice and accountability to the consumer. The government's role is seen as minimal and policy directions include privatisation, 'user pay', private insurance and other systems (Ife 1995:5).

Morris (cited in Gould 1993:7) has shown that the following occurred with regard to welfare in these countries. :

- Increases in public expenditure were curtailed.
- Fees for public services were increased.
- Eligibility for benefits was tightened.
- Privatisation of many public services occurred.
- Government became a producer rather than a provider of services in the move towards a mixed economy of welfare.
- Means testing increased.

Non-governmental organisations have increasingly been called to fill the gap created by the withdrawal of the State from social service provision. Robinson and White (1997:25) are of the view that "given the movement towards pluralisation of provision, it is not surprising that increasing attention has been devoted to exploring the complex issues of inter-institutional co-ordination to new systems of provisions. Complementarity seen in terms of the State providing an enabling environment, is a common feature of current thinking about inter-institutional relations in the developmental field, operating not only through regulation, but also through subsidies and various forms of contracting. The

current thinking is on co-production, synergy, partnership and closer, more intense and enduring, forms of institutional collaboration."

South African policy makers are well aware of the effects of global trends, and a mixed economy of care is advocated, which is illustrated by the following quotation:

Caution and critical analysis will be exercised in considering the applicability and possible incorporation of such models into the change process in South Africa. This will certainly be the case with the move towards cost-reduction and privatisation and contracting out of state services. The government is well aware that in some countries this bias had adverse effects, in terms of declining service standards, worsening conditions of employment for staff, rising unemployment and the increase marginalisation of disadvantaged groups, women and children in particular. The move towards a leaner and more cost-effective public service in South Africa will therefore be based, not on privatisation but on the creation of effective partnerships between partnerships between government, labour, business and civil society, and the building of high levels of community involvement in the local delivery of services. (White Paper on the Transforming of The Public Service Summary 1995:8).

Overall there has been radical changes to welfare policy in South Africa. There has been a shift from a residual model of practice to a developmental model. However there are many contradictions in policy in South Africa. A major contradiction is the adoption of GEAR as its macro-policy framework which is not compatible with developmental social welfare. Developmental social welfare has brought with it new challenges and demands. Internationally and in Africa welfare pluralism is being advocated. This involves greater participation of civil society and the nonprofit sector in the welfare sector.

CHAPTER THREE

POLICY AND AGENCY CONTEXT IN SOUTH AFRICA

This chapter will focus on the policy and agency context in South Africa. An argument for the need for the adoption of a developmental approach is presented. Welfare structure in its present form is included and its suitability for developmental goals is discussed. Attempts made by the State to provide and enabling environment for a civil society-State partnership is reviewed. A theoretical outline of organisational transformation and the process of change is included as most welfare in South Africa is implemented through agencies.

3.1 THE NATIONAL GOALS OF THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTAL SOCIAL WELFARE STRATEGY (WPSW 1997: 7)

The objectives and goals of social policies constitute key criteria for the evaluation of their social significance and the analysis of their effectiveness. The national goals of the national developmental social welfare policy are:

- To facilitate the provision of appropriate developmental social welfare services to all South Africans, especially those living in poverty, those who are vulnerable and those who have special needs. These services should be rehabilitative and preventative and include developmental and protective services and facilities, as well as social security, social relief and social care programmes, and the enhancement of social functioning.
- To promote and strengthen the partnership between Government, the community and organisations in civil society and those in the private sector involved with the delivery of social services.
- To promote social development intra-sectorally both within the welfare departments and in collaboration with other Government departments and non-governmental stakeholders.

- To give effect to those international conventions of the United Nations system which the Government has ratified, and which are pertinent to developmental social welfare.
- To realize the relevant objectives of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

It can be concluded that South Africa, is following global trends in welfare and has adopted a developmental framework of welfare. Poverty alleviation is a major component. Welfare pluralism: and a partnership between the State and civil society are being encouraged.

In addition, South Africa's developmental social welfare policies and programmes will be based on the following guiding principles (WPSW 1997: 8):

- the securing basic welfare rights to every citizen, including the provision of both social security and welfare services;
- equity relating to race, gender, geographical, urban/ rural and sectoral disparities;
- non-discrimination towards all groups in society;
- democratic principles to promote the participation of the public and all welfare constituencies;
- human rights as articulated in the Constitution of South Africa;
- sustainability to ensure financial cost-effective and efficient services;
- quality services;
- accessibility: responsive services to all those in need;
- appropriateness to social, cultural and economic conditions in society; and
- practise of ubuntu; that is, the caring for one another's well-being and the fostering of a spirit of mutual support.

The recognition of these principles and goals will equip planners and policy practitioners at macro, meso and micro levels with the necessary perspectives to

make rational and accountable choices during ensuing phases of the policy formulation process and at different levels of practice.

3.2 NEED FOR DEVELOPMENTAL POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The residual model used in apartheid South Africa has been inadequate in meeting the welfare needs of the population. Weekes (1994:235) is of the opinion that an institutional model is neither workable nor desirable in South Africa, given the degree of voluntary sector involvement, the extent of poverty and unemployment, the enormous cost factor, and the propensity for dependency creation. The challenge facing South Africa with global trends at the moment is revitalising the economy and more appropriate policy development, to reduce the gross inequalities in economic opportunity that currently exist.

The White Paper of Social Welfare (1997) recognises that the country has serious problems of poverty and underdevelopment, especially in rural areas. Declining economic growth, large scale unemployment, and lack of access to land and social services are all indicative of a depressed state of social welfare (Rankin 1997:185). In *per capita* terms, South Africa is an upper-middle-income country, but most South African households either experience outright poverty or are vulnerability to poverty (May 1998:55). South Africa's Gini-coefficient (measure of inequality) is one of the highest in the world. While poverty is not confined to any single race group, it is mostly prevalent in the African population (61% of Africans and 38% of Coloureds are poor, compared with 5% of Indians and 1% of Whites). Three children in five live in poor households, and many children are exposed to public and domestic violence, malnutrition, and inconsistent parenting and schooling. Women are more likely to be poor than men: the poverty rate among female-headed households is 60%, compared with 31% for male-headed households (May 1998:55). These statistics show the need for welfare policy to meet the needs of a population emerging from the ravages of apartheid.

South Africa has officially adopted a social development model to reconstruct its social welfare system and to deal with the gross levels of poverty in the country. In motivating for the adoption of a developmental model of welfare, Vries (1998:4) is of the opinion that experience has shown that economic development does not automatically lead to improvements in welfare, nor does economic growth necessarily reduce unemployment and poverty. Similarly, we cannot have social programmes, which do not have due regard for the economic realities. Social development links social and economic development. Indeed, changes in industrial and macro-economic policy have drastically worsened the situation of many workers. The present situation in South Africa is one of distorted development. This occurs when the level of social development lags behind economic development. Social development has therefore been proposed as an ideal model for South Africa as it brings the two components together. A developmental approach is also economical since it is people-driven and sustainable. But according to Vries (1998:4), all public spending is being and will continue to be, cut. Social expenditure has traditionally been poured into avenues which neither added value nor developed human capital. Vries (1998:4) also observes that if programmes are to make a difference to the bottom 40 % in communities, then after a few years of targeted social investment these communities should be independent and self-reliant to the degree that their children are not trapped in the same cycle of poverty. Then more money can be made available for welfare. Instead of perpetuating the dependency of needy people on social work services, a developmental approach can ensure their integration into society as productive citizens who not only contribute to their own well-being but to the development of the community as well.

However, there is in South Africa some scepticism in adopting a developmental framework owing to the RDP having failed as the guiding policy framework of the national government. The question asked now is whether developmental welfare policy, based on RDP principles and goals, has any chance of addressing needs

in South Africa (Gray 1998: 2). It is therefore important that we review reasons for the failure of the RDP.

Fitzgerald (1996:126) cites various reasons:

- The original architects and champions of the RDP had underestimated the impact of global considerations on the new government's decision-makers.
- The institutional weakness of the RDP Office and its processes was linked to the perceived failure of delivery. The RDP Office and Ministry without Portfolio did not seem able to take the ideas, vision, and new methodologies to the actual places or to the people who were involved in real delivery.
- Insufficient time and attention were given to the design and establishment of institutional arrangements for effective RDP operations. Fitzgerald points out that over fifty per cent of RDP funds was never accessed owing to lack of institutional arrangements.

Civil society, which adopted a generally passive stance and waited for the State to deliver, should also share the blame for the failure of the RDP. The reasons for failure illustrate that much more than policy is required to rectify part imbalances and ensure policy implementation. There should be a concerted effort to ensure that this does not occur with welfare policy.

3.4 WELFARE STRUCTURES IN SOUTH AFRICA

An understanding of the present system is necessary in order to assess its peculiarities, strengths, weaknesses, and strategies for change. Gray (1996 B:8) proposes that in "redesigning our welfare system we must maintain existing welfare services in the public and private sector while, at the same time, expanding programmes into previously un-reached areas".

Welfare in South Africa is delivered by two quite different systems. First, there is the formal welfare system which exists within State organised parameters and receives state subsidisation. Then there is the alternative welfare system, which arose as part of the anti-apartheid movement

3.4.1 THE FORMAL WELFARE SYSTEM

3.4.1.1 STATE DEPARTMENT

In 1994, a single department of welfare was constituted. The Department of Welfare administers social pensions and grants and provides statutory social work services, most notably to problem adolescents, alcoholics and poor families who have fallen through the safety net of voluntary and community-based organisations (Gray 1998:26). Other State departments; for example, Prisons, Education and Health also provide welfare. The Welfare department is also involved in financing and regulating the non-governmental sector of welfare. The state departments are financed through taxation largely from the Welfare department budget, but also supported by line items under other departmental budgets.

3.4.1.2 REGISTERED VOLUNTARY WELFARE ORGANISATIONS

These are organisations that are lawfully registered and required to be affiliated to one of the officially constituted National Councils. Most of these agencies function in specialised fields of service. These organisations are funded through State subsidy, donations from the public through their own fund-raising efforts, and grants from funding bodies. Some of these agencies belong to co-ordinated fund-raising organisations, such as Community Chest, which undertakes fundraising on their behalf (Gray 1998:27).

3.4.2 INFORMAL WELFARE SECTOR

Born out of popular resistance to apartheid, an alternative or 'progressive' welfare sector evolved. It comprises services associated with non-sectoral anti-apartheid organisations; services under church auspices, and services rendered by self-help, organisations, non-governmental and community-based organisations (Gray 1998:28). These organisations did not register as voluntary welfare organisations as they did not want to be restricted by the State prior to 1994. Their funding was very largely from external sources.

However, the NonProfit Organisations Act of 1997 has now brought these organisations together. The Act provides for voluntary registration by any non-profit organisation. 'Government action' embraces not only direct provision of benefits and services, but also the regulation and subsidising (including fiscal relief) of various private forms of welfare (Ginsburg 1992:1). The goals of the Act are to provide an inclusive instrument that encourages non-profit organisations, sets a basic framework for their operation, sets rigorous governance standards, promotes accountability and consequently promotes the confidence of the general public, donors and government departments. A further goal is an educated and vigilant public and donor community with a commitment to the effective functioning of the non-profit sector (Welfare Update vol. 4.1 1998:4).

Other Welfare options also available in South Africa are:

3.4.3 THE PRIVATE BUSINESS SECTOR

Many industries have been employing social workers for some time and there is also a policy to extend their social responsibility programmes. The programmes are based on the principle that a problem-free workforce is more productive. Employee assistance programmes also function in the public sector; for example, Portnet, South African Defence Force, and South African Police Services.

3.4.4 PRIVATELY PRACTISING SOCIAL WORKERS

Social workers in private practice render services to those in society who can afford to pay for their services. In addition, organisations and institutions on occasion contract the services of social workers in private practice.

The varied structure of welfare in South Africa encourages pluralism, diversity, some elements of competition, and allows for some degree of choice by recipients.

3.5 AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT FOR CIVIL SOCIETY

PARTNERSHIP/DEVELOPMENTAL WELFARE:

Governments should actively encourage civic organs by helping to open up opportunity for civic action in the welfare field and providing incentives for civic organisations to become involved (Robinson and White 1997:38). The State is a crucial environmental factor which can influence civic welfare provision for good or ill, either directly through the effect of State institutions or particular civic organisations, or indirectly through the impact of state policies and regulations on other structural factors such as the operation of internal and external markets or distributional patterns (Robinson and White 1997: 24).

Since 1994 many other policies and structures have been put in place to create an enabling environment for a partnership with civil society. Some of these initiatives are listed below:

3.5.1 NONPROFIT ORGANISATIONS ACT, 1997 (ACT NO. 71 OF 1997)

The objectives of this Act are to encourage and support nonprofit organisations in their contribution towards meeting the diverse needs of the population of the Republic of South Africa by:

- a. creating an environment in which nonprofit organisations can flourish;
- b. establishing an administrative and regulatory framework within which nonprofit organisations can conduct their affairs;
- c. encouraging nonprofit organisations to maintain adequate standards of governance, transparency and accountability and to improve these standards;
- d. creating an environment within which the public may have access to information concerning registered nonprofit organisations; and
- e. promoting a spirit of co-operation and shared responsibility within government and among donors and other interested persons in their dealings within nonprofit organisations.

The Bill will replace parts of the Fund Raising Act (Act No. 71 of 1997). Registration of the organisation will be voluntary, based on the principle of free association. There has been a shift from government control and intervention to co-ordination. The Bill calls for the establishment of a directorate for nonprofit organisations. The directorate's responsibility concerns policy, legislation, and the management and implementation of such legislation. Its role is to include capacity building of organisations.

The NPO Bill is one of several initiatives in relation to the NPO sector. It does not address all the concerns of the public or the sector. However, it could be viewed as the critical first step to which further policies can be linked. (NGO Matters, Vol.2, No. 11, 1997)

3.5.2 NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND LABOUR CHAMBER (NEDLAC)

NEDLAC is the primary policy-making body for the promotion of economic growth and social equity. NEDLAC consists of Government, business, labour and a community constituency. The Minister of Labour co-ordinates the government's delegation in NEDLAC. NEDLAC is funded by the Department of Labour. NGOs

and the community are represented in the development chamber. This involvement illustrates the commitment of government to working together in establishing local-level partnerships for economic development. The inclusion of civil society will improve legitimate decision-making of government towards NEDLAC'S goals of promoting economic growth, participation in economic decision-making, and social equity. It could also be used as an indirect lobbying structure of the State.

3.5.3 NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (NDA) / TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT TRUST (TNDT)

The Transitional National Development Trust is an interim development finance agency which works as part of the national development strategy towards the alleviation of poverty and its causes. It does this by supporting organisations of civil society in their efforts to promote sustainable, people-centred development. These services are intended to build the capacity of local groups to make effective, sustainable use of limited resources, and to create an environment which enables ordinary people to assume greater control over their lives (TNDT 1998). The TNDT was established in 1996 and is funded by the South African Government and the European Union. The process of establishing a permanent NDA was negotiated with all stakeholders. The NDA will be regulated through the National Development Agency Act 108 of 1998.

3.5.4 CO-ORDINATING BODIES/NATIONAL FORUMS, NETWORKS

Several new structures have emerged as part of the attempt to rebuild civil society. These include NACOSS (National Councils of Social Services), SANGOCO (South African NGO Coalition), and NWSSDF (National Welfare Social Service and Development Forum). All of them have representation on new Government welfare structures.

3.5.3 SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL SERVICE PROFESSIONS

The Government has directed the transformation of the Social Work Council into the SA Council for Social Service Professions. In keeping with the White Paper - in an effort to broaden the reach of social services - it has introduced new categories of social service workers to include new and established occupational groups with varying degrees of professional organisation, such as social workers, child and youth care workers, probation workers, and community development workers. The requirements for the constitution of the Council ensures the inclusivity of civil society.

3.5.6 GOVERNANCE STRUCTURES

The WPSW has committed itself to the development of appropriate, legitimate, transparent and effective governance structures at local, provincial and national levels, aimed at promoting and strengthening "the partnership between government, community and organisations in civil society and the private sector who are involved in the delivery of social services" (NICC 1997:6). The National Interim Consultative Committee on Developmental Social Services was inaugurated to offer, in addition to other responsibilities recommendations on a permanent structure which would consolidate the partnership between the State and civil society.

3.5.7 FINANCING POLICY (1999)

Financing of the nonprofit sector shows commitment by the State to work in partnership with civil society. The financing policy now includes flexible and varied financing to encompass agencies that were previously not eligible for funding. This strategy may strengthen the relationship of the State with civil society. The following innovative options will be applied in combination or individually (Financing Policy 1999:24).

- The financing of differentiated services that an organisation offers on the various five levels on a continuum of care as discussed in Chapter One, page
- Funding a particular phase or component of a project will be considered.
- Grant financing may be considered where a programme is in the early stage of development and is unable to qualify for funding according to set criteria.
- Financing linked to specific project objectives may be considered where specific short-term projects form part of a broader service.
- Transfer of substantial funds where projects have proven credibility and are subject to a contract will enable the service to utilise the interest as additional income
- Financing may be linked to social assistance; for example, the administration of foster care grants.
- Government may outsource a service by means of a tender.
- Venture financing may be provided to start innovative new services.
- Government may also procure services from service providers.

This policy contains financing options which could facilitate the creation of networks among service providers and grassroots communities as the Department does not want to bus expertise to and from grassroots communities (Ned 1999:3).

3.6 ORGANISATIONAL TRANSFORMATION

An understanding of the link between social welfare policy and social work practice is incomplete without an understanding of the forces that operate within or outside the agency setting in the process of implementing these policies. Most welfare services in South Africa are delivered via voluntary organisations.

The organisational context within which planning policy formulation activities are exercised and decisions made is recognised as having great influence on their practices. A variety of systems and many related factors both within and external

to the organisation create the context of organisational management and service practice.

The study will adopt the interaction patterns of an organisation and its environment as proposed by Hyde (1992:121-144) as its theoretical framework in analysing the change process within organisations. This model was chosen as it moves beyond organisational structure, views organisations as dynamic entities, and depicts the interactional nature of organisational life. Within this model, relationships between the agency ideational components (ideologies and goals), and the intra-organisational characteristics, and selected environmental factors are examined. According to Mascarov (1995:138), ideology is defined as a system of political, economic and social values from which objectives are derived. They tell us what is good and what we ought to do and explain the way things are and why they are that way. Human service practitioners need a philosophy of service delivery, a framework that is related to the goals and purposes of human service programmes and that will facilitate choice among different service delivery models (Neugeboren 1992:3). This philosophic framework provides a rationale that assists the organisation in allocating resources, establishing criteria for recruitment, developing staff recruitment, developing staff reward systems, and evaluating the accomplishment of their programmes. A philosophic stance is required, as the direct service practitioners also require an understanding of the relationships of their efforts to the policies and purposes of the programmes within which they work (Neugeboren 1991:245).

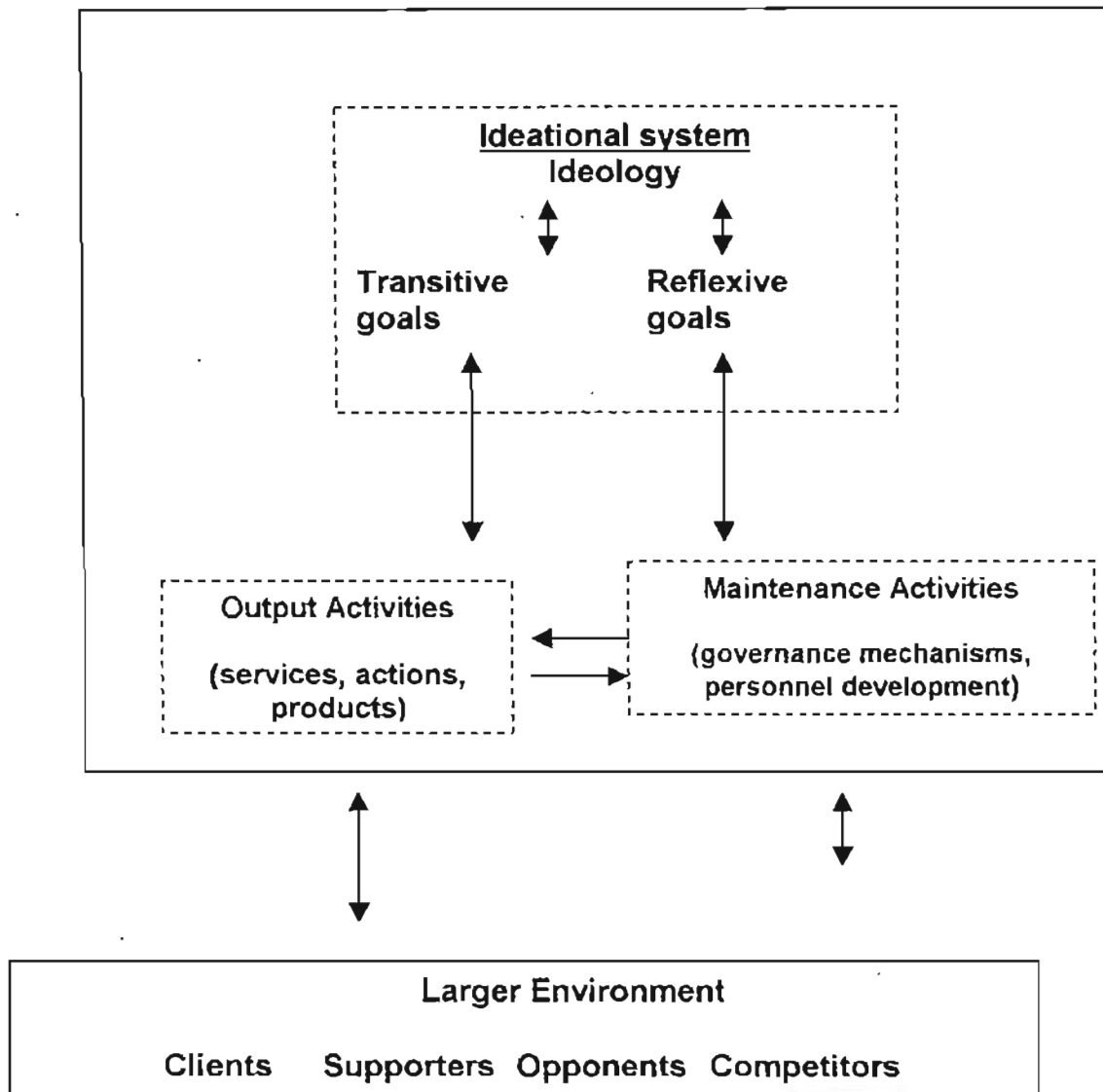
An organisation can have two types of goals. Transitive goals are externally oriented and determined by organisational activities in the environment, specifically programmes and services. Delivery choices involve the organisational arrangements that move social provisions, either in cash or other forms, from providers to consumers. Reflexive goals are manifested through various maintenance activities such as governance procedures or personnel

development. Governance mechanisms should also be compatible with the overarching ideology.

Organisational ideologies and goals shape one another. Goals flow from ideology but specify a plan and operationalise the larger vision. Over time, the fulfilment or pursuit of goals may alter the ideological framework. Ideologies and goals influence and are influenced by other internal properties and environmental relations. Environmental connections occur through output activities with the environment and the entire organisation. The environment includes funders, communities, clients and the institutional framework of society.

Organisational transformation is conceptualised as a dynamic process through which the organisation attempts to manage, control, or adapt to its environment. Resulting changes depend on environmental factors and a particular mix of intra-organisational characteristics. Transformation is facilitated by any of the elements or combinations within the organisation. Coulshed (1990:95) is of the opinion that initiating change in social welfare is especially difficult because of the interdependent nature of organisations with other systems. Below is a diagrammatic description of the process.

FIG:3.1 THE INTERACTION PATTERNS OF AN ORGANISATION AND ITS ENVIRONMENT



Source: Hyde (1992:124)

Mullins (1993:664) also holds a systems view of organisational change. He is of the opinion that a welfare agency is an open system which has the potential to grow, change and develop. Change can occur through the interaction of the various parts of the system. The external environment of the organisation is very important. This environment consists of three systems:

- the general environment system, which is influenced by political variables, socio-economic trends, technological development and macro-social events;
- inter-organisational environment system that consists of other organisations, professional bodies and trade unions; and
- community system, which consists of consumers, members of the organisation, donors, co-ordinating bodies and the general public.

Mullins (1993:664) is of the view that change can also be generated from within the organisation itself. He divides this system into three sub-systems:

- Primary structural variables are, for instance, size of the agency, task specialisation and task complexity.
- Secondary structural variables that could necessitate changes are the formal authority relations and the formal system of control.
- The organisational hierarchy can influence the degree of change; that is, the management committee, staff structures, supervisors, and social workers.

The nature of the organisation's functions might change in terms of goals, value systems and intervention strategies.

3.7 THE PHASES OF ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE

The way in which people react to change depends on how change is presented to them and how they perceive it. Management of change is also very important. Skills in organisational transformation, design and change are important in steering the organisations into new directions.

South Africans have been faced with dramatic and rapid changes since the transition into a democracy. Cronje (1994:248), argues "the acceleration of change did not merely buffet the political and economic institutions, but it is a concrete force that reaches deep into the lives of individuals, families and

communities and compels them to act out new roles, search for and adapt to new value systems and to work for reconciliation and peace." The welfare sector has not escaped this force.

De Vries and Balazs (1999:650-671) are of the opinion that there is a process of change and that individual change and organisational change can follow the same process with slight variations. The various stages are organisational resistance to change, fomenting dissatisfaction, engendering hope, carrying out the transformation and, finally, staging a focal event. Each step is a prerequisite to the next. Failure to achieve the ultimate change objective, where new behaviours and attitudes finally become comfortable and natural, is usually explained by inadequate attention to earlier stages.

Organizational Resistance to Change

Stress is usually the impetus and companion to change. Too much stress may lead to feelings of despair and distress. There may be a considerable resistance to change. Particular sources of resistance vary from case to case and may involve ideological factors, technological factors, self-interest or lack of interest (Neurogeboren 1992). People in the organisation must be mentally prepared for the fact that change is inevitable. There has to be a degree of discomfort for people to want to change.

Fomenting Dissatisfaction

At this stage there are pressures on the organisational system indicating that some kind of adaptation is needed. Many necessary organisational change processes are stalled because of defensive routines. Defensive routines involve people's getting locked into behaviour patterns that have previously been effective. The best kind of pressure for creating awareness of the need for change is pressure that comes from both within and external to the organisation. Examples of external pressures are public policies and threat of funding cuts.

Stress causes increasing daily frustration. Gradually the majority realises that something needs to be done or the future of the organisation will be endangered.

Engendering Hope

To break the vicious circle of organisational despair, hope offered through the role of a change agent is essential. An organisation's attitude to changes is important. It needs to build its confidence to act in and on the world in a way that it believes can be effective and have an impact. It has to accept some responsibility for why things are the way they are, if it wants to bring about change. The organisation cannot be overwhelmed by the feeling that it is a victim of the forces that are creating it (Taylor 1996a:15). The change programme should be perceived as a 'do-able' proposition. The role of the leader is essential in creating a sense of hope at this stage. A new psychological contract, implying mutual obligations and commitments between the employees and the organisation, has to be established, clearly setting out the new values required making the transformation effort a success. Everyone in the organisation should be involved in the design and implementation of the change effort, because the involvement of all employees creates a sense of control over the process. There has to be a feeling that their contribution can make a difference. This, in turn, has a major stress-reducing impact.

Carrying out the Transformation

At this stage there has to be a commitment to the new vision, to new ways of doing things. Participation should be rewarded. Tasks should be 'bite-size' portions, so that improvements can be visible and motivate people to do more.

Staging a focal Event

At this stage, change has been achieved. A focal event can expedite the process. The event should allow for strategic dialogue between all the layers of the organisation. This dialogue allows for open and informed discussion of the challenges facing the organisation and decreases people's levels of anxiety. It

gives people the possibility of being heard and being able to deal with issues that might have been simmering for a long time. By doing this, the event will have the cognitive and emotional impact which are preconditions for real change. Suggestions for improvements have to be tied to an individual action plan. Encouraging individuals to make a public declaration strengthens commitment to the organisational change effort. Change is a slow process as it takes time to go from superficial adoption of a new state of affairs to deep internalisation.

It is also important to be culturally sensitive to how people manage change, especially in a country as diverse as South Africa. If the trend is a move towards community development, consideration of cultural differences is essential. According to James (1997:4), Africans have a specific perspective to organisational change. "Traditional African approaches to managing change are collective ceremonies and rituals, story tellers, dancing and music as well as facilitation by an outside soothsayer and sangoma." (Mgigi cited in James 1997:5). Although this might be too exotic.

In the process of transformation, welfare organisations are finding that they have new roles to play which require different skills, and that they have to restructure organisations to be more efficient, effective and able to deliver more appropriate services within a developmental framework. Skills in organisational transformation, design and change in social work services are important in steering organisations in addition to other responsibilities new directions.

South Africa has chosen developmental social welfare to overcome the problems of poverty and inequalities in society. South Africa has a welfare structure that could form the basis for welfare pluralism. Many attempts have been put into place to promote an enabling environment for civil society involvement in welfare, however, many of which are presently not functional. An overview of the literatures argues that transformation and change in organisations is a complex process and needs to be carefully managed if it is to be successful.

CHAPTER FOUR

KWAZULU-NATAL WELFARE AGENCIES AND THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE

In this chapter the formal statistics of welfare and the demographic characteristics relevant to KwaZulu-Natal will be discussed. The aims and objectives of the South Africa National Council For Child and Family Welfare is included as it provides the philosophical basis and policy at the various agencies in the study.

4.1 THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CHILD AND FAMILY WELFARE

The South African National Council for Child and Family Welfare has been chosen as the point of reference for study of welfare agencies: KwaZulu-Natal. SANCCFW is the national co-ordination body and all the societies studied are affiliated to the Council, or are embryo societies not yet affiliated but receiving capacity building services from SANCCFW. Each province has a co-ordinating body to which each agency is affiliated. While each agency has its own historical development, all agencies emerged as voluntary organisations under the management of a volunteer group of citizens.

The Objective of the Movement is "to protect and promote the development, interests, safety and wellbeing of children within the context of family and community and to safeguard the rights of children" (SANCCFW (vol. 1) 1997).

The principles of the Movement requires agencies to:

- accept as a primary consideration the fulfilment of the object of the Movement in all policy and management decisions and efforts;
- be voluntary by nature, this characteristic to be reflected in its management;

- remain non-governmental and independent;
- confirm its belief in the dignity, equality and worth of all people;
- be committed to developing and maintaining services which are accessible and relevant to the basic needs of children within the context of family and/or community;
- be committed to providing services in a form and language which is acceptable to the communities served;
- emphasise preventive, promotive and developmental approaches in the planning and implementation of its services;
- be committed to creating public awareness of children's needs and rights and society's responsibility to create a nurturing environment for them;
- maintain structures which ensure the devolution of power to regional and local levels;
- commit itself to the broadest possible democratically representative base in its local, regional and national structures;
- promote community, volunteer, personnel and consumer participation in structures and services;
- strive to uphold social justice, democracy and human rights;
- remain unaligned with any particular ethnic group, political party or ideology;
- be accountable to its constituency and the public for its decisions and actions (SANCCFW Orientation Manual Vol. 1).

From the above it is clearly apparent that the principles of the SANCCFW are congruent with those of the WPSW; namely, equity, non-discrimination, democracy, human rights, quality services, transparency and accountability, accessibility, appropriateness and ubuntu. The focus of service delivery is developmental, and preventative approaches are advocated in the WPSW. The question is the extent to which these worthy principles can be implemented. The study was able to review in detail the welfare system in a province in which the social needs are acute. These principles provide the leading questions to be answered in the survey.

4.2 THE KWAZULU-NATAL CONTEXT

4.2.1 DEMOGRAPHICS OF KWAZULU-NATAL

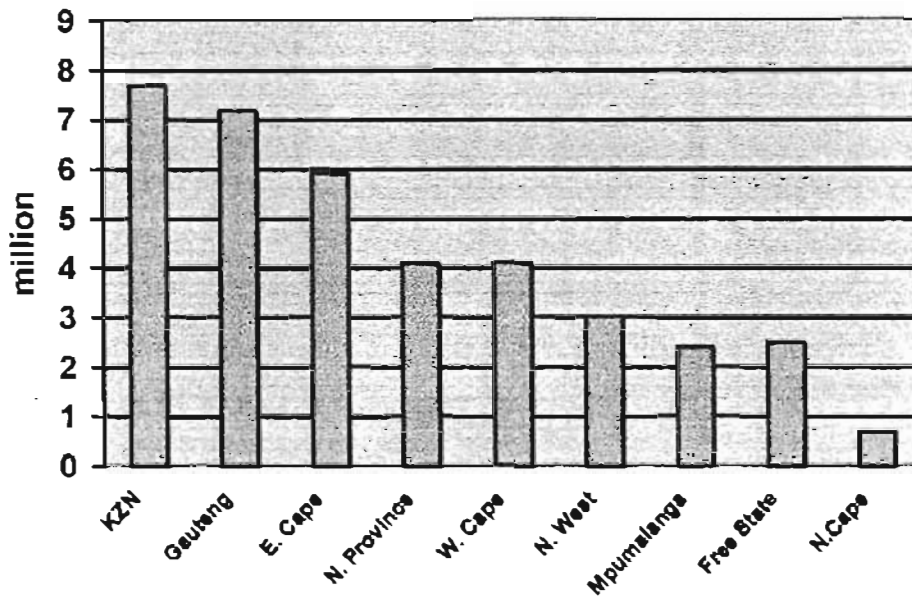
Understanding interactions between the policy and social environment is essential to predicting the likely consequences of the policy. It is important to understand the context in which welfare functions in the Province. Welfare agencies cannot be seen in isolation; they are largely dependent on the external environment for their effectiveness and survival.

KwaZulu-Natal has the largest population of all the provinces, and although it occupies only 7,5% of the surface area of South Africa. KwaZulu-Natal has similar disparities in welfare along racial, gender and urban/rural lines, to those found in other provinces. This province has a different ruling party from national government, which complicates policy development and implementation. Political violence is common in KwaZulu-Natal, and this leads to social disintegration and impacts on the welfare system.

Demographic information is important for planning for social and economic development. South Africa has become largely an urban society, but KwaZulu-Natal is something of an exception in that 43,5 % of the people live in urban areas and 56,5 % in non-urban areas (Statistics South Africa 1998:5). The rural-urban divide is also essentially a division between the rich and the poor people in the province. Rural people represent the most disadvantaged sector of the population in terms of access to income and basic needs and services.

The racial structure of the population is 80,9 % African, 1,4 % Coloured, 7,7% White and 10 % Indian. Although English is the language of industry and administration, 78,6 % of this population speak Zulu as the dominant home language (Development Bank of Southern Africa 1998:35).

FIG. 4.1 Preliminary Estimates of the Population of South Africa by Province



Source: Census in Brief. Statistics South Africa 1998:4.

One aspect of the population structure that is of vital importance to child and family welfare is the age composition. KwaZulu-Natal has a fairly young population. Over 39% of the population are under the age of 15, and another 26,6 % are between the age's of 15 and 29. This pattern is especially manifest in rural areas. In the Zululand region, nearly 74% of the population are under the age of 30. The Port Natal-Ebhodwe region has the lowest population of children (31,2%) and the highest adult, working-age population (62,7 %); 53% of the population are women (Development Bank of South Africa 1998:36). Thirteen per cent of babies born in KwaZulu-Natal have mothers who are still in the teenage years (Department of Welfare 1996/1997:48). These population characteristics have socio-economic implications for the region. The large number of persons in the younger age group impacts on Child Welfare Services as they are eligible for services or will have young children who will fall into this category.

The increasing population growth will add further strains on the welfare system. The population of the country is expected to double within 28 years from 1990, and by the year 2018 the population could be perilously close to the 80 million people which is regarded as the maximum carrying capacity of South Africa's water and other natural resources. It is estimated that by the year 2000 the population of KwaZulu-Natal will be approximately 10,1 million people. This is based on an average annual growth rate of 2,14%. Estimates of the population growth rate for the years 2000 to 2005 point to a 2,09% per annum increase. In the light of this, the population will be approximately 11,2 million by the year 2005 (Development Bank of South Africa 1998:24). The impact of such a population growth will be a challenge to the policy makers and will further stretch the welfare budget.

KwaZulu-Natal has the fourth lowest level of human development indicators of the nine provinces in South Africa. The human development index is a relative index, which quantifies the extent of human development of a community. Human development index values range from a maximum value of 1, indicating the highest level of human development to a minimum value of 0. The human development levels vary sharply amongst different population groups. The white population of KwaZulu-Natal has a human development index range of 0,9 to 0,97, which is equivalent to populations in Western countries. The human development index of the African population in all districts of KwaZulu-Natal is very low. The highest level for the African inhabitants is 0,55 in the Ntuzuma and Umlazi districts and the lowest 0,25 in the Weenen and Msinga districts (Development Bank Southern Africa 1998:40). From the above trends, it can be concluded that welfare needs in the province are great and will be even greater with the expected population increases.

4.2.2 PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

It is important to have an understanding of the provincial structure of the Department of Social Welfare and Population Development because, in terms of development, the State plays a leading role and to a large extent shapes the services of the nonprofit sector and stresses partnership in service delivery.

In terms of the South African Constitution, welfare services are a joint responsibility of national and provincial governments. The national Department of Welfare is responsible for setting national norms and standards for the rendering of services. Provincial departments are responsible, concurrently with the national department, for planning, development and rendering of services (WPSW 1997:21). The national department allocates finances to provincial departments. The relationship between the national and provincial departments is based on the principle of co-operative governance as contained in the Constitution. Provincial departments can prioritise welfare needs according to the peculiarities of their communities.

The Department of Social Welfare and Population Development in KwaZulu-Natal is the result of the amalgamation between the welfare departments of the Natal Provincial Administration, the KwaZulu Department of Welfare, the House of Delegates, the House of Representatives and the House of Assembly. The bringing together of these diverse departments poses a major challenge to the welfare sector:

An understanding of the location of provincial welfare offices is important for the development of service delivery models in KwaZulu-Natal. The Chief Director is based at the head office in Ulundi. Language services, the Population Development sub-directorate, and the Directorate of Welfare Services fall under this office. There is also a large administrative section. Social work services and social security are two separate sub-directorates of Welfare Services. There are

three regional offices; namely, the Durban, Ulundi and Pietermaritzburg region. Emphasis has been on decentralisation, and district offices have been set up to cover the entire KwaZulu-Natal area. District offices fall under the control of regional offices. A Provincial Liaison Committee has been established by the Department of Welfare in the various regions to ensure communication with the nonprofit partner. This committee is made up of representatives from the nonprofit sector and State departments.

However, although demographic trends are important, the Minister of Welfare and Population Development is of the opinion that:

we do need to look at demographic trends in respect of populations, such as age, race. We also need to go beyond these conventional indicators, examine structural aspects of social change and relate issues to the political economy, such as the need for economic growth and labour absorption and the distributive features of social welfare consumption. The challenge therefore is to redirect the social welfare policy and budget priorities in line with demographic trends, structural aspects of social change and distributive features of social welfare consumption. (Hansard 1994: 3305).

4.2.3 THE WELFARE BUDGET

The cost of implementing a policy proposal is a financial consideration vital to the establishment of sustainable delivery. Policy implementation involves public expenditure and a commitment by the Government. Priorities concerning resource allocation tend to reflect the preferences of individual groups and classes who own and control the resources and who are, therefore, in a privileged position to make decisions concerning them (Gil 1992:83).

The budget allocation is important as it reflects the priorities of a country's socio-economic policy and encapsulates the real emphasis on public policy. In South Africa, welfare expenditure is the fourth largest vote after expenditure on education, interest payment on public debt and health. At the political level, post-apartheid public finance has been through a careful re-prioritising process,

stressing social spending - health, education and welfare - and playing down things like defence spending (Roberts 1998:10), although this is now under question with the military equipment procurement programme.

In 1998/99 the Government's budgeted expenditure on social security and welfare was R19,8bn - 9,6% of total budgeted expenditure and 3% of gross domestic product (SAIRR 1998). The allocation was an increase of 7% on 1997/98, which was less than the increase in inflation. According to the Government's medium-term expenditure framework, which proposed a three-year budget, spending on welfare and social security would rise to R22,2bn in 2000/01 - an increase of 12 % over the allocation in 1998/99. However, the budgeted allocation to social security and welfare would drop slightly from 9,6 % of total budgeted expenditure by the Government in 1998 /99 to 9,3% in 2000/01, and from 3 % of GDP to 2,7 % (SAIRR 1998).

National budget allocations for welfare are separated in terms of two categories; namely, personal social services and social security, with social security receiving the bulk of the money. Personal social services refer to services provided to clients and communities. These services are delivered in partnership with the nonprofit sector. Social security refers to pensions and grants to the elderly, persons with disabilities, women and children.

A major concern is that the social security component as a percentage of the provincial welfare budget has increased from 87,7% in the 1995/1996 financial year to almost 91,1% in the 1998/99 financial year, with a corresponding decrease in the allocations for other welfare services (Department of Welfare Annual Report, 1997/8:47).

This now impacts on how much money is left for actual service delivery and for the financing of the nonprofit sector.

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The major proportion of the welfare budget is disbursed at provincial level. At present, government revenue is pooled and shared between the national and provincial governments according to a formula suggested by the Fiscal and



Financial Commission, an independent advisory body that is responsible for advising government on equitable revenue allocation to national, provincial and local government (Robinson 1997:24). However, provincial governments have limited discretion with regard to the extent or manner of welfare provision; for example, provinces have no choice but to pay grants to those who qualify in terms of national legislation (Robinson 1997:29).

Plans for government spending are set out in detail in national and provincial Estimates of Expenditure. Table 1.1 below shows the planned KwaZulu-Natal budget allocation for 1998/1999. The bulk of the money is spent on social pensions, following national trends. It is of concern that there is a minimal increase in projected expenditure on welfare despite the population increase.

Table : 4.1 Estimates of Expenditure for KZN 1998/1999

Programme	Estimated Expenditure 000		
	1998/99 Voted	1999/2000	2000/2001
Administration	15 839	25 839	25 839
Social Security	3 777 704 000	4 054 504 000	4 300 704 000
Social Assistance	106 405 000	107 905 000	107 905 000
Social Welfare Services	82 626 000	82 826 000	83 826 000
Social Development	1 365 000	1 365 000	1 365 000
Population Development	1 175 000	1 175 000	1 975 000
Auxiliary & Associated Services	500 000	1 000 000	1 000 000

Source: **Estimates of Expenditure for KZN 1998/1999**

International comparisons between both developing and developed countries indicate that South Africa already allocates a comparable proportion of its budget to social spending. The issue is therefore not the proportion spent on social services, but the equality and targeting of expenditure. The challenge is to ensure greater efficiency and impact of social expenditure in the long term. This implies that socio-economic delivery is more dependent on effective re-prioritisation between programmes within spending agencies or budget votes than between votes at the macro-level (Robinson 1997: 28).

The challenge, therefore, is to restructure welfare to meet the goals in the White Paper with limited resources, and also to achieve efficiency savings. The New Financing Policy is one such initiative taken by the State. Another initiative is the development of a computer model for strategic planning which has been developed to do costing of policy initiatives and to help with implementation of the proposed policy over the Welfare Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) cycle. This introduces a three-year time-frame into budgeting. It is hoped that this allows for better strategic planning and will enable departments to allocate their resources more efficiently. Another effort to promote efficiency and quality services has been put in place. In 1999 the Department of Finance will be publishing a separate review of the National Budget Expenditure Estimates (NES). The NES is a detailed account of spending and service delivery by national government departments and spending agencies. It sets out policies and goals and the resources that have been allocated to achieve them. It links departmental expenditure with outputs, allowing for an assessment of whether spending trends meet the policy priorities that are national. It also includes selected information on the impact of government spending on women and the redistribution of resources in favour of the poor (Budget Speech, 1999). It is hoped that this will reduce the gap between policy implementation and actual delivery.

The demographics and the socio-economic situation in KwaZulu-Natal clearly indicates the need for developmental social welfare. However the failure of the RDP casts an element of pessimism to the achievement of implementing development welfare policy. The budget allocated to welfare illustrates the impact of GEAR on welfare provision. However on a positive note attempts have been put into place to overcome some of the deficits between the budget and policy.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESPONSES TO THE NEW POLICY FRAMEWORK: THE CASESTUDY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

The results and discussion demand an understanding of the regional focus, a need to have a detailed examination of the sector to bring out the chief characteristics and the intent of change in the current period. This chapter will discuss the responses to the new policy framework. Data was collected through analysis of key documents and unstructured interviews with key role players at agencies and the SANCCFW. The methodology has been detailed in Chapter One.

5.1 LANDSCAPE OF CHILD WELFARE AGENCIES ACROSS KWAZULU-NATAL

An overview of Child Welfare agencies in the KwaZulu-Natal region is presented below with information on the number of child welfare organisations across KwaZulu-Natal, urban-rural distribution, staff distribution and the types of projects undertaken by the various agencies. The information was gained from analysis of agency documents.

The SANCCFW recognises these agencies according to the following five categories:

1. fully developed societies with director and staff;
2. well established societies with chief social workers;
3. small societies with social workers;
4. societies with management committee, fundraising number, affiliated but have no social worker; and
5. developing societies with projects not yet affiliated.

Table 5.1 NUMBER OF AGENCIES ACROSS KZN IN THE VARIOUS CATEGORIES AS AT 25 October 1999.

Category	NUMBER	%
1. Fully developed society	4	5%
2. Well established societies	8	10 %
3. Small societies	20	24%
4. Societies with management committee, fundraising number, affiliated	22	27%
5. Developing societies with projects not yet affiliated.	28	34%
TOTAL	82	100%

Source: SANCCFW: KwaZulu-Natal Region, Categorisation of Societies.

As seen from the table there are a total of 82 organisations, either affiliated or else developing societies with projects not yet affiliated to the SANCCFW. The fewest number of agencies is in Category One. Only thirty-nine per cent of agencies fall within the formal welfare sector; that is, agencies in categories one, two and three.

There is a trend towards services being increasingly offered to agencies in categories 4 and 5 (61%). These are emerging societies, many of them are merely "self-help groups or crèche forums", as described by a senior staff member (Pers. Comm. Durban, Oct. 1999). These agencies do not have social workers in their employ and rely on volunteers from the communities to provide services. These agencies receive capacity-building and consultation services

from the area managers of SANCCFW who are all social workers. Gray (1998:102) points out that "Consultation encompasses a new and expanding role for social workers. It allows the social worker to move away from providing direct services to clients and allocating more time to teaching and consulting with community members". There is a move from individual clients to groups and communities as clients. The goal of consultation is to ensure that the capacity of these organisations is strengthened and that they will be able to become self-sufficient and function on their own. This kind of service offered to agencies in categories 4 and 5 meets transformation criteria in that these agencies espouse the principles of community development (refer literature review: page). These agencies also tend to be meeting the needs of disadvantaged communities in that they are to a great extent located in rural areas and serve African clients.

5.2 DISTRIBUTION OF AGENCIES THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCE

In October 1999 there were a total of 32 formal welfare organisations in categories 1 to 3 (Table 4.1). However, the number of formal welfare organisations in these categories is likely to change because they are being encouraged to amalgamate. The distribution of agencies in the various categories is further illustrated in appendix 3, which utilised a geographical information system for mapping out agency distribution.

In terms of the Financing Policy (1999:14), resources need to be shared on a more equitable basis across the urban and rural areas. All four fully developed agencies are in the Durban and Pietermaritzburg magisterial district, giving these agencies an obvious urban bias. Three of these organisations originated in White communities, while the fourth had its beginnings in an Indian community.

This situation is not, however static. It is apparent that urban agencies are now redirecting their services to informal settlements within their areas of operation (Pers. Comm. Durban 1998,1999; Chatworth 1998). Urban-based organisations

are also re-deploying staff to work in disadvantaged townships and are in this way extending their areas of services. This is in keeping with the affirmative action policy of SANCCFW (SANCCW, Vol. 3 1997) which states that it shall:

- Concentrate on services to communities and groups characterised by under provision and non-provision; and
- re-deploy resources to the benefit of the most disadvantaged and marginalised communities in terms of availability and accessibility of welfare services and facilities, without practising reverse discrimination.

According to a SANCCFW executive management member, "this inequity in terms of urban and racial bias will be rectified by the decentralisation of offices into disadvantaged areas. The emphasis of the SANCCFW is to build capacity of developing societies specifically in rural areas" (Pers.Comm. Durban, Sept.1999).

5.3 STAFF COMPOSITION AT THE VARIOUS TYPES OF AGENCIES

Table 5.2 STAFF IN THE VARIOUS TYPES OF AGENCIES

Category	Director	Manager	Social Worker	Social Auxiliary Worker	Total
1	4	21	108	9	142
2	1	11	76	6	94
3	0	0	36	5	41
4	0	0	0	2	2
5	0	0	0	1	0

Source: SANCCFW KwaZulu-Natal Region Categorisation of Societies as at 25 October 1999.

As could be expected, the four fully-developed agencies are well resourced in terms of professional, managerial, administrative staff and social auxiliary workers. There are quite startling discrepancies between the developed and developing agencies. The fully developed societies have a total of one hundred and forty-two staff members, while the remaining 78 agencies affiliated to the SANCCFW have a total of one hundred and forty-two staff members altogether. The four fully-developed agencies have a total of one-hundred and eight professional social workers, while the other one hundred and twelve social workers are employed in a total of twenty-eight agencies (Table 4.2). In addition, the fully-developed societies have nine auxiliary social workers, while Category 2 and 3 societies have six and five auxiliary social workers respectively. Only one agency in category 4 had two auxiliary social workers and one agency in category five had one social auxiliary worker.

5.4 PROJECTS

A study was made with a focus on three-priority project areas outlined in the WPSW (1997:57) as strategies in working with children and families. The three areas are early childhood development, aftercare centres and job creation projects.

Table 5.3 NUMBER OF PROJECTS IN THE VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF AGENCIES

Type of Agency	Early childhood development and Care Centres	Aftercare	Job Creation Projects
Category 1	51	4	48
Category 2	29	6	34
Category 3	34	0	23
Category 4	127	3	67
Category 5	777	1	49
Total	1018	14	221

Source: SANCCFW KwaZulu-Natal Region Categorisation of Societies as at 25 October 1999.

5.4.1 EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

The Child Welfare Movement places great emphasis on early childhood development programmes: "Capacity is being developed in the crèche committees not yet affiliated to the SANCCFW in the hope that they can develop on their own rather than become fully-fledged affiliated Child Welfare agencies." (Pers. Comm. Durban Oct. 1999). Surprisingly, the agencies with the least capacity have the greatest development in early childhood development programmes. Agencies that do not have social workers (categories 4 and 5) have a total of 904 early childhood development programmes as compared with 114 in agencies with social workers (categories 1-3). This indicates that community strengths and resilience in the former are being utilised to meet their needs.

5.4.2 AFTERCARE

The WPSW strongly emphasises after-school child development programmes for school-going children (WPSW 1997:56). Aftercare services offered by agencies seem more prominent in urban areas (mostly offered by categories 1 and 2 - Table 4.3).

5.4.3 JOB CREATION / POVERTY ALLEVIATION

Job creation programmes seem to be becoming a priority, in keeping with the developmental objectives of the RDP, GEAR and the WPSW. Most of the problems that social workers have to deal with revolve around poverty; job creation might therefore be one way of dealing with it. Significantly, agencies with professional staff (categories 1-3) are involved in 105 projects, whereas agencies without permanent social workers are involved in an even greater number, a total of 116 projects. Agencies in Categories 4 and 5 appear to be pro-active in this area.

5.5 ORGANISATIONAL / INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS

The sample in this study consisted of thirteen agencies. These are numbered 1-13 to avoid their identification:

TABLE 5.4 AGENCIES INCLUDED IN THE SAMPLE

Agency Number	Category	Location	Racial origin
1	1	urban	Indian
2	2	outlying*	Indian
3	2	urban	Indian
4	2	outlying*	Indian
5	2	township	African
6	3	outlying*	African
7	3	township	African
8	3	township	African
9	3	outlying*	White
10	3	outlying*	White
11	3	outlying	Indian
12	5	township	African
13	5	rural	African

* Outlying refers to agencies outside the Durban and Pietermaritzburg Magistrial Districts.

The sample included one fully-developed agency, four well-established agencies, six, category three and two, category 5 agencies. Unintentionally agencies in category four were excluded, as only after the sample was selected did it become apparent that the agencies were categorised in this way. The researcher further categorised the agencies in terms of their location: urban, rural, outlying, township (Table 4.4). Two of the organisations were urban-based. Of the sample, six were in outlying areas and four were in townships (Table 4.4). The single developing society was in a rural area.

In accordance with previous policies of the apartheid government, the various agencies had originated in terms of their service provision to different race groups (Table 4.4). Of the organisations under study, six originated in African communities, five in Indian and two in White communities. The researcher was concerned about the inclusion of the large number of organisations of Indian origin in the sample and possible over-representation, and also whether the

sample was correctly reflecting the probability of being sampled. According to a senior staff member, the large number of previously Indian organisations in the sample could be attributed to the fact that Indians were active in the Child Welfare Movement in the Kwa Zulu-Natal region. This was also confirmed by Chetty (1999:69). Organisations in the Coloured and African communities were scarce in the apartheid era. Where they did exist, they were controlled mainly by White organisations.

5.6 HUMAN RESOURCES

This section will focus on social workers and board of management members: the qualitative indicators of human resources available at each agency.

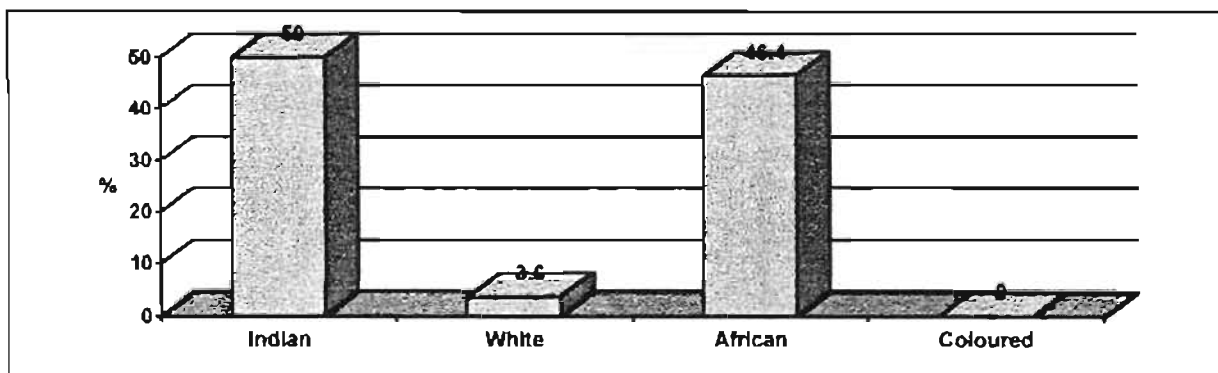
5.6.1 SOCIAL WORKERS

5.6.1.1 RACE

In transforming the welfare sector, there is a shift in policy towards financing services that demonstrate social integration of race and gender and a strong respect for diversity in terms of governance structures, staffing and services (Financing Policy 1999:15).

FIGURE: 5.1 RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SOCIAL WORKERS INTERVIEWED

Half (50%) the social workers interviewed were Indian. A study undertaken by



Galloway (1993:166), found that in the field of child and family welfare a greater number of Indian social workers were employed in Natal. A senior staff member attributes this to the fact that in the past the House of Delegates subsidised more social work posts compared to the other 'Houses' (Pers. Comm. Durban Nov.1999). African social workers made up 46,4% of the sample, 3,4% of social workers interviewed were Whites, and there were no Coloured social workers. There was an exclusive African staff in agencies of African origin. Two Indian social workers were employed at the two previously White agencies in the outlying areas. Three African social workers were employed at traditionally Indian agencies.

The SANCFW has an affirmative action policy which states:

With regard to race, they strive for employment equity within a reasonable period of time by creating workplace opportunities for employees from the disadvantaged sector (SANCFW 1997, Orientation Manual, Vol. 3).

However, according to a senior manager (Pers.Comm. Durban Oct.1999), "It is difficult to recruit and maintain African social workers because there are other opportunities open to them. In outlying and rural areas it is difficult to find staff of any race group. Many staff are lost to the public sector. State salaries are competitive, with a difference of between R10 000 - R15 000 per annum in salary between private and state agencies. There are also better benefits such as housing loans. These factors lead to a high turnover of young social workers in outlying areas. This impacts on service delivery as it disrupts continuity of services" (Pers. Comm.Durban Nov. 1999).

5.6.1.2 GENDER OF SOCIAL WORKERS

Only one of the twenty-eight social workers interviewed was male. This is consistent with the observation by Lund, Ardington et. al (1996:109) that the staffing characteristics of a typical South African welfare institution are that the

staff will almost all be women. The male was a newly qualified graduate who had relocated to work in an outlying area.

5.6.1.3 STATUS OF SOCIAL WORKERS

Of the social workers interviewed 21,4% were senior social workers and 78,6% social workers. Three of the senior workers had worked for Child Welfare for between eleven and twenty years. Two had worked for the agency for between one and five years but both had between eleven and twenty years' experience. As expected there was a significant ($p = .009$) Pearson's correlation coefficient between years of experience and status in the organisation. There was a trend towards senior workers being based at more established larger societies. This is possibly explained by the requirements of the previous government subsidy policy that required seven social work posts before a senior social work post was subsidised.

Two workers in an outlying area had between eleven and twenty years and twenty-one to thirty years experience, but both were employed as social workers. The limited promotion opportunity could be ascribed to agency size which affects upward mobility of workers; that is, smaller agencies can not provide adequate promotion opportunities. Surprisingly, these workers remained with the agency for a long period despite this disadvantage. This could reflect job satisfaction or it could illustrate a lack of job opportunities in outlying areas.

These results reflect that the chances for upward mobility are low in the smaller agencies. Social workers in smaller agencies had been employed immediately after graduation from university. According to a staff member in a managerial position, "smaller agencies could afford only to pay new graduates as these agencies had to cover the deficit in salary as given as subsidy by the State" (Pers. Comm. Durban Oct. 1999).

5.6.2 MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES

5.6.2.1 COMPOSITION OF MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES

The study has focused on race, gender, age and occupational status of management members.

It is the policy of the SANCCFW "to ensure that Boards, committees and membership fairly represent the population and communities served by the same. Also times and venues for meetings facilitate the inclusion of suitable people" (SANCCW, Vol.3).

5.6.2.2 RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF MANAGEMENT MEMBERS

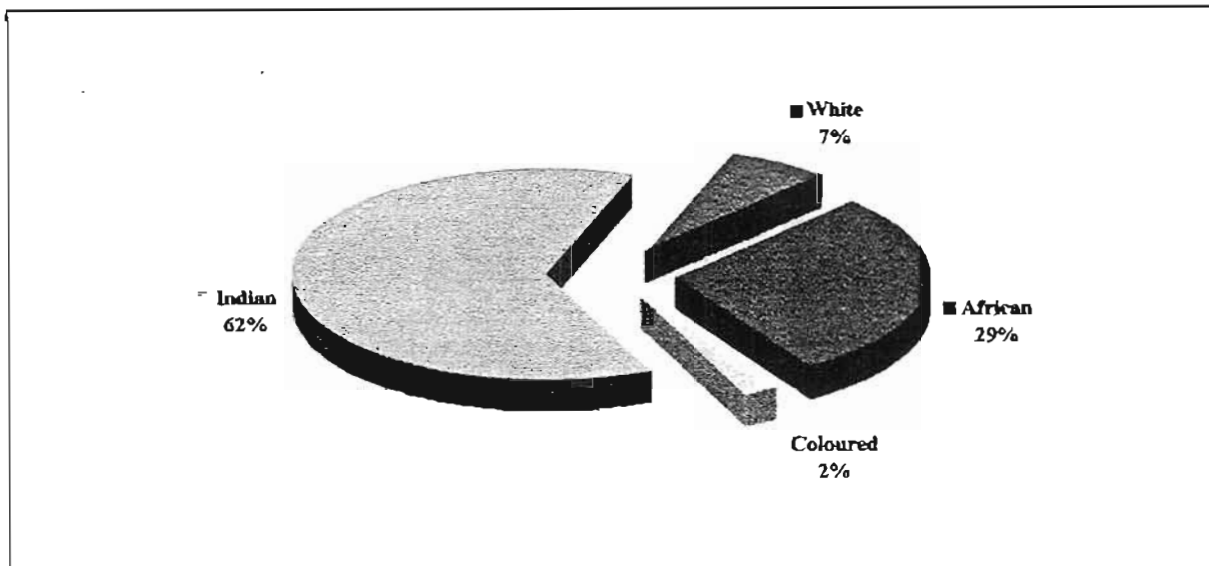
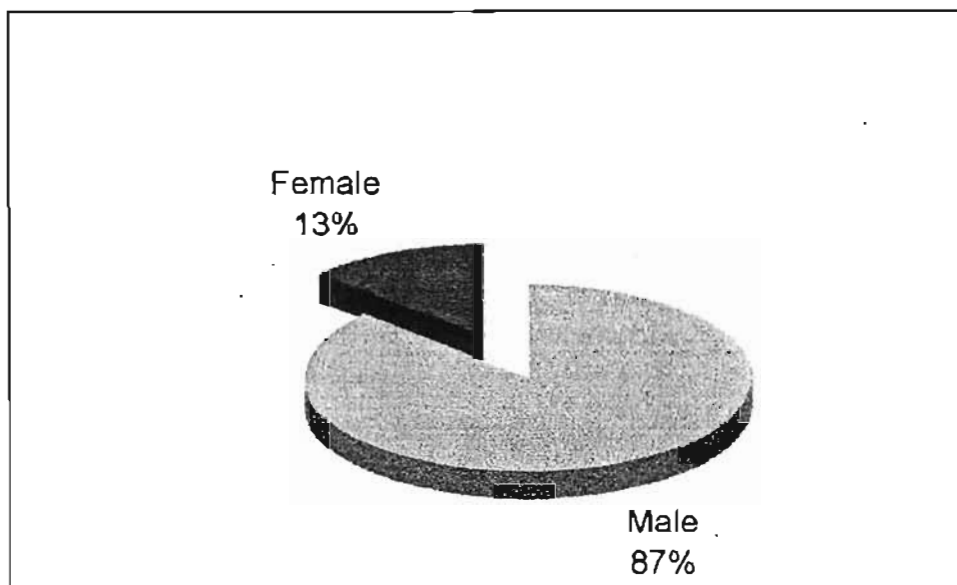


FIGURE 5.2 : RACIAL COMPOSITION OF MANAGEMENT MEMBERS

The majority (62%) of management members interviewed were Indian. The percentage of African members interviewed was 28%, 7% of the sample were White, and 2% were Coloured. The racial composition of management members has not changed significantly since the inception of the agencies.

5.6.2.3 GENDER

FIGURE 5.3: COMPOSITION OF MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE ACCORDING TO GENDER



In sharp contrast to the composition of the staff at agencies, 87,7% of the sample was male and 13,3% female, giving these management committees a strong male bias. The female group was further analysed by age because childbearing and family commitments impact on their availability for committees.

TABLE 5.5 AGE OF FEMALE MANAGEMENT MEMBERS

AGE RANGE: YEARS	NUMBER
25-35	1
36-45	0
46-55	2
56-65	3
Total	6

One of the women fell into the 25-35 age group. She was a White, businesswoman who did not have children. Two were over 46 years old and the

other three were over 56 years old. Of these women, there was a fair mix of race, with all four race groups represented. The Coloured woman was a housewife who was a founding member of the agency. The Indian was a professional woman. Two of the African women were professional. The other one was a retired factory worker.

5.6.2.4 AGE RANGE OF MANAGEMENT MEMBERS

TABLE 5.6: AGE OF MANAGEMENT MEMBERS

AGE RANGE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
25-35	6	13.3 %
36-45	11	24.4 %
46-55	13	28.9 %
56-65	12	26.7 %
66+	3	6.7 %
Total	45	100%

A total of 37,7% of management were in the 25-45 age group, 55,6 % were in the 46 - 65 age group and 6,7% were over the age of 66.

A further analysis of racial groups by age was necessary because cultural factors (revering of age) might impact on the structure of management committees.

TABLE 5.7 : AGE AND RACE OF MANAGEMENT MEMBERS

Age in years	Indian %	African %	White %
25-35	11	15	25
36-45	25	15	50
46-55	36	15	25
56-66	25	38	0
66+	4	15	0
Total	101	98	100

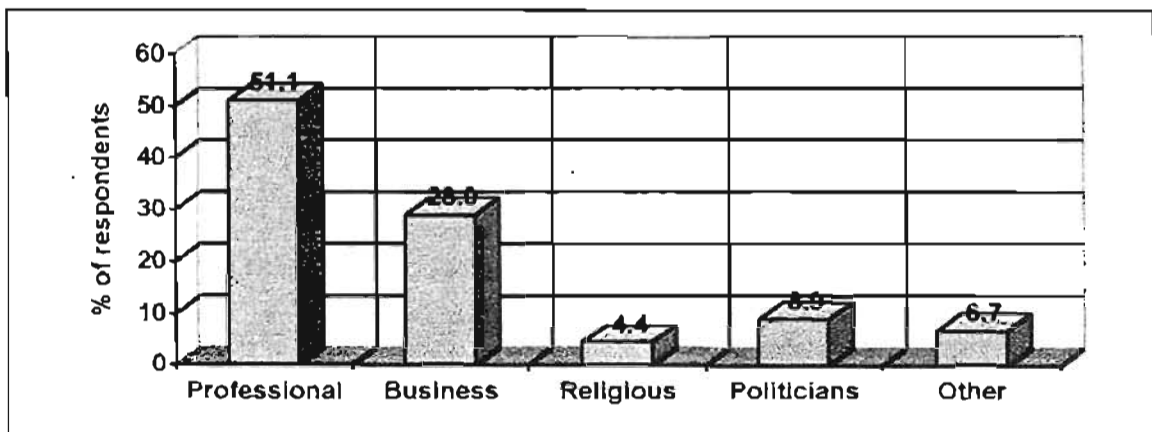
- Due to rounding up off the totals do not also equal 100 per cent.

A large percentage (53%) of African members were in the older age group (56+ yrs).

All members were involved in management for reasons of self-satisfaction; they gain the gratitude and respect of the community by helping others and they find the work a challenge. The response of one young African member was: "I owe my community something; as I managed to achieve education and uplift myself." (Pers. Comm. Durban July, 1999). He also felt that through his involvement in local affairs and politics he had acquired knowledge of resources that he could share with the less fortunate. Some were also involved in caring for others for religious reasons. There is an element of altruism: many of those interviewed stated that it cost them money and time to be on the Boards of Management of agencies.

5.6.2.5 OCCUPATION OF MANAGEMENT MEMBERS

FIGURE 5.4: OCCUPATION OF MANAGEMENT MEMBERS



Generally there is a strong bias towards professional and influential people. Most of the management members were professionals (51,1%) or were involved in business (28,9 %). The other categories were also people with some influence; for example, religious leaders and politicians.

5.6.2.6 ACTIVITIES OF THE MANAGEMENT MEMBERS

Most management members did not see their role as being involved in the professional work of social workers. The activities that they were involved in included:

- support to professional staff;
- fund-raising;
- administrative work; for example, selection of staff, job description of staff, assessing and compilation of financial reports
- decision-making;
- liaison with the regional and national council;
- planning and policy formulation;
- liaison with the community;
- maintenance of buildings; and
- monitoring and evaluation of work of the agency.

The role of management is not entirely one of policy-making and supervision. For instance, management members at an agency (No.13) were responsible for everything, including service delivery: counselling, dropping and picking up of children from the crèche, and fundraising.

At another agency (No.9), management members were involved in assisting the social worker with casework and were actively involved in the programmes. At the same agency, a member also typed the reports of the social worker.

It was observed that at those agencies where members felt they spent too much time, there was a higher level of social worker dissatisfaction, as they felt their professional autonomy was undermined and that management members were making demands on them without a clear understanding of social work.

5.7 REPRESENTATION

5.7.1 PERCEPTIONS OF REPRESENTATION

Surprisingly, the majority (66,7%) of management members felt that committees were not representative of communities they serve; the remaining 33,3 % felt that they were representative. In traditionally Indian and White agencies, members were of the opinion that incorporating African members at management level was a problem as "there is not much response from African communities at meetings". One respondent from a traditionally White agency stated that "Africans find it difficult to come to meetings because public transport does not run from their areas". However, certain members of management felt that communities were represented as far as possible and argued that efforts were made to reach out to other race groups even though these were not successful in recruiting them into management positions. The perception of management members from historically African societies was that representation was present in terms of race, but was inadequate in terms of education and social class. An interesting response from a young member from a developing agency was: "I see this committee as representative in terms of ordinary people. My community lacks leadership and ... although my committee might be seen as elitist they perceive me as a role model and this encourages others to join" (Pers.Comm. Durban July, 1999).

5.7.2 RECRUITMENT STRATEGIES

Recruitment strategies used at agencies to attract management members seem to favour people with special skills. With regard to recruiting members some of the responses were:

- "We look for people with special skills; for instance, advocates, business people."
- "Depends on the calibre of the person."

- "We seek out members who can make positive contributions to communities dedicated to movement and have a high profile. We avoid people who wish to use the organisation as a springboard to higher things."
- "We look for people well placed in the community who have time and skills."
- "People from the area don't have any skills that would be needed, they are illiterate."

All agencies found it increasingly difficult to recruit committed volunteers to serve on their Boards of Management. One society that was under the control of a developed agency (category 1) felt that their main difficulty was in recruiting members for a stronger management. This was a factor contributing to the agency not being able to establish itself independently. Management members are recruited to serve on the management largely through friends already in the agency.

5.7.3 MANAGEMENT ANOMALIES

One agency (No.7 in Table 4.4) in an African township has a Board of Management. However, subsidy cuts by the Department of Welfare resulted in it now falling under the control of a fully developed society. The services were initially interrupted, however, and staff from the fully developed society now provide services to this agency. Their Board of Management is still functioning, but with minimal input into daily affairs. The anomaly is that although the agency has autonomy, the social workers services are largely "managed" by a committee of members largely from another area. A similar situation also exists at another agency (No.5 in Table 4.4) under study, although the origins of the relationship are different. In this situation, a more fully developed society is assisting an 'embryo' society to develop capacity in the hope of becoming autonomous. These anomalies reflect the complexities in a situation in which there are attempts to extend services while there is, at the same time, a lag in managerial capacity.

5.8 PHYSICAL RESOURCES

The inequalities between the various agencies are possibly best exemplified in terms of their resources. There are vast inequalities in terms of physical resources at the various agencies. The data is presented below.

5.8.1 EQUIPMENT AT AGENCIES

TABLE 5.8: EQUIPMENT AT AGENCIES

EQUIPMENT AVAILABLE	NUMBER OF AGENCIES	PERCENTAGE
a. telephone, fax, computer, photocopier	6	50
b. telephone, fax, photocopier	1	8.3
c. telephone, photocopier	1	8.3
d. telephone	4	33.3
Total	12	100

There is a trend towards smaller agencies having less equipment. The four with only telephones were all "African" agencies. One agency (No.6) had no electricity to sustain the equipment. Computers, where available, were for administrative use and not for professional social work use. This has implications for service delivery, efficiency and co-ordination of work. The agency in category 5 (No.13) had no equipment at all.

5.8.2 AVAILABILITY OF VEHICLES AT AGENCIES

Most agencies (83,3%) had vehicles for staff. One agency (No. 9) provided staff with a car loan to facilitate the purchase of a car for office use. Another agency (No.10 in table 4.4) had no vehicle for staff use. Social workers were expected to use their own cars. Both these agencies were of White origin.

In one agency it is policy for staff members to be in possession of a driver's licence for two years to qualify them for driving the vehicle. The social worker, who is a young graduate, did not meet this requirement. Agencies in deprived areas appeared to have fewer roadworthy cars, and no agency had sufficient cars to meet their needs. The need for 4 x 4 vehicles was also mentioned, as being essential to provide delivery of services to rural areas.

5.8.3 OFFICE SPACE

While most social workers found their work space adequate, 35,7% of social workers felt their offices were inadequate. They were from four agencies situated in traditionally African areas (Nos. 5,6,7,12 in table 4.4:). The other worker was at a sub-office of an agency (No.1). In these organisations, social workers shared offices. There was no electricity at one of these agencies.

5.9 FUNDING STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

Finance is a problem in all agencies. All social workers and all management members cited insufficient funds as the main obstacle to meeting the policy demands of the WPSW. One agency (No.4 in table 4.4) had a 'healthy' bank account according to a management member. It is categorised as a well-established agency with a chief social worker and has a "strong and active" management committee with a local politician as an executive long-standing member. A core group of management members has served this agency for many years. The agency has fixed assets in the form of a block of flats, which was donated to them and brings in a steady income. This agency also holds regular community events which have the support of local business.

There is a general awareness that funding is becoming increasingly difficult and much more will need to be done to bring in income. There was concern about the way in which funds are redistributed. One member was not happy that all the

funds had been collected from the Indian community and now had to be used to provide services for other race groups. As expected, the agencies in impoverished areas found funding more difficult. One agency with a "weak" management structure was of the opinion that "funds are lost because the state stipulates the way they have to be used, and the agency does not have the manpower or skills to use funds in the prescribed way". Some services had to be ended because of lack of funds at some agencies.

5.10 SERVICE DELIVERY

5.10.1 PROCESS OF ENTERING COMMUNITIES

The process of entering communities is vital to the social workers' acceptance by the community. It is also important to adhere to cultural protocol when entering communities.

Most social workers entered communities through influential people in the area; for example, local councillors, indunas, leaders of informal settlements, or through other organisations. They experience no resistance when the agency serves the areas surrounding the offices, but at three agencies social workers could enter communities only with a police escort because of the areas being "rough". Entry into communities with the police may be perceived as forceful entry, and this could be a source of resistance to community development.

5.10.2 NEEDS ASSESSMENT

Through needs assessment, agency or social worker identifies community problems and measures the resources required to meet these problems. A needs assessment also prioritises concerning problems and services. It also marks the beginning of the process of programme planning and development of new or altered services (Lewis and Lewis 1991:37). For South Africa, these general

principles are reinforced by the Financing Policy which emphasises appropriateness of services and the compatibility of policies and plans with identified needs (Financing Policy 1999:15).

In most of the agencies it was compulsory for a needs assessment be done before planning services. Only 14,3% of social workers have not done needs assessment, most of them being new workers in the process of establishing themselves. Others stated that they did not have the manpower to fulfil this task. It was interesting to note that two workers who cited community apathy as an obstacle to progress had not done a needs assessment. Others found creative ways of conducting needs assessments; for instance 3,6% had shared this task with other agencies in the area and one had sought the assistance of social work students.

5.10.3 TYPES OF PROBLEMS DEALT WITH BY SOCIAL WORKERS

The agencies report that most clients experience multiple problems, which are often interrelated. However, the research categorised the problems into various groups. These problems are reported evenly throughout all the agencies in the sample. The following types of problems were seen by social workers at agencies:

a. Statutory

- Child abuse
- Sexual abuse, which is on the increase
- Foster care and adoptions
- Abandoned children
- Street children

b. Family Related Problems:

- Children left with elderly grandparents
- Family conflict
- Domestic violence

- Behaviour problems
- Alcohol and drug-related problems
- Housing
- Teenage pregnancy
- AIDS orphans

b. Financial:

- Applications for birth documents
- Grant motivations
- Social relief
- Poverty

Since the introduction of the new Child Support Grant, which sharply reduced the support for children in the case of White, Coloured and Indian people to a flat rate of R100, more cases related to poverty are coming for social work services. Such a combination of social security and social services is advocated in the Finance Policy (1999:17).

In the outlying areas where the Child Welfare was the only service provider, there was less choice for specialisation. The social workers had to deal with all kinds of problems. A senior management member, as well as a social worker in a managerial position, confirms this finding. According to a management member, "the Child Welfare Movement is completing full cycle. The organisation started off as a one-stop generic service manned by volunteers: specialisation and professionalism followed this. Now, new demands are once again focusing on one-stop services, combining community participation and indigenous workers who can assist in cultural aspects" (Pers. Comm. Durban Sept 1999).

According to policy Child Welfare societies provide services to children under the age of twelve years and the State welfare departments to persons over twelve years. Many social workers argue there is now an overlap of services with other organisations and that, in the words of a key respondent, "working together

should be formalised rather than being based on loose arrangements" (Pers. Comm. Durban Sept, 1999).

5.10.4 DESCRIPTION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT UNDERTAKEN BY SOCIAL WORKERS

Social workers are involved in a surprising array of community projects, including the following:

a. Economic Empowerment

- Garden projects
- Garment making
- Employment agency
- Banking project for women
- Income generation programmes - hairdressing , blockmaking

b. Poverty Alleviation

- Financial support to clients who have school children
- Social relief - hamper distribution
- Feeding schemes in schools
- Farmers bringing in surplus supplies to distribute to outreach programs
- Parties for the poor

c. Development of human capital

- Domestic worker empowerment group
- Conflict management between farmers and workers

d. Development of social capital

- Crèche development in rural areas and informal settlements
- Feeding schemes in rural areas
- Water supply to rural outlying areas - sponsorship by local businesses and farmers.
- School upliftment programmes - water tanks supplied to rural schools

e. Preventative programmes

- Youth camp
- Peer counselling in schools

- Establishment of a youth desk
- Establishment of a homework centre-emphasis to assist children with English as a second language.
- networking with the policing forum
- foster care recruitment programmes

One agency in an African township area was not involved in any projects as they were awaiting funds.

An agency respondent who is involved in an income generation project (sewing group) felt "that only a small group benefited and that is not reaching the poorest of poor" (Pers. Comm. Mthubathuba , July, 1998).

Another felt that these income generation projects "should be based on business lines" rather than on a social club basis and charity.

A social worker in a deprived area felt that these income generation projects made a visible difference to the empowerment of the community and to the financial status of those community members involved.

Some obstacles experienced were:

- "More time was spent on fund-raising projects than on actual development."
- "There is a lack of community support. For example, the street children project in a traditionally White agency had experienced difficulties as the communities had racial fears."
- "Language barriers prevented workers from going into remote rural areas."
- "Workers entering communities were viewed with suspicion." This occurred especially in instances when a needs assessment was not carried out by the social worker.
- "There is a limited number of staff to deal with the enormous needs of communities."

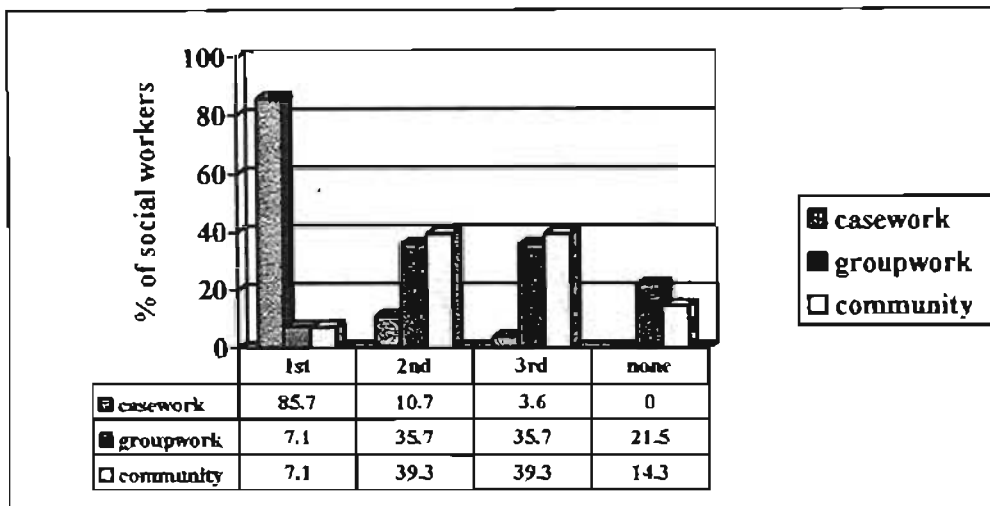
Competition for programmes is perceived as an obstacle. A senior staff member remarked that "Social work agencies are not only competing with one another for programmes but also with local authorities and political groups. Co-ordination of services is necessary, especially in urban areas. In rural areas, on the other hand, there are no services to co-ordinate." An assessment of these programmes

illustrates that not all programmes are solely social work-related. This indicates the need for more intersectoral work in co-ordination of services.

5.10.5 METHODS OF PRACTICE

In the process of transformation there is an emphasis on moving from individual rehabilitative work to more holistic approaches. Although the WPSW emphasises the need for community programmes, casework is the most frequently used method (85, 7% of the social workers); 7,1 % ranked groupwork as their first choice; and another 7,1% chose community work as their first method used, while 21,4% of social workers do not do groupwork at all, and 14,3% do no community work. No other method of practice, such as administration or research, was mentioned.

FIGURE: 5.5 RANK ORDER OF METHODS USED BY THE SOCIAL WORKERS



5.10.6 SOCIAL ACTION

FIGURE 5.6 INVOLVEMENT OF SOCIAL WORKERS IN SOCIAL ACTION

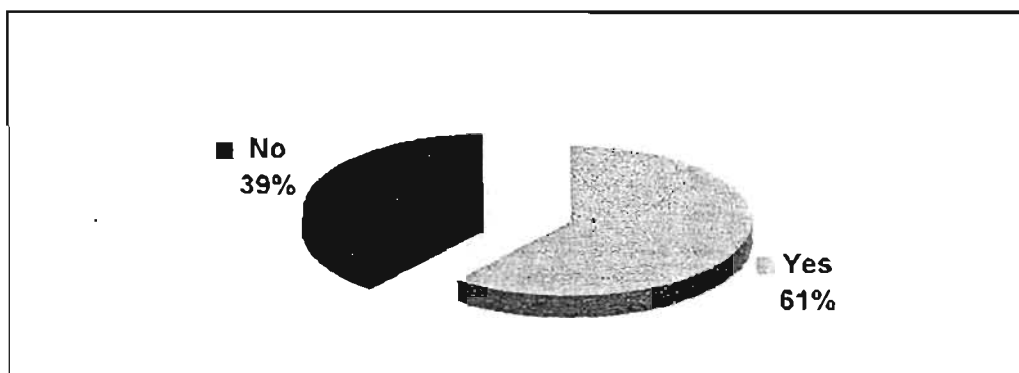
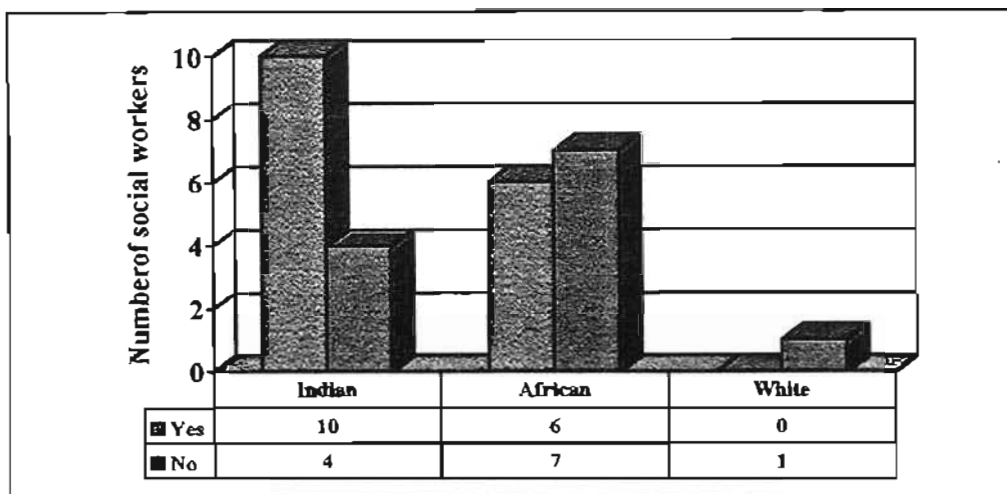


FIGURE: 5.7. RACE AND INVOLVEMENT IN SOCIAL ACTION



"Social action is a collective endeavor to promote a cause or make a progressive change in the face of opposition. It often involves organising the disadvantaged or aggrieved and direct action. If necessary, agitation or disruption may be used. It builds on self-advocacy of the affected part of the population by mobilising them. Activities can entail changing the agency from within, working with mobilized populations, serving as whistle blowers, or conducting community-controlled participatory action research." (Hardcastle & Wenocur 1997:349).

A total of eleven (39 %) social workers were not involved in social action at all. Of the eleven, five were young social workers who recently joined the agency and were still in the process of establishing themselves. The other six had more experience and four of these were African social workers working in African townships. One stated that "initiating social action can be dangerous in communities that are politically unstable". The other two are social workers with 14 and 20 years' experience working in a disadvantaged township. They were both senior workers and may not have been involved in direct service delivery. It is possible that the lack of involvement in social action was a result of training or of "learnt helplessness". It could also be the result of conservative inclinations. A White social worker with twenty-six years' of experience stated: "The old people embarked on a march but not much good comes of mobilisation. Discussion is better."

The types of action are as follows:

- Domestic worker empowerment group.
- Clients were mobilised to meet the Director of Social Security when grants were delayed.
- Poverty awareness programmes took place through the writing up of proposals for funding.
- Clients were assisted to write to the Minister for social relief.
- Petitions against evictions.
- Negotiated for flood victims in squatter settlements.
- Organised marches for better services with regard to foster care.
- Picketing against Community Chest when funds were cut.
- Marches, placard demonstrations, against child labour and child abuse.

5.10.7 ACCESS TO LOCAL AND NATIONAL LEADERS

MacPherson (1996:61) say: "Development demands the deliberate fomenting of new social systems at the local level. If these systems are to be effective, they must embody participation and mutual cooperation among all groups active in local society, including national and local government, local community groups and non-governmental organisations." Gilberman (1996:52) states that "agency resources devoted to advocacy can be used to develop and maintain relationships with state legislators and their staff, city council members and other public officials that can positively influence social policy development and new human services initiatives".

All agencies have access to local leaders when the need arises. Only three of the agencies have access to national leaders, and two of these agencies are developed societies in categories 1 and 2. The other agency is under the control of a developed society. The Member of Parliament with whom this agency has contact is a member of the local community and was previously an activist in the area. Despite the prestige of these contacts, some of the social workers have not seen any benefit from having access to national leaders.

5.10.8 GAPS IN TRAINING

Neugeboren (1991:116) is of the opinion that, among other factors, inappropriate training may also be a factor in role conflict and ambiguity, which can lead to burnout and dependency.

Some 78,6% of social workers were of the opinion that there were gaps in their training. The following problems were identified with regard to training:

- "The course was too theoretical; more exposure to practical work was necessary."
- "Training was too First World oriented."
- "There should be more exposure to community work and administration."
- "Zulu should be a compulsory subject."
- "Business plans and programme structuring should be part of the course."

One of the recently qualified social workers, who felt her training had not adequately prepared her, recommended that universities send students to disadvantaged agencies to expose them to "the good and the bad".

Older workers are more satisfied with their training and felt that a completely comprehensive education where all issues are taught was impossible, and that learning never ends. One cited AIDS as an example. "This was an issue which had not surfaced when she was a student and yet was now vitally important.

Social workers at all agencies are exposed to regular staff development programmes and policy update workshops.

5.10.9 NETWORKING

The Financing Policy (1999:14) emphasises the importance of networking between agencies and institutions. All social workers networked with other agencies as well as with schools, hospitals, religious groups, local authorities, polyclinics and libraries. However, a management member, who is a local

councillor, felt that social workers could be more involved in developmental forums in the areas they serve (Pers.Comm. Durban July 1999). A senior management member argued that the co-ordination of services was a matter needing urgent attention. A lack of networking could encourage the emergence of a multiplicity of similar initiatives, and this could be wasteful of scarce resources. In rural areas there are no services to co-ordinate. She envisaged the one-stop centres as outlined in the WPSW as providing a centre from which networking could take place.

5.10.10 ONE STOP CENTRES

The Financing Policy (1999:16) demands that fragmented, specialised or isolated services be integrated into one-stop centres. It is envisaged that one-stop centres will facilitate the delivery of holistic services.

Many management members and social workers saw the establishment of one-stop centres as a means of avoiding duplication of services. They are seen as a cost-effective means of delivering services. However, a management member was sceptical and saw them a long way off and believed it was the State's responsibility to co-ordinate their functioning (Pers.Comm. Durban Sept. 1999).

5.10.11 SOCIAL WORKERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ABILITY TO WORK WITH CULTURALLY DIVERSE CLIENTS

All social workers felt that they were competent to work with clients of other cultural groups. All the Indian and White social workers were experiencing difficulty with language in the course of their work. None of the agencies had a formal language policy. One agency in an African area insisted that the workers be Zulu-speaking. When language difficulties arise, the assistance of African social workers is often enlisted. Help from the 'tea lady', administrative officer or family members is often sought. Some agencies had courses in Zulu as part of

in-service training or social workers were encouraged to learn Zulu. However, the social workers concerned did not think these learning experiences were beneficial. Interestingly, the African workers at agencies felt that clients suffered as a result of workers being inefficient in Zulu, especially in the casework situation. They also felt that much of their valuable time was used for 'interpreting'. This resulted in an unfair allocation of work load in that these social workers still have to work in 'African' areas.

5.10.12 ACCESSIBILITY OF SERVICES TO CLIENT'S

At three of the historically African agencies, social workers were of the opinion that all services were accessible to clients. In the other agencies, social workers were of the opinion that, although the offices were central and accessible in that they were in 'town', clients from rural areas found them inaccessible. Taxi violence and lack of finance were cited as deterrents for clients from rural areas coming to the agencies. Although some of the agencies have decentralised and have opened sub-offices in areas, workers were of the opinion that "services were not reaching deep rural areas and the poorest of the poor". The vastness of areas served was also cited as hampering participation of the community on management committees. The agencies were often a great distance from where services were being rendered, and their offices were consequently inaccessible to communities as far as attending management meetings was concerned. A high-ranking official saw decentralisation of offices as the goal of transformation of the Child Welfare Movement in that it allowed for sharing of resources among agencies. He also saw this as a means of ensuring financial control over agencies within the Child Welfare Movement. The management would be the centre, and the offices would have to make applications for funding. He was of the opinion that funds of the developing societies should be centrally controlled until they have developed capacity to manage their own affairs (Pers.Comm. Durban Sept. 1999).

5.10.13 DUPLICATION OF SERVICES

The distribution of agencies across KwaZulu-Natal gives the impression of duplication; at least four agencies in the sample were in close proximity to another Child Welfare society. There was neither co-ordination of work nor sharing of resources by these agencies. According to a management member, this pattern has emerged owing to past policy imbalances. He stated that transformation was being hampered by the fact that the SANCCFW did not have the power to dictate to the various societies because each society is autonomous (Pers. Comm. Durban Sept. 1999). The SANCCFW has recognised the autonomy of societies as an obstacle to transformation and has now amended the Regulations in the Constitution with regard to Affiliation of Societies and has also developed a Code of Ethics (SANCFW 1999). More specifically:

Affiliates shall establish and maintain such minimum standards as may be required and evaluated by Council. These will include:

- upholding the principles and ethics of social welfare such as non-discrimination and equity in service delivery; and
- upholding of all legislation, specifically that which is relevant to the welfare sector (SANCFW 1999).

A threat of withdrawing affiliate status has been put in place for those organisations that do not comply.

A staff member of the SANCCFW was of the opinion that significant transformation would be possible only if the State exerted some influence by increasing funding only to those agencies that comply with the goals of the WPSW and withholding funding to those who do not (Pers. Comm. Durban Oct. 1999). A senior social worker also saw the Financing Policy as the key to transformation and regarded transformation of welfare organisations as a joint responsibility with the State.

Present State policy can also cause duplication and unco-ordinated services. According to a senior staff member of the SACCFW, there is some conflict with State policy in the registration of agencies in categories 4 and 5. Many small self-help groups/crèche forums that would have complied with the criteria of falling into organisations in category 4 and 5 are being registered as fully-fledged Child Welfare societies by the Department of Welfare in terms of the NonProfit Organisations Act and Regulations, 1997 (Pers. Comm. Durban 1999). There is no liaison between the SANCCW and the Dept. of Welfare in this regard. The result of this lack of consultation in the registering of Child Welfare societies causes confusion as well as conflicts and undermines the co-ordination function of the SACCFW. It also denies these unaffiliated agencies the chance of capacity building which is provided by the Council to its affiliates.

5.11 AMALGAMATIONS

Subsequent to the collection of the data for this thesis, two of the fully developed organisations (one included in the study, No.1) amalgamated. A third organisation (No.7) in an African township was also "included" in this process and now its Board of Management is a standing committee of the amalgamated agency. The process has been successful, as there has been no retrenchment of social workers. Furthermore, ten social workers have been re-deployed into the service area of agency No.7. The process complies with the policy of the SACCFW "to re-deploy resources to the benefit of the most disadvantaged and marginalised communities in terms of availability and accessibility of welfare services and facilities - without practising reverse discrimination" (SANCCW Vol. 3 1997). This amalgamated organisation is now the largest non-profit organisation in the country.

5.11.1 SOCIAL WORKERS' PERCEPTIONS OF AMALGAMATIONS OF AGENCIES

The South National Council for Child and Family Welfare actively embarked on implementation of the amalgamation-rationalisation process in 1990 (Ramasar 1991:335). To date, the process has met with limited success. The responses to amalgamations can be traumatic and reactionary: for instance "a 'White' agency closed down in preference to amalgamating with an agency serving another race group" (Pers.Comm. Stanger Sept. 1998). Two agencies (Nos. 2 and 6) were within a short distance of each other, and all the workers felt that rationalisation of these agencies is necessary to facilitate the sharing of resources. It was generally felt that agencies in poor areas would also benefit in terms of fund-raising. However, there was concern over the loss of power and of being taken over by 'big' agencies. One worker in an African agency felt that cultural heritage and background might be lost. There was concern that amalgamation might lead to bureaucracies rather than improving accessibility to services in rural areas. It was felt the State intervention was necessary to speed up transformation and ensure effective service delivery, avoid duplication and ensure equity of services. According to a senior management member, there was now a programme drive by the SANCCFW to ensure the amalgamation of societies where there is overlapping of services.

5.12 ETHOS OF AGENCY: ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE

5.12.1 INVOLVEMENT OF SOCIAL WORKERS IN COMPILATION OF FUNDING PROPOSALS.

Most (66,7%) social workers interviewed were involved in the writing of funding proposals. Those not involved in writing proposals were either from two of the 'larger' agencies or from agencies under the 'management' of larger agencies

5.12.2 THE INVOLVEMENT OF CLIENTS IN EVALUATION OF SERVICES

The WPSW and the Financing Policy (April 1999:34) stress the need for client evaluation, which should also promote a bottom-up approach and transparency in agencies. There is a move away from evaluating only the quantity of services; it recognised that there is now a need to focus on quality as well as effectiveness, of services. All agencies use the annual general meeting as a place where clients and communities have the opportunity to question the services provided. However 58,3% of social workers evaluate their programmes as the need arise and have no standardised form for evaluation.

5.12.3 AWARENESS BY MANAGEMENT OF WHITE PAPER OF SOCIAL WELFARE

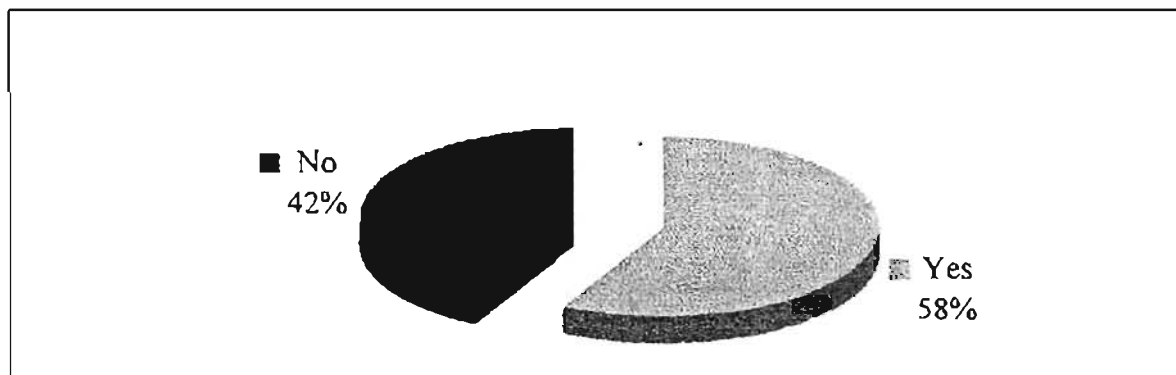


FIGURE: 5.8 AWARENESS OF THE WHITE PAPER OF SOCIAL WELFARE

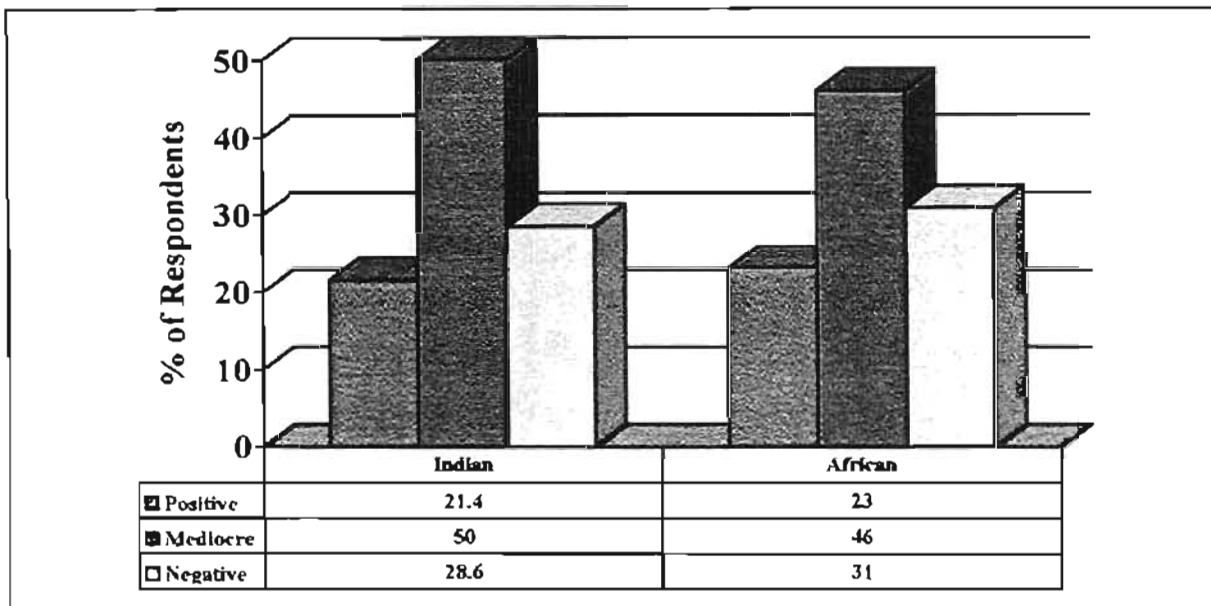
Of the management members, only 57,8% are aware of the contents of the WPWS. All social workers are aware of the WPSW. While all social workers are involved in staff development programmes training, programmes for management members do not exist at all agencies. Those attached to the larger agencies are more knowledgeable and are also exposed to formal training workshops. Pont (1996:3) is of the opinion that the development of training programmes equips and empowers individuals to cope with change, and Chowdhry (1993:324) say: "Training is a process of assisting a person in

enhancing his efficiency and effectiveness at work by improving and up-grading his knowledge, developing skills relevant to his work and cultivating appropriate attitudes and behavior towards work."

5.13 PERCEPTIONS OF TRANSFORMATION

5.13.1 SOCIAL WORKERS' PERCEPTION OF THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE STATE

FIGURE 5.9: RACE AND RELATIONSHIP TO STATE



The social workers have contact with governmental organisations at the level of provincial welfare departments and the regional sub-offices.

Only 32,1% of social workers perceived the relationship with the State as positive; 46,4% viewed their relationship with the State as mediocre, and 21,4% viewed it as negative. The racial breakdown of the perception of the relationship with the State showed only a small difference between the Indian and African social workers, as shown in the table above. The single White respondent

expressed a negative relationship to the State. Years of experience correlated significantly ($p = 0.009$) with a positive relationship with the State.

Comments elicited from those who rated their relationship as good were:

- "State departments were now reaching out to them."
- "Regular quarterly meetings were held in which service delivery could be discussed."
- "Relationships were improving since the old days."

Some of the comments from those who described their relationship as mediocre were:

- "There is some co-operation, but this could be better."
- "We work well on the liaison committee but you have to be guarded." Those who viewed the relationship as negative:
 - "viewed the lack of consultation on the Child Support Grant as a major cause."
 - "Our relationship with the State is not a partnership; they are dominant." This sentiment was echoed many times. The main source of dissatisfaction was that policies were not negotiated with them but imposed on them.
 - "The State workers are autocratic."
 - "There is a rift because of salary differences."

5.13.2 MORALE AND PERCEPTION OF TRANSFORMATION OF THE SOCIAL WORKERS

Only 3,6 % of social workers were optimistic about the transformation of welfare in meeting the objectives of the WPSW. The majority (82,1%) were not really sure, and 14,3% were pessimistic. A significant observation was that a positive relationship with the State appeared to correlate with level of optimism. Likewise, years of experience also correlated with the level of optimism ($p = 0.017$). The level of optimism of more experienced workers might account for their having long service records at Child Welfare.

The views of social workers on the level of transformation at their agencies varied. Social workers in African were not so positive. Others felt that the Child Welfare movement was moving in the right direction; however, more was required to achieve transformation. Some of the areas where transformation appeared successful were:

- "A more equitable racial composition of staff";
- "Provision of services to other race groups"; and
- "Provision of services to informal settlements and more developmental work".

A senior staff member from SANCCFW was of the opinion, that from a regional perspective, transformation has occurred. There have been shifts in the types of services rendered; for example social workers are involved in developmental work and poverty alleviation. Services are also being extended to previously disadvantaged communities (Pers.Comm. Durban Oct.1999).

A senior staff member expressed the view that the level of transformation in all organisations was not enough. Some organisations were still resistant to change and she cited as an example instances where African social workers were expected to work only with African clients (Pers.Comm. Durban Oct.1999).

More rural work seems a priority but the situation of offices limits accessibility. One social worker was of the view that they were "dealing with the backlogs of the past but at the expense of the more developed communities" (Pers.Comm. Tongaat Nov.1998).

5.13.3 PROBLEMS WITH THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS AS PERCEIVED BY MANAGEMENT MEMBERS

Limited finance is the most important factor hindering service delivery. This makes it difficult to provide services to communities that are impoverished and

poverty-stricken. It is also almost impossible to fund-raise in poor communities. The current economic recession is making fund-raising increasingly difficult. Limited manpower resources hinder the extension of services to previously disadvantaged communities. In some cases, the State has reduced posts but expects that more work be done.

Some of the comments received were:

- "Cuts in state subsidies disrupt services and also prevent projects that have been initiated from continuing."
- "There are no support services in outlying areas; for example, places of safety, shelters for abused women."
- "Services provided are seen as being superficial". The inappropriate location of agencies and the need for more decentralisation was reiterated.
- "Problems experienced by communities are perceived to be too complex for a small agency to handle."
- "The unionisation of social workers makes it difficult for agencies to meet their demands."
- "Staff are demotivated by poor salaries."
- "Violence and crime, especially burglaries, with resultant loss of equipment and vehicles add to existing frustration."
- "There is difficulty in recruiting Zulu-speaking workers."
- "Community apathy and a culture of entitlement result in unrealistic demands being placed on social workers."

5.13.4 SOCIAL WORKERS' PERCEPTION OF OBSTACLES TO MEETING OBJECTIVES OF THE WHITE PAPER

Many of the responses obtained here have already been covered above but are included for completeness. Limited finance is again identified as the main obstacle to effective service delivery.

- "The same number of social workers is expected to extend their services to previously disadvantaged areas without any increase in resources."
- "The vastness of areas that have to be covered, together with the reduction of subsidies, places unrealistic demands on agencies and often compromises service delivery and quality of work."

- "Insufficient transport for both client and service providers results in an inadequate delivery of service."
- "Communities do not have initial resources to finance projects."

One worker was of the opinion that problems in communities are too great to be solved. "Lack of community support, unco-operative clients who are resistant to change are obstacles." "Violence and the high crime rate in communities affect service delivery. In two of the African townships, social workers have been hijacked. In one of these agencies social workers use public transport to avoid similar situations. Going into the areas using police escort is not uncommon.

Racial intolerance and language barriers also hinder service delivery. Illiteracy and apathy of the community are seen as problems.

Interference and unreasonable demands by Boards of Management are also a problem. At one agency there are many disciplinary hearings. An undue emphasis on administrative work took up valuable time.

5.13.5 SUGGESTIONS MADE BY SOCIAL WORKERS ON WAYS TO OVERCOME OBSTACLES IN ACHIEVING THE OBJECTIVES OF THE WHITE PAPER

All social workers were of the view that clients would not be in a position to pay for services rendered.

Some of their suggestions to overcome obstacles to service delivery were:

The state should be responsible for the provision of welfare to communities.

- Job creation, better education and improved community policing were seen as means of reducing poverty and crime.
- The provision of both financial and human resources, as well as rationalisation of resources between agencies, were identified as means of improving service delivery.

- Improvement of management skills and provision of leadership programmes in communities would result in better functioning of agencies.
- Involvement of clients in management of agencies and improvement of communication skills including language difficulties would enhance the client's perception of the agency and reduce resistance to change.

4.13.6 MANAGEMENT MEMBERS PERCEPTION OF WAYS TO OVERCOME OBSTACLES AND MEET THE CHALLENGES OF TRANSFORMATION

Essentially these were similar to those of social workers given above. It was overwhelmingly felt that the State should take responsibility for the funding of welfare services. Responses ranged from the State being 100%, responsible for funding welfare to the State putting punitive mechanisms in place to ensure equity in funding, especially in disadvantaged communities. In addition, they perceived the creation of one-stop centres and the involvement of the business sector as additional means of improving service delivery.

5.14 A CASE STUDY OF A DEVELOPING SOCIETY

The organisation (No.13) is situated in a disadvantaged area on the South Coast of Durban. It has a Zulu name which in translation meaningfully depicts their mission. The area in which the organisation is situated is described by the chairperson as one in which "the community is very poor, uneducated, with many unemployed and needing help desperately. The roads are very poor, ambulances can't reach the people, also there is no water except for rain" (Pers.Comm. Illovu Dec.1998).

The project was started in 1988 with the community. "A clinic was established as people had to be pushed by wheelbarrow to a clinic very far away. Later, services expanded and a crèche was established. The crèche is now subsidised by the State. The office is situated at the crèche/clinic. The building was old and dilapidated. The offices were poorly furnished and had no phone and lights. The

committee liaise with the area manager of the SANCCFW on a consultative basis. They see this as inadequate, as in her absence "we have to try and solve our own problems or go to her". A gardening project was stated to raise funds and to feed the crèche children. This project is now subsidised by the state. The management consists of members of the community. The chairman is a religious leader. His wife, who before retirement was a packer at Checkers, is the treasurer. Other executive members of the committee include a retired mechanic and a policeman. Some of the problems experienced by this committee are a lack of funds for the project. "There are too many poverty-stricken people who seek relief. We find it difficult to do more. Money is totally inadequate even to maintain the present project. We are in dire straits financially."

The chairperson devotes his total time to the community. He uses his own vehicle to pick up and drop children at the crèche, at his cost. He and his wife spend most of the day at this project. Burglaries have become common, and equipment is stolen. There are no funds for burglar guards, locks and security equipment. In 1994 there was terrible violence in the area, yet the chairperson remained in area and "made peace with warring factions and tried to build up the community".

5.15 ORGANISATIONAL PLANS

The SANCCFW member interviewed admitted that transformation had been slow in the Child Welfare movement. In his opinion this had been because of the ideological and political differences of the various role-players involved. In re-looking at transformation, various new policies are to be put in place at service delivery, management and staff level. Task teams have been put in place to address issues of social redress and social development, and transformation at management, staff and service levels. These efforts are to be reviewed in 2004. Training for leadership is to be a priority, as is the development of developing societies (Pers.Comm. Durban Sept.1999).

"More emphasis is to be placed on project management styles and deliverables. Within policies, monitoring scales are to be developed to assess implementation of policies." (Pers. Comm. Durban Oct. 1999).

Generally the response to transformation has been slow at agencies. The spatial distribution of agencies across the province is skewed, having an urban bias. Smaller agencies in outlying areas are finding it more difficult to meet policy objectives. These agencies have less staff, fewer physical resources and support services to assist them in meeting policy criteria. Service remain uneven in coverage, but innovative models, such as the nurturance of self-help initiatives and new roles of social workers, such as consultants are emerging to meet the needs of rural populations. Recruitment of social workers to outlying areas is difficult. Social workers are still conservative in the methods they use consumer participation is minimal. Language and inadequate knowledge of indigenous cultures is another barrier in the provision of relevant social work services. Morale of social workers is low. Boards of management still have a gender bias and have not achieved racial integration. Inadequate finance is a major obstacle in expanding services to meet the objectives of the WPSW. All respondents in the study were of the opinion that the State needed to lead the transformation process and provide more a more substantial financial support.

CHAPTER SIX

ASSESSING TRANSFORMATION IN WELFARE

This chapter will discuss key issues that emerged from the responses to the new policy framework: the spatial and staffing distribution of agencies, physical and human resources, strengths and weaknesses of agencies in working within the new policy framework. They will be discussed roughly in the sequence of the survey.

6.1 A POINT ON SAMPLING

As described in Chapter Four there were criteria measures taken to secure a representative sample; however, there seems to be a sampling bias with regard to race. From the data it appears that the Indian community has had a disproportionate effect on the number of agencies established. The large number of Indians in the sample is explained by an observation that Indians were active in the Child Welfare Movement. Chetty (1999:69) states that in 1927, when Durban Indian Child Welfare was being established, over fifty autonomous Child Welfare Societies as well as local committees were formed in almost every Indian settlement in Natal. The larger number of Indian management members (62%) in the sample can be largely explained by the above. Furthermore, Indian organisations tend to be larger and more developed organisations, therefore giving a larger proportional sample. An additional factor contributing to an apparent sampling bias could also be owing to anomalies in management of agencies resulting from one agency being controlled by another, predominantly of another race group.

6.2 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF AGENCIES

The WPSW recognises that urban and racial bias have a severe effect on general welfare service provision: "Services are not always located in underprivileged communities and are therefore inaccessible to their members" (1997:5). One of the social welfare indicators of policy effectiveness is improved spatial distribution of social services (Social Welfare Action Plan 1998:18).

A direct consequence of compliance with official national policy in the past was the creation of separate child welfare societies for the different race groups for the South African National Council for Child and Family Welfare (Ramasar 1991:333). Now the emphasis is an equitable distribution and sharing of resources. This study reveals the inequities in the delivery of services in KwaZulu-Natal (Annexure 3) as the location of agencies along racial lines was directly determined by the Group Areas Act of 1950, and the process of transformation has still not effected the required change. Agencies are conservative in relation to their relocation, and there are many reasons for their conservatism in this regard. It would be difficult to change the inappropriate location of these agencies because of financial constraints, and this inequity will tend to remain an obstinate feature in organisations in spite of all transformation efforts. These agencies have also developed within a strong historic and cultural background that will be difficult to transform.

6.2.1 URBAN-RURAL BIAS

The fully developed organisations are in the Durban and Pietermaritzburg magisterial districts, thus providing an urban location of most staff as depicted in table 4.3. The human geography of KwaZulu-Natal is such that White and Indian population groups tend to be urban-based while the majority of Africans live in rural areas. Furthermore, formal welfare is largely a feature of urban life, and services tend to be concentrated in urban areas. It is not surprising, therefore,

that most of the services are not accessible to rural clients. Staff also expressed reservations about the appropriateness of serving vast rural areas, a situation contrary to what the State envisages in its policy which is reflected in the following statement: "Welfare services are to be organised in such a way that individuals and communities are offered the widest possible range of services in their immediate environment." (Minister of Welfare, Speech August 1999). The vastness of areas served results in offices of the agencies being inaccessible to clients. However, welfare demands in urban areas are also increasing, and it could be argued that that rapid redeployment would be premature at this time and would decrease overall welfare services available. Gray and Neilson (1997:7) are of the view that urban areas have just as many problems as rural areas and that the provision of services to urban areas may therefore be justified. From this perspective, urban-based child welfare agencies, with their city focus, would not need to transfer staff to work in rural areas, but should rather prioritise services to the following previously neglected groups:

- disadvantaged townships;
- inner-city redevelopment areas; and
- communities in with formal or shack areas, as well as the many smaller spontaneous settlements within the city boundaries.

This study shows that agencies in urban areas have attempted to extend their services to informal settlements and disadvantaged townships in keeping with the need for transformation as described in earlier in chapter five, page 107.

Despite some difficulties, welfare services are being expanded to rural areas. The demand to effect transformation to meet the needs of disadvantaged rural communities has resulted in a shift in emphasis with extension of services and an increased emphasis on community development in these communities. Furthermore, non-formal structures (agencies in categories 4 and 5) in rural areas, such as crèche forums, are emerging and these are being recognised by

the formal welfare sector. Consultation services are rendered to these organisations by social workers from the SANCCCFW. However, there is a need for an evaluation of the consultancy services offered to assess whether or not they meet the needs and expectations of these communities. Consultation can be cost-effective and indicates a move towards less professionalism. However, statutory services - for example, in cases of child abuse - are also needed in these areas, and professional social work services are necessary. The emphasis on community development at the expense of conventional social work points to a shortcoming in policy in areas of great need.

The success with job creation projects of organisations in categories 4 and 5 might reflect the communities' strengths and resilience in dealing with their own needs. The number of community development projects in this category far exceeds those of agencies with social work staff (table 5.3, page 109). This could reflect the bias of professional social workers towards conventional intervention methods.

6.3 STAFFING DISTRIBUTION

There are clear discrepancies in the distribution of staff, both in the urban/rural dimension and between different communities. Presuming that one can infer that the need for child welfare services is in proportion to the population size then professional social work services offered to the African community are wholly inadequate (80.9% of KZN population is African). Nevertheless, the large number of staff in larger societies could be explained by their having to serve a number of decentralised offices as well as managing children's homes and other resources, all of which are labour intensive.

Another reason for the presence of more staff in the larger agencies might be their capacity to access funds for additional categories of staff. Patel (1998:117) is of the opinion that where government funding of NGOs is in place, procedures

to access such funds are cumbersome, and often only the most organised sectors have the capacity to access such funds. The ability of the larger agencies to access funds is illustrated by the success of two fully developed organisations, Durban Child Welfare and Pinetown-Highway Child and Family Welfare Society, in acquiring funding from the TNDT (TNDT 1998:25). In this matter, funding procedures tend to deepen the gulf between rural and urban agencies.

Some agencies are employing social auxiliary workers. It is encouraging to note that they are being employed by the formal welfare sector, as it is a cost-effective way of reaching more clients, as well as a move away from professional conservatism.

It is recognised that leadership at an agency is an additional advantage in managing change. Larger organisations have more people in leadership roles, particularly at the level of directors and managers. The large number of social workers in managerial positions in the fully-developed societies and their absence in smaller agencies in outlying areas might be explained by the previous policy which provided a state subsidy for one supervisor's post for every seven social workers employed at an agency.

There is a trend towards employing younger social workers in outlying areas, as shown in this survey chapter 5, page 114. As new professionals, they often need support, information and some degree of structure because they tend to be uncertain about their own competence. They therefore require supervision and role models. The paucity of supervisors in outlying areas results in there being no on-the-spot supervision, although these social workers have access to the regional consultant telephonically. This lack of direct support probably explains the high turnover of social workers in outlying areas. There is no incentive for social workers to move to deprived areas, despite the policy of Social Welfare Action Plan (1998:30) which recommends that incentives be made available to attract workers to these areas. The nonprofit sector is competing with State

departments for human resources, but competition for human resources favours State departments that offer better incentives. The high turnover of social workers which results has a negative influence on development, which is dependent on long-term continuity for permanent change to be achieved. Any reduction of state subsidies also disrupts services and capacity-building of these agencies should be encouraged prior to withdrawal of subsidies.

6.4 RACIAL COMPOSITION OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORK

The survey reveals that racial diversity in staff composition has not been achieved. Although there has been the employment of Indian social workers by White agencies, community acceptance of staff of other races appears to be still problematic and can be identified as an obstacle to service delivery. State-subsidised social work posts in the voluntary sector do not reflect the racial composition of KwaZulu-Natal. Although the SANCCFW has an affirmative action policy, page 113, chapter five, the agencies still experience difficulty in recruiting suitable staff. The reasons for this failure are complex and reflect inertia in recruitment of African social workers. Better incentives offered by Public Services attract staff away from the non-governmental sector, resulting in a high turnover of staff. Another question that needs to be asked is whether sufficient African social workers are being trained. Furthermore, the small number of social workers in senior positions, despite extensive experience among many social workers, gives the impression that there is little chance of upward mobility in the private welfare sector. This is created by criteria as set out by the State in funding agencies, such as those which specify that there should be seven social workers employed before a subsidy for a senior post is approved. This creates a further disincentive for attraction of suitable staff.

6.5 DECENTRALISATION OF OFFICES

New forms of service delivery are being constructed. The decentralisation of offices of agencies is seen as a way of meeting the inequity of services in terms of communities served. It is also seen as a way of sharing resources more cost-effectively and efficiently. However, the physical location of management some distance away from the people they serve is seen as a problem in the survey. Volunteers help build bridges between organisations and their communities. The lack of grassroots participation conflicts with the ideals of community development as demanded in the WPSW.

With regard to decentralisation of offices, the pivotal question is how to make service delivery structures more efficient while simultaneously increasing their level of responsiveness to the community. However, if management members are situated away from the areas they work in, one can ask the question, "When voluntary organisations working in rural areas do not have roots in the village itself, how voluntary are voluntary organisations?" (Chowdhry 1993:287).

Another question that needs to be answered is what degree of fiscal autonomy the decentralised area-based teams should have, as resources are needed for their local communities and a degree of capacity-building is possible only if they have experience in managing their own finances. The level of central control in the new arrangements may be in conflict with the principles of community development and could be contrary to recommendations of the WPSW. This poses a dilemma. On the one hand, administrative functions, governed by an efficiency ethos, often need to be centralised to enhance managerial control and fiscal monitoring. On the other hand, service provision, governed by a participatory style and, in its best tradition, a benevolent ethos, needs to be responsive to people in need, regardless of how efficient or inefficient those responses might be (Martinez and Brawley 1993:93). This is a major concern, as the RDP principle and all government policy in service delivery are based on the

principle of participation. A wider question is that of the context of change. Participation may not be accelerating decentralisation but modifying centralisation. Checkoway (1995:10) is of the opinion that "with central control, participation is not a form of decentralization, but rather a form of deconcentration in which central agencies deconcentrate functions of services to local sub-areas. It is another form of centralization".

6.6 AMALGAMATIONS OF SOCIETIES

Pro-actively, the SANCCFW adopted a policy of amalgamation and rationalisation, which is a radical reversal of the past policy of separateness. According to Ramasar (1991:334), the SANCCFW recognises that there has been fragmentation of services and that often more than one Child Welfare agency is operating in a confined geographical area separated only on the grounds of race. There has been a concerted effort from the 1990's onwards to implement this policy of amalgamation of agencies to overcome this inequity. Although the SANCCFW had this as policy as early as 1990, the process remains slow. Social workers are, however, sceptical about amalgamations of societies. An amalgamation is more than just the joining of agencies and is a complex process because it means giving up and transforming power, values, culture and history. Larger societies in this study seem to have more power in negotiating their position. This was demonstrated by the fact that the management committee of the small African agency in the sample was reduced to a standing committee when amalgamated. On the positive side, services are being provided to a deprived African township which previously had minimum welfare provisions. It could be argued that a local group would not be endowed with such an enhanced leadership, at least initially. It may be imperative, therefore, for local people to forge a link with outsiders who are similarly committed to the promotion of their well-being for the purpose of acquiring and cultivating the necessary executive capacity and leadership skills by local people themselves (Upkong 1993:55). The dilemma is the degree to which self-

governance is compromised by the possibility of domination. Some caution must be exercised to ensure that there is not a move towards previous policy, which assumed that White agencies had the know-how to guide other race groups to manage their agencies. A study conducted by Rainbeck (cited by Neugeboren 1991:196) in America found that amalgamation of organisations resulted in a minimum of cost saving through the reduction in personnel costs, while there was considerable expenditure in time on planning and implementation, and an adverse impact on staff morale. The creation of large agencies through amalgamations might run contrary to policy intentions that require voluntary organisations to be smaller, more participatory, less bureaucratic, more flexible and better able to meet the demands of the poor. The size of the amalgamated organisation tends to contradict the virtues of smaller scale voluntary organisations.

6.7 RESOURCES

The availability of physical, financial and human resources had an urban bias. According to Neugoboren (1991:293), technology promotes system co-ordination for inter-agency work, and deprived agencies are therefore further disadvantaged because of the lack of technology.

Developmental work requires professionals to go out to the people, and transport is consequently a crucial ingredient in the implementation of social policies (Kaseka, et al. 1998:28). The lack of adequate transport could hamper the achievement of transformation goals, and this appears to be a major problem with all agencies. It is interesting to note that the policy of decentralisation of offices will necessitate greater use of transport at considerable expense to agencies.

The agencies that originated in the African communities are found to be less adequate in terms of office space and general facilities than other communities.

The condition of offices has an impact on the morale of workers as well as on the quality of services rendered. This could be one of the factors contributing to the higher level of pessimism in the 'African' agencies.

6.8 FUNDING

This survey has revealed that funding is a major obstacle experienced by all agencies. Macro-economic policies also impact on the transforming the welfare sectors. The overall reduction in social spending, and consequently no substantial increases to meet the demands, is making the task of transformation a difficult one. Poor communities do not have the capacity to raise funds. Kawewe (cited in Dixon 1995:295) is of the opinion that it is inconceivable to expect people who are poor to share anything when they have nothing. However, it is encouraging to note that innovative means of obtaining funding is beginning to occur. The example of obtaining a steady income through investment in a block of flats being a case in point, as illustrated by responses in Chapter five, page 124. The Financing Policy (1999) provides for more innovative financing options. For example, it is possible for projects with proven credibility to receive lump sum funding resulting in a substantial transfer of funds which will enable the agency to utilise the interest as additional income. The new financing policy will also benefit less affluent agencies (those in categories 4 and 5) in terms of financing; for example, venture funding is encouraged. In these instances, those organisations wishing to start innovative services will receive financing to support early development of their programme or project. Furthermore, the policy makes it possible to finance in phases a particular component of a project or programme. Involvement of business in social work services could also be important, especially with regard to funding. Impoverished communities have a less chance raising their own funds. Furthermore, clients in these areas cannot pay for services. Innovative means will have to be found to make it possible to transfer funds to those areas that need it most.

State policy in the allocation of funds can also be an obstacle to accessing available resources. Smaller organisations with weak management structures do not have the requisite capacity to access funds.

There are some contradictions in implementing the financing policy. The Department of Welfare registering smaller organisations as Child Welfare agencies without liaising with SANCCFW might cause confusion in communities and also undermines the role of a National Council in terms of its role of co-ordination of services.

6.9 COMPOSITION OF MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES

Contrary to the intentions of both the SANCCFW and the State, the racial composition of management committees still reflects historical origins of the organisations. To a large extent, agencies were also located in compliance with the Group Areas Act of 1950 and residential segregation still marks the location and scope of agencies. This has a direct influence on the racial composition of management members of agencies. Organisations still experience considerable difficulty in recruiting management members of other race groups.

This study clearly demonstrated that both staff and management (66,7%) were of the opinion that the community was not represented on committees that provided services to these communities.

6.9.1 GENDER

This study showed that involvement of women on management committees was minimal (13% as compared to 87% of males). Those women serving on committees were older (refer table 5.5) and were less likely to have young children. And the majority had been exposed to the working world. This is trend is consistent with the findings of Grobler (1993:5), who is of the opinion that women

are very poorly represented on management bodies in Third World countries. She (Grobler 1993:5) attributes this to the lack of confidence of women to participate in discussions during meetings. Men therefore dominate discussions, readily criticise a woman's contributions, and regard women as inferior. Men generally have more exposure, training and experience with administration than women and are therefore elected to senior management positions. Traditional attitudes and prejudices all play a role in keeping women out of management roles.

6.9.2 REPRESENTATION

Over representation of the 'elite' or 'enlightened' onto management committees of non-governmental organisations, even in rural communities, is a problem (Upkong 1993:55, Grobler 1993:5). Marshall (1996:49) states that the more advantaged have the greater skills and resources for organising themselves. Furthermore, he (Marshall 1996:49) is of the opinion that having influential people on management committees should be seen as a redistribution of skills. Taylor's (1996:19) research has found that people with business skills are preferentially recruited to management committees and displace those members, who have different experience and contributions to offer. Some agencies felt that this was appropriate, given the increasing complexity of the task. Other agencies felt that this strategy made it far more difficult for the agency to involve service-users and local people in running their activities. It is possible that a more competitive ethos will result from the new financing policy. However, the resulting climate, in which each aspect of an agency's work will need to be costed, may put at risk traditions of collaboration and co-operation among agencies. The new financing policy also demands sophisticated business skills which may make it necessary to recruit persons with business skills onto management boards. Analysts of the civic sector, particularly in industrialised countries, are heralding the emergence of a new social stratum, the social entrepreneur, whose task it would be to combine the entrepreneurial flair of the commercial sector with the

socially-minded commitment of the voluntary sector (Robinson and White 1997:41). It is therefore apparent that the literature accepts that in terms of the demands of management roles, influential people with particular types of skills are needed.

It is also apparent from this study that recruitment strategies (as discussed in chapter five, page 121), did not appear to be organised, but to a large extent appeared to be based on the recruiting of friends. It is clear from the above discussion that a range of skills, from the life skills of the community to the sophisticated entrepreneurial skills of the business sector, is required. This in agreement with Lewis and Lewis (1991:119) who observe that when an agency has a clear plan concerning the need for volunteers, it is possible to 'target recruit' people who have specific skills and interests rather than to depend on a 'shotgun' approach. Volunteerism is largely unorganised in South Africa.

The cost involved in being a management member might be a deterrent to poorer people volunteering their services. The absence of ordinary people on management committees may be explained by the observation of Smith (1996:197) that the heavy emphasis on formal management processes has been held to deter volunteers from marginalised groups from coming forward, thereby working against efforts to open up volunteering to a broader cross-section of society. He further states that the challenge for organisations is to devise styles of management and support that meet the needs of all volunteers, not just the 10 % of knowledgeable volunteers.

6.9.3 AGE

Management members were in the older age range (Table 4.6). Significantly, compared to other race groups the majority of the 53% of African members fell in the older group (older than 56 years). There are several possible reasons for this. Bar-On (1998:156) states that "in community and wider government affairs,

members of kinship networks accord great status to people in authority, whom they trust to make them moral. That is, they believe that paternalistic elite's are better placed than they to judge what is in their best interest. Consequently, most Africans expect vertical relationships with authorities, such that leaders will lead and professionals will guide, and accept their duty to follow, though here, too consensus is uppermost". James (1997:4) is in agreement that "in African cultures there is a rejection of power equalisation principles, and that authoritarian management styles are not only accepted but practically demanded by both workers and subordinate managers also stresses this. There is a high respect for age and experience in African culture".

It is also possible that older persons have more time available for volunteer work.

6.10 ACTIVITIES OF MANAGEMENT MEMBERS

Board members provide administrative support, advocacy or policy, but not do direct service (Cnaan 1993:77). This study also showed that conflict arose when management attempted to interfere in the duties of social workers. The activities of members in developing societies as reflected in Chapter five, page 146, were more involved and related to direct services. This could be because of lack of professional services at these agencies. In organisations where there were social workers there was some ambiguity as to the role of management members, and in these societies there was evidence of conflict with social workers.

Management members are the decision - and policy-makers of agencies; their knowledge of the WPSW is therefore imperative. It is significant to note that many management members had no knowledge of the WPSW yet were making decisions and formulating policy for whole communities in the welfare sector. The larger agencies have more staff to arrange and organise these workshops, and greater financial resources.

6.11 SERVICE DELIVERY

6.11.1 METHODS

The move from a residual model of practice to a developmental approach demands a review of methods practised by social workers.

Historically there have been many interacting factors which encouraged wide use of the casework method. The social workers in South Africa feel most comfortable with practising casework. The focus on casework in social work training, its widespread use in statutory work; a subsidy system for social workers in private welfare, based largely on caseload numbers, and the prevailing sociopolitical climate all discouraged macro-level intervention (Sturgeon 1998:26).

This study clearly shows that social workers still have a bias towards casework (85,7% chose it as a method of first choice) and are not practising an integrated method. A possible explanation, apart from the observation of Sturgeon (1998) above, is that this could be as a result of the organisational structure of agencies, which has resulted in the division of social workers into statutory teams, or teams specifically involved in community development. However, the WPSW (1997:22) acknowledges that rehabilitative and specialised services are necessary components of social work practice. The need for an integrated method of practice is expressed by Chetty (1999: 75) who notes that a social worker "cannot casework a client out of poverty. By the same token, the need for casework services will remain since one cannot community-organise a person out of trauma". The very nature of Child Welfare services; for example, dealing with sexual abuse and child abuse, warrants an individualised approach. Thus the subsidy system based on programmes and continuum of care is likely to pose a challenge to social workers in the Child Welfare field.

Social welfare tends to be informed by a view that emphasises assisting individuals to adjust to their environment, even though their problems might be a manifestation of deep-seated structural problems. South African welfare services address consequences or symptoms of problems; the approach to social

problems therefore results in persons and not social structures being regarded as objects to change. All social workers interviewed in this study had access to local leaders, although many of them did not see the importance of their organisations having such contact. It is likely that the clinical outlook of social workers inhibits them from seeing the need to access national leaders. To achieve transformation of agencies and deal adequately with the problems facing South African communities, there has to be a change in emphasis on how social workers operate.

While curative and therapeutic approaches are necessary, these are misplaced in South Africa where problems are largely structural ones which require structural solutions. Kaseka (1998:148) concurs that social workers have failed to meet the needs of developing countries. Many social workers (39%) are not involved in social action. Any radical approach to transform welfare services would place emphasis on social action as a very important method of practice, and social workers would move away from being just passive implementers of social policy, as was required of them in the past.

Policies, and the policy process, will inevitably reinforce oppressive structures unless structural issues are specifically addressed, and this means that if social workers are to influence the policy process they must be concerned with countering structural disadvantage. This can be achieved through many well known forms of social work intervention such as consciousness-raising, education and community action, all of which are part of a good deal of social work practice (Ife 1995:8).

Social workers are more comfortable dealing with those types of work that are familiar to them. Much of the type of work social workers engage in depends on the type of training they received and that is familiar to them. The retraining of social workers and general human resource development is a major goal of The WPSW. This study demonstrated that the types of social action undertaken were not consistent (Chapter five, page 133). There was no organisation and these actions tended to be largely *ad-hoc* and reactive. Agencies in townships, which are perceived as being politically volatile areas, engaged in less social action, and this might explain why fewer African social workers were engaged in social

action in this study. James (1997:4) is of the opinion that "developing countries are also characterised by wanting to avoid situations of uncertainty implying that staff are unlikely to want to engage in activities which are unstructured or whose outcomes are unpredictable, particularly if conflict or aggression is likely to be involved". Another reason is that African social workers might be experiencing an ethical dilemma in that engagement in social action might raise expectations without ensuring that change could occur, which could cause frustration within communities.

Inadequate training (Chapter five, page 134) was seen a problem by the majority of social workers. Much of the theory that has informed South African practice in the past originated in the West and has been accepted uncritically for education and training purposes (McKendrick 1990:244). Older social workers were of the opinion that in-service training could fill this gap as new problems emerge. Furthermore, methods of teaching in universities need to be reviewed, and there should be an emphasis on problem-based learning methods so that skills learnt can be generalised to unanticipated situations.

6.11.2 TYPES OF PROBLEMS DEALT WITH BY SOCIAL WORKERS

Problems have multiple causes and have to be seen holistically. Poverty appears to be the root cause for most of these problems. The demarcation of service delivery in terms of client's age as discussed in Chapter five, page 127, could be contrary to an integrated service delivery system as outlined in the White Paper. This might be an illustration of a past policy still in operation, one which has not changed in accordance with the new demands of transformation.

The types of project social workers in this study are involving themselves in - for example, early childhood development services, aftercare and job creation - are identified in the WPSW as priority strategies in dealing with children and families. Socio-economic development for poor families and children is a priority

recognised by the WPSW(1997:55). Midgley (1996:16) also stresses the importance of the role of the social worker in the economic development of communities. It is commendable that societies are involved in all three programmes that are recognised as important priority areas in the upliftment of families and children; namely, early childhood development, after school care and socio-economic development. However, it can also be argued whether job creation and early childhood development should be the sole responsibility of the Department of Welfare or whether it should rather be carried out from an intersectoral perspective.

The projects embarked on used a variety of approaches to tackle social conditions. Most centred on income generation, employment, development of human and social capital, and preventative programmes. However, the degree to which empowerment was encouraged varied, as according to the social workers, some projects did create dependency; for example, parties for the poor.

The element of competition among the various organisations might reflect poor networking among agencies, which was identified by this study as a problem. Mbatha (1998:6) states that there is sufficient evidence to suggest that in most disadvantaged communities, especially in urban areas, there is more than one agency rendering community development services. This was an concern expressed in this study.

The amount of professional time spent on fund-raising rather than on service delivery was a further concern expressed by social workers in this study. McInnis-Dietrich (1994:50) is in agreement that "fund-raising is the number one activity of volunteers in non-profit agencies and has become so institutionalized that at times it displaces the service goals of the agency. If a private agency launches a fund-raising campaign it is likely to consume as much in staff and agency resources as it generates. When local economy is weak, citizens are not likely to make significant contributions."

In the South African context, where poverty is rampant, mechanisms of raising funds and addressing mal-distribution of resources and funding need to be re-examined.

6.11.3 NETWORKING

In order to provide integrated social welfare and development services, there is a need for networking of all these departments and organisations at national, State, district, block and village level (Chowdry 1993:300).

In this study, networking among agencies was minimal and far from meeting policy demands. There was an absence of formal networking procedures in place. Upkong (1993:64) is of the opinion that all lack of co-ordination among NGOs is regrettable and might result in overlapping, paralyses and atrophy of initiatives and resources. The strategy of 'doing it alone' does not permit operations on a meaningfully substantive scope but rather on a small, experimental and limited basis. The capacity of agencies to meet the demands of needs in the community was questioned by both social workers and management members interviewed in this study. Networking with other agencies might promote projects of larger scale and thus reach more people. In a study conducted by Oliver and Soal (1997:32), organisations which were open to collaboration with others, even to working in partnership, be it with government, business or other NGOs and to pioneering new forms of working together appeared to cope better despite limited resources, staff and facilities

It was apparent that very few social workers networked with non-formal organisations. This is in accordance with the observation of Mbatha (1998:10) that recognition of community structures facilitates the process of understanding of local dynamics and culture so as to ensure that professionals from outside

build on local strengths, capacity and knowledge systems so that their interventions are sustainable beyond the project period.

6.11.4 PROVISION OF GENERIC SERVICES

It is apparent from results in the present study that agencies in outlying areas were involved in the provision of generic services. This was also the experience of Lund (1994:35) who described a trend for less specialisation in rural, less-urban communities. She (Lund 1994:35) quotes a social worker working in a remote area as saying "in our department it is not the question of how many social workers per field of service, but how many fields of service per social worker," and further elaborates "that it seems to me the major challenge facing welfare, in inner urban, peri-urban and rural areas, is to worry less about appropriateness of fields of service and more about getting appropriate services to the field. The one-stop centres advocated in recent government policy are a decisive step in the right direction". This study also identified the need for one-stop centres, although concern over co-ordination was expressed. Policies lack clear guidelines as to the implementation of such centres. In a study conducted by Oliver and Soal (1997), social workers were of the view that owing to the vast areas served, the scarcity of services, and the time-consuming and expensive nature of travel, most respondents were in agreement that integrated services, or multi-diagnostic approaches, were necessary in rural areas. One may therefore question the need for specialist Child Welfare services in rural areas.

6.11.5 CULTURALLY RELEVANT SERVICES

The Financing Policy (1999:16) recognises that "Organisations tend to be unaware of indigenous rights and cultural practices. Many institutions have not yet set up staff structures to ensure a staff complement that can understand and respond to the spectrum of human diversity. Financing will, in future, support those services that are re-organising their operational environment to respond to

the diversity of South African rights, culture and language, thereby linking with the concept and direction of the African Renaissance".

An observation in this study (Chapter five, page 136) was that all social workers that were not African had experienced problems with language and only a few of them had Zulu lessons. The belief that there can be cultural competence despite having difficulties in speaking the language is contradictory, as language is a vital part of an individual's culture or subculture: "One must be able to understand the verbal and non- verbal language of clients. In order to understand the meaning of gestures, postures and inflections one must know the people, their institutions, values and lifestyles. Close attention to individual narrative will reveal both personal and cultural interpretations of reality." (Berger 1996:51).

In a highly segregated and compartmentalised society like South Africa, it is unlikely that many social workers know one another's experiences. No agency was found to have a policy with regard to language, which was a surprising finding in a country with eleven official languages and in a province where the majority of the population speak Zulu. This could affect service delivery, especially with regard to social worker-client relationship. Further, professional time of African social workers is wasted. There is also a violation of ethics when family members of clients and other non-professional staff are used as interpreters. It is clear, therefore, that there is an urgent need to look at the development of language policies to deal with this major barrier.

6.12 RELATIONSHIP WITH THE STATE

In this study (Chapter five, page 141), it was apparent that there was very little evidence for a partnership between State and agencies. The greatest problem seemed to be a lack of consultation with regard to policy formulation and implementation. There was also a negative attitude towards the State with regard to cuts in expenditure and discrepancies in salaries. The disruption of services

with the withdrawal of State subsidy could also illustrate a dependency of the nonprofit sector on the State. However, it is promising to note that in some instances as discussed Agency No.7 was able to sustain services despite state cutbacks, and interesting that a better relationship with the State was associated with a higher level of optimism among social workers. This could be attributed to the social workers' perception that the State is focal in assisting with transformation, enabling the process, and meeting the needs of communities with regard to welfare. Owing to the magnitude of the problems in communities, the importance of State involvement in welfare was stressed by Robinson and White (1997:34). They are of the view that the State can be a central component of welfare provision within a social development perspective. As discussed in Chapter Three, the State has set up structures to ensure an enabling environment for the nonprofit sector, but at the time of this study these features were still emerging and had as yet had limited impact.

Working relationships with state officials were also sometimes not cordial as can be seen in Chapter five, page 141. The implementation of Batho Pele in an effort to transform the Public Service offers some hope for a better working relationship between community organisations and the State.

6.13 MORALE AND TRANSFORMATION

Only 3,6% of the social workers were optimistic about the future of welfare. The high levels of pessimism will certainly influence the type of transformation required. This is in accordance with the finding of Neugeboren (1991:203) that a higher level of job satisfaction and morale was associated with a greater program change. Neugeboren (1991:112) is of the view that the complexities inherent in the task of assisting persons with socio-psychological difficulties can lead to frustration, as the objectives may simply not be attainable. This may be the reason why African social workers working in deprived areas are not seeing the

benefits. Visible improvements and small wins help convince people of the do-ability of the change effort (De Vries and Balazs 1999:658).

South African workers are experiencing the transformation as stressful. In a study carried out by Ross and Fridjohn (1995:275), 84,6% of respondents agreed that socio-economic and politico-cultural factors played a decisive role in influencing their experience of work stress. It should be noted that this information was elicited from respondents during the six-month period prior to South Africa's first democratic non-racial election, a period characterised by unprecedented change, rampant violence, unrest and uncertainty.

The morale of social workers in the welfare field requires attention. The Minister of Welfare shares a similar view that the low morale of social service workers across the country is an area that needs priority (*Sunday Tribune*, Nov.1999). It is encouraging, however, to note that all the social workers interviewed in this study were of the opinion that efforts were being made to meet the objectives of the WPSW.

The social workers and management members were in agreement with regard to the factors hindering transformation. Apart from insufficient finances discussed above, other factors include lack of manpower, lack of enthusiasm amongst social workers, and institutional factors. Structural factors in society and community factors were also cited as problems and have been discussed above.

6.14 CRIME

Crime was a major deterrent to adequate service delivery. A study conducted by Moller et al (1996:73) in the KwaZulu-Natal region also showed that three-quarters of the sample were of the opinion that the RDP could deliver only if peace and security were brought to the province. They (Moller et. al 1996:73) cited crime and violence as a major obstacle of development in communities

where services had to stop in certain areas because of crime. However, Phiyega (1990:6) is of the view that Child Welfare agencies have a role to play in violence-torn communities as she sees their task as being to re-establish family and many other small groups to which people can relate and belong. She, (Phiyega 1990:6), views overt violence and institutional/structural violence as arising out of a denial of basic human rights and responsibilities. The denial of basic human rights leads to even harsher, and often more damaging and long-lasting punishments for its victims; for example, unemployment, poverty, racism, and inadequate housing. "A complex review of violence in the South African context may reveal that more often overt violence is a reaction to structural violence. This would mean that the organisation should not only focus on reacting to overt violence but should look into revolutionizing their policies in order to defeat any form of structural violence that maybe practiced. The Child Welfare agencies should for example, make sure that resources and services are evenly distributed" (Phiyega 1990:6).

This has not been evident from the mainly casework type of work the social workers are involved in.

There is another dilemma that we need to confront as to whether social integration and development can be compromised at the expense of economic development as demanded by macro-policies such as GEAR. Crime is related to poverty and conditions in society: "Basic elements of social cohesion are lacking - family structures, churches, community bodies have declined or disintegrated." (Marais 1998:109). In this area we are once again paying the cost of our old policies. Overcoming such inheritances clearly requires massive efforts to redistribute resources, security, opportunity and power to the benefit of the disadvantaged majority.

6.15 CONDITIONS IN COMMUNITIES

Poor communities and agencies in deprived areas appear to have more difficulties in providing and sustaining services. One explanation offered for this by Robinson and White (1997:35) is that since the amount of social capital is associated with actual and potential developmental performance, the localities which are the most needy in development terms are also likely to be the least endowed with social capital. Lack of social capital then operates like some kind of 'social debt'; the burden, which delineates groups and communities and intensifies the gaps between them and their counterparts with greater social assets. However, they (Robinson and White 1997:35) do acknowledge that dire need in poor excluded communities may be a force in getting them to take responsibility for their own welfare.

One of the hurdles confronting poor communities is illiteracy, and this was seen as an obstacle to community development in this study. According to Molefe (1996:28), illiteracy causes an inferiority complex. People are afraid to take part or to be fully involved, believing that they cannot make valuable contributions. She (Molefe 1996) further states that people may accommodate their poverty and misery by accepting them as a way of life. They might become fearful of trying any innovation because it carries great risk. Mbatha (1998:5) believes that the potential for improvement is lowest for the most disadvantaged; surviving poverty and disadvantage and its impact saps energy and self-belief. The whole experience of futile attempts and accumulated experiences of failure produce feelings of powerlessness. In conclusion, therefore, the empowering of communities is a major challenge facing social workers. Turner and Hulme (1997:218) summarise the problem as follows: "while NGOs have some comparative advantage over the public sector, it would be an illusion to imagine that the patchwork of services that NGOs provide could substitute for state provision of basic education, primary health care, welfare services and essential infrastructure." They (Turner and Hulme 1997:218) further state that NGOs are

no panacea for poverty alleviation. Therefore, once again, in a society such as South Africa the capacity of the non-governmental sector is being questioned and the supportive role of the State is being advocated.

6.16 CONSUMER PARTICIPATION

Services which consciously and appropriately involve communities, families, children, youth, women or older persons in assessing the service need and designing the service programme will be supported through welfare services (Financing Policy 1999: 17).

Promoting people's participation is one of the key principles underlying successful community development programmes. Participation by local communities and recipients of services is supposed to cut across the process of needs assessment, programme planning, implementation and evaluation. When people participate in all the phases of their projects, they are empowered via information and developmental skills. In the present study, the involvement of communities was found to be limited. The completion of a needs assessment also correlated positively with social action. This was expected, as the process of needs assessment promotes elements such as consciousness-raising and participation. Social workers should be increasingly involving communities in identifying their own needs as well as evaluating services, if they are to work within a developmental paradigm. Promoting people's participation is one of the key principles underlying community development programmes.

6.17 EMPOWERMENT OF SOCIAL WORKERS

Social workers also cite interference by management members as an obstacle to their own professional capacity. Pine et al (1998:20) are of the view that social work interventions aimed at client empowerment and partnerships will not work if staff are not empowered as professionals. They further state that since organisational empowerment involves

"structuring the environment so that individuals can grow and learn it means sharing some power previously reserved for agency administrators, and it begins

with communication. Therefore participation is the hallmark of organisational empowerment".

6.18 RACIAL SUBTLETIES

Racism in South Africa has been linked to injustice and exploitation, so integration is not going to be easy. Racial tensions did not emerge overtly in this study but became apparent by subtle comments made by the interviewees; for example, concerning the use of funds collected for one race group by one of the other race groups. African social workers were more aware that workers of the other race groups were not competent in working with African clients. Proctor and Davis (1994:314) suggest that "awareness of this social political legacy leaves both groups uncomfortable disclosing race. Each fears that acknowledging race and its effects will arouse anger or will in the other." They, Proctor and Davis (1994:316), define this as 'colour blind' practice, which, in their opinion, is unrealistic and cannot be ignored.

The non-acceptance of social workers of other race groups by community members in this study is defined by Davis and Proctor (1994:318) as status incongruence; that is "the high status accorded on the basis of professional training is incongruent with the low status as a function of race". This might be a factor, which made it difficult for a client (refer Chapter five, page 129) to accept the social worker in this study. Therefore anti-discriminatory work as in-service training for management and staff should be an area that agencies should prioritise. Anti-discriminatory training for communities should also be addressed.

6.19 DEVELOPING SOCIETIES

The case study (Chapter five, page 146) illustrates the efforts of a community to uplift themselves. Self-help organisations such as this can be equated to home-based organisations in Africa.

Increasingly, rural development is becoming the responsibility of local people themselves. This could be viewed as a result of the failure of the government to respond to the needs of local people. The creation of community-based organisations could illustrate 'bottoms-up-development' where professionalism has been replaced by indigenisation. Hence, part of the answer to the problems associated with social welfare provision might be found in a framework which effectively creates conditions for the interaction or interfacing of both formal and informal systems. This casestudy illustrates how much can be achieved by building on what people know and have. Development facilitators need to take into consideration the capabilities and strengths of each category of people with whom they are working. This is further supported by Mbatha (1998:10) who states that "initiatives that build upon the capabilities and strengths of intended beneficiaries tend to be more successful than those that ignore such realities".

The case study also illustrates the natural emergence of the 'one stop service'. Community development assumes that problems in the community have local solutions and that residents can take local initiative and help themselves. Turner and Hulme (1997:207) comment that "Closest to the practice of development are grassroots organisations that operate within a limited area, such as in a group of villages or part of a city". This can increase accessibility and acceptability, but the quality might vary from one situation to another.

- However, one needs to understand that community organisation also has a structural context, is beset with other problems, and cannot be seen to be more efficient or comprehensive than formal provision. The developing society in this study had financial problems in sustaining services. Checkoway (1995:15) is in agreement that the major forces affecting communities are not local but largely social, political and economic in the larger society. He (Checkoway 1995:15) further states that local service development may require resources from external

sources, and government has the responsibility to help communities that cannot help themselves.

6.20 CONCLUDING REMARKS : CRITIQUE OF THE PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES OF THE SANCCFW

The objectives and principles (referred to in chapter four, page 93) of the Movement concurs with the principles and goals of the White Paper of Social Welfare. SANCCFW exhibits features of ubuntu in that one of the principles of this organisation is voluntarism and caring for one another. The principles of the SANCCFW are based on equality in terms of gender, race and working in disadvantaged communities. The study has shown that many agencies are still grappling with these issues. The language of communication should be acceptable to the communities served, but in this study it was found that the majority of social workers, that is all the non-African social workers, had difficulty in speaking Zulu, when this was the language needed for optimal communication.

The objectives of the SANCCFW promotes preventative, promotive and developmental approaches. There has been a shift in emphasis in the work being done at agencies. However, the methods used by social workers are still oriented towards individual work. The objective is to devolve power to local level and ensure that committees are representative of communities served. The study has shown that this has not been achieved.

The study clearly illustrates that, while agencies had politically correct policies, in actual practice there have been obstacles in implementing these. This has been recognised by the Movement itself, which is reviewing and amending policies according to a set agenda. However, the real goals of the transformation process are still to be achieved, especially at the level of affiliate agencies. Vitus (1996:38) comments that "On the whole national councils have a better

understanding of the paradigm shifts that are required in the social service sector than urban branches/affiliates which still show much resistance".

A public admission of past injustices to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is a commendable gesture on the part of the National Council of Child Welfare, as this strengthens commitment to the organisational change effort. In their description of the process of change, De Vries and Balaz (1999:660) are of the view that individuals should be encouraged to make a public declaration to change as it strengthens commitment to the organisational change effort, sets the tone for transformation, and helps in the healing process.

From the above, one can conclude that obstacles to services as perceived by social workers and management members are relate to language, finances, lack of resources at agencies, and conditions within communities. Zimbabwe has faced similar problems in its effort to transform its welfare system after independence. "The expansion of the social sector resulted in a great demand for staff to implement social policies and the demand for services has been so great that the present levels of staff have not been adequate to serve those who require these services amid growing poverty in the country." (Kaseke and Gumbo 1998:28).

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS: CLOSING STATEMENT

"Inherited by post-apartheid South Africa is an accumulation of historical currents - the structural continuities that bedevil efforts at transformation, the ideological narratives that both propel and retard that project, and the political alliances serving as vehicles into the future. Their ability for a project that dismantles the insider/outsider mould cannot be assumed. In many respects they complicate the passage into the new." Marais, 1998: 256.

There has been major changes in welfare since the first democratic elections in 1994. A major achievement has been the amalgamating of State departments of welfare of the various race groups into a unitary system. The delivery of services to the disadvantaged communities have been tardy. The restructuring of the erstwhile social security system has been fraught with difficulty and hampered by beauracratism is now in crisis.

In the course of this work, the caveats regarding transformation in welfare delivery have been substantiated in this thesis. This chapter examines the status and progress of transformation in welfare delivery; a critical review of developmental welfare policy in terms of the hypothesis is proffered. Recommendations are highlighted in bold within the text. A model of the relationship between State-Agency will be proposed at the end of this chapter.

7.1 THE PROSPECTS FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTAL WELFARE

It is evident that a thorough review to produce a post-apartheid policy has brought about a much more demanding framework in which there is a move from a residual model of practice to a developmental model. This has involved a shift from rendering services based on individual pathology, as a last resort, to a social developmental approach. A developmental approach is more empowering and recognises that often problems are beyond the individual and that intervention is necessary at all levels; the micro, mezzo and macro systems.

Overall, most agencies are grappling with implementing the new demands which is often confusing in that policy is continuously evolving and changing. There is recognition that the renewed system of welfare depends on the macro-environment. An overview of the literature (refer Chapter 2, Page 36) has shown that the implementation of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy (GEAR) contradicts developmental social welfare, not only as there is minimal increase in social spending but also because the entire framework is centred around reducing the role of the State and encouraging the private sector. It is therefore not surprising that all agencies are experiencing funding problems as the new demands generate more costs. This applies especially to the smaller organisations in deprived communities, which are finding it more difficult to meet the challenges. Overwhelming poverty in communities and the lack of physical and human resources at agencies are further obstacles in achieving the goals of the White Paper of Social Welfare (WPSW).

Delivery has been accelerated and innovative means of achieving this has occurred, for example, the emergence of new models of services such as the move to community development and recognition of self-help organisations in rural communities. However the extent of change has been limited within the framework of projects rather than broad programmes and does not meet the needs of all South Africans. The impact of past policies has been difficult to overcome. Location of agencies is a major impediment to expansion of services with rural areas most deprived and receiving minimal professional child welfare services. In addition delivery has been hampered by the lack of cultural and linguistic skills. Apartheid has left huge gaps in people's knowledge of indigenous languages and culture. The process of rectifying language and cultural barriers has also been limited.

7.2 THE PREREQUISITES OF TRANSFORMATION IN WELFARE

Transformation to meet the goals of developmental social welfare requires change in organisational culture, structure, operative procedures and new

strategies for achieving developmental goals. Although predicted in the hypothesis that this is difficult to adapt without resources, this study has shown that in order to change more than financial resources are needed. Professional commitment and psychological readiness is also necessary. The requisite skills in organisational transformation, design and change management is lacking to be able to steer agencies into new directions.

As discussed earlier, the necessary change in attitudes of people has not occurred as illustrated in this study by negative feelings towards sharing of resources to extend services to other race groups, the unchanged roles and composition of management boards and resistance to amalgamations. It can be argued that handling change is a process (refer Chapter three, page 90). In South Africa although the negotiated political transition is presented as an example to the world, change has not been negotiated and no process of implementation followed. Change has been imposed on agencies with no real preparation, a fact that has been strongly confirmed in this study by management member's lack of knowledge and understanding of The White Paper of Social Welfare. This unawareness of requirements of change can also exacerbate stress and confusion.

Careful preparation and a positive organisational attitude to change is important to build confidence to act in and on the world in a way that can be effective. Such organisational preparation has not occurred and it can be argued that this gap has led to defensive adaptation by agencies. Agencies have accepted that change is necessary but since the fundamental strategy has not been worked through, professionals have become frustrated by their lack of knowledge on how to achieve developmental goals and disillusioned with the limited resources available. To a large extent change initiated since the White Paper has been superficial and nowhere near meeting the enormous demand for welfare. This

has been recognised by the Ministers in a number of important policy statements together with reduced resources has led to feelings of pessimism among the social workers.

From a study of child welfare agencies: KwaZulu-Natal it can be concluded that transformation of organisational structure, culture, operative, and basic strategies for achieving goals of new policies have been minimal. Boards of Management have not been fundamentally changed to correct race and gender imbalances, and that there is a lack of clear understanding of the main goals and new policy framework of the WPSW by members of Boards of Management at agencies.

All social workers and management members in this study were of the opinion that voluntary welfare organisations do not have the capacity to deal with the magnitude of the problems they face and that the State needed to play a pivotal supportive role. Although this is universally agreed, there is guarded caution in the relation to the State. It is felt that the State should not play a dominant role and that a new partnership has to emerge between the agencies and the State. Developmental social welfare ideals should be upheld as discussed in chapter 3. The resentment between State officials and the non-profit sector as evident in the study has not been resolved in favour of good practice of working together.

A model for this new form of partnership will be proposed at the end of this chapter.

7.3 CRITICAL REVIEW OF WELFARE POLICY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Many welfare policy demands in South Africa presented in the section on policy and implementation pose great challenges to the welfare sector. The demands of present policy essentially require the shift from sustaining privileged White power relations in welfare towards greater equity for the unprivileged Black poor. At one level this requires a major ideological shift, which challenges the previous social structure of society. The deracialisation and rationalisation of the welfare system

and agencies in civil society is demanded as well as the extension of services to ensure that these reach the poorest sectors of the community. Local and international literature (refer Chapter two) has recognised that welfare has an important functional role in society in promoting social integration and ensuring stability. This need has been highlighted in countries experiencing structural adjustment policies with drastic cutbacks in employment and declining incomes. South Africa is experiencing this phenomenon in the form of GEAR with a sharp decline in formal employment and very slow growth. There is an increasingly strong recognition of the need for a social safety net amongst South African policy makers although no clarity is given on how this will be provided. In short new demands are being placed for welfare just as the transition from the residual model of practice is being undertaken.

Past policies are recognised as a major constraining factor in implementing new policy demands. Social policies cannot be seen in a vacuum both because of the distorted historical development of welfare in South Africa and because they have been shaped by economic, political and social forces in society. Policymaking previously has followed the dominant ideology of race and wealth. Race become entrenched in every policy. Policies functioned to legitimatise and maintain White supremacy and privilege and to ensure domination over other race groups. Welfare policies for Africans, where they did exist, were of a residual nature and based on the idea of segregation. The power of these policies is reflected in the poverty and gross inequalities in South African society today. As hypothesised past policies has left a legacy which is very difficult to overcome. Transformation and policy implementation is taking place in a context in which social cohesion is severely stressed by crime, structural inequalities, crippling poverty, and by the institutional stresses of conflictual relationships, suspicion and limited resources. Apartheid has also left society with prejudices and attitudinal scars that make present policy implementation difficult. This is not an enabling environment. The impact of past policies has left a differentiated welfare system based on race and characterised by an urban and male gender

bias in the management of agencies. The impact has not been confined to welfare policies, but equally affects welfare organisation. The legacy of "group areas", of racially defined spatial distribution of Child Welfare agencies across KwaZulu-Natal, still has to be overcome. However it must be highlighted that spontaneous forms of welfare structures have emerged in deprived communities and these are playing an important role in filling the gaps in welfare provision. In African communities, informal welfare structures build on people's strengths, and survival strategies have emerged to meet their needs. These are the basis of the emergence of agencies in categories four and five in this study. Agencies in category four have a management committee, fundraising number and are affiliated to the South African Council for Child and Family Welfare but have no social worker. Agencies in category five are developing societies with projects not yet affiliated to the South African Council for Child and Family Welfare.

Current policy intentions are commendable, but are constrained by the external environment. There are contradictions within the macro policy frameworks; for example, GEAR is not compatible with the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and developmental social welfare. These overarching policies have a critical impact on welfare, as poverty alleviation is seen as central to social development and the appropriate financing of agencies as a means of enhancing service delivery. Implementation is made difficult by budgetary limits, the slow economic growth of the country and the downward pressure of the global economy. A review of policies and budget allocations in this study has shown that South Africa has followed global trends and adopted a neo-liberal approach to the economy, which requires cutbacks in social spending. Contrary to mass expectations of the incoming African National Congress government a socialist welfare philosophy has not been adopted. Policy-makers constantly are aware of the impact of structural adjustment programmes in Africa and other countries, yet other alternatives are not sought (refer Chapter two, page 70). There is consensus in the literature that the adoption of a welfare state is

impractical in South Africa, even though funds are available for more social spending.

Welfare policies were possibly too ambitious within the context of economic constraints in South Africa and the massive social deficit that the country inherited. Yet there are widespread reports of unspent funds. The link between policy-making and the budget process is now established in a conservative framework. Constraints go beyond the macro-economic framework alone; for example, the operational efficiencies of agencies are affected by inadequate finance. The provision of services to people living in remote and inaccessible regions can place heavy burdens on agencies, as, with no extra resources, they have to extend services to comply with policy demands.

The RDP and the White Paper of Social Welfare are based on commendable redistributive and social-welfarist principles of the State. Likewise, the consultative process in the creation and adoption of the White Paper has been democratic and commendably consultative. Despite this problems have arisen owing to communities being unaware of the policy-making process. One must remember that capacity in the policy-making process has been very limited, as civil society had never previously been involved. It had, in fact, been alienated from the centre of power. However, the subsequent adoption of other key policies like GEAR and the Financing Policy has been characterised by non-negotiation and centralised imposition. The move from a consultative process in the development of welfare policy development to non-negotiation poses the danger that civil society will either become apathetic or resentful.

The speed at which policy has developed has not allowed for adequate consultation. The attitude of civil servants of the previous system also needs to be changed. They need to believe in the change of policies and be part of the development and implementation process. The researcher is in agreement with Bernstein (refer Chapter 2, page 45) that of skills in policy making in South Africa

need to be enhanced. This is illustrated in this research by the large number of the policy contradictions discussed earlier, the lack of congruence between policy and budget allocations and deficits in the policy making process.

There is a need to increase capacity in the field of policy making and its implementation in South Africa.

Capacity building at policy level is necessary at different levels:

- in policy formulation at all levels in the welfare field, viz. National, Provincial, Agency level
- Linkages between policy and the budget process
- Community participation and education in the policy process. Innovative ways of informing the majority of the people and educating them regarding the impact of policy are necessary to secure their involvement in implementation.

7.4 THE CRISIS OF IMPLEMENTATION AND TRANSFORMATION

Implementation of policy has been the main focus of this research. Transformation at a service delivery level is discussed in terms of policies of the WPSW and operational objectives of the Financing Policy (1999). (refer Chapter one, page 16).

The Child Welfare Movement, despite previous state control, has played an important role in service provision to poor communities and is providing a much-needed service within a transforming South Africa. Agencies now appear clear on the need for deep-rooted change. The submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission by the SANCCFW which recognises the need to overcome its past must be applauded as it sets the tone for transformation. This demonstrates that agencies have the potential to recognise the challenge to change, develop and grow as discussed in chapter three, page 88. However the

translation of policies into service delivery has been limited. This study has shown that the good intentions of SANCCFW have run into problems of implementation in part because agencies are complex and have been operating within an organisational culture which is difficult to change. In addition agencies are made up of many organisational systems; for example management, staff, the state departments, and community members and organisations. If transformation is to occur there has to be concurrent change in all the systems, which is often difficult to achieve. These problems brake the momentum of fundamental change, which is required and policies become assimilated into conventional structures and systems blunting the cutting edge of change.

Despite the policy objective, in (Shift nos. 6 of Financing Policy 1999 : Chapter one page 16) of universal access to services which stipulates that resources be reprioritised for more equity across the urban-rural divide, this research has shown that services remain uneven in coverage (refer chapter three, page 105). There are massive deficits in the welfare infrastructure required to meet the needs particularly of the rural population. The remnants of the old system are reflected in the spatial distribution of Child Welfare agencies across the KwaZulu-Natal region. As anticipated in the hypothesis there is a concentration of staff, resources and agencies in urban areas, although the majority of the population in greatest need lives in rural areas. By implication, this has a racial imbalance, since the rural population is predominantly African. Inaccurate demographic information of populations have been cited as an obstacle to planning of services (refer chapter one, page 44). This study attempted to use a geographic information system to illustrate the overlap of agencies. **More use of such technologies should be made of in the welfare field and in planning services to ensure equitable services to all South Africans in terms of demographics. Emphasis should also be made on the need for social work students to receive training in information technology and other related fields.**

In the hypothesis it is anticipated smaller agencies in outlying areas would face more difficulties in meeting the objectives of the White Paper of Social Welfare. These difficulties are experienced by previously designated agencies of all race groups. These agencies have less staff and fewer physical resources and support systems to assist them in delivery of services than do those in urban areas, yet these areas usually have greater needs as they have been previously neglected. In addition there is the problem that these populations are more scattered and less accessible. Younger social workers are being employed in outlying areas, where they have no support and may often be the only staff member working in the office. Developmental goals are difficult to achieve and frustration results in a high turnover of staff. **There is a need to develop incentives in order to recruit more experienced staff at these agencies. Attempts should be made to expose students to remote rural areas in the form of internships. Compulsory community service could be another way of overcoming this shortfall.**

The difficulty in recruiting and retaining African social workers is also a problem in implementing affirmative action policies in agencies. This difficulty also hampers the policy objective of the Financing Policy (1999) (refer chapter one, page 17) of respecting diversity, indigenous rights and cultures with special reference to language and the linking with the concept and direction of the African Renaissance. The inability of social workers to speak Zulu is identified as another major obstacle to effective service delivery, and this has implications to rendering culturally appropriate services. **Language policies need to be developed to address this problem in terms of both the qualifications of social workers and their subsequent training. Race and ethnic practices have not been openly addressed and the appropriate measures need to be put in place.**

Child Welfare agencies encourage agencies to amalgamate to avoid duplication, encourage sharing of resources and by implication breaking down racial origins

of agencies. However these amalgamations are leading to the emergence of huge bureaucracies which is contrary to the principles of self-help organisations and community development. Two different and conflicting policy initiatives are being developed: self-help initiatives are being encouraged in rural areas with amalgamations largely in urban areas. We need to be careful that a differential quality of services is not being perpetuated in serving the needs of different population groups. **The amalgamation of agencies and subsequent decentralisation of offices needs to be carefully monitored to ensure that the policy complies with the principles of development and that the fundamental benefits of nonprofit service organisation is not being compromised.**

7.5 DEVELOPING INFRASTRUCTURE / DECENTRALISATION

With the exception of the pension scheme, there is no formal welfare infrastructure in the rural areas of South Africa. A positive step towards alleviating this situation is the policy of decentralisation of State welfare. Yet this process has been hampered because the State welfare departments has limited capacity and is not meeting policy objectives. It can be argued that the State, like the voluntary sector, is also grappling with transformation. Policy documents have proposed community development and the capacity-building of self-help organisation to fill this void in rural welfare services. In this study there has been an expansion of Child Welfare services into rural areas based on professional consultancy services to agencies in categories four and five.

Self-help initiatives through grassroots organisations are an important source of voluntary provision in many African countries. These organisations have many advantages over the formal welfare sector. They have the ability to reach the poorest of the poor where there is no formal welfare infrastructure. However, as illustrated by the case study of a agency in category five in this study

(Chapter five, page 146) because these agencies are located in impoverished communities, self-help efforts lack the financial resources and organisational capacity to sustain long-term provision in the absence of on-going external inputs from the State and private sector. The literature (discussed in Chapter two, page 65) cautions against the abdication of the role of the State in providing services to these impoverished communities. Small gains are vital to communities where nothing previously existed. If the advantages of self-help agencies are to be achieved as outlined in the literature they must not merely engage in a service delivery role, fighting for survival with what little they have. **They have to be mobilised politically; they have to aware of their rights and means of obtaining them.** This study has shown that transformation is more complex than financing mechanisms and that there are peculiarities in the functioning of these self help agencies (category five) in terms of conventional administration and management. The strengths and local knowledge of these agencies need to be built on. **There is a need to research these agencies in order to develop best-practice models which will assist in developing indigenous social work literature. The focus of the research should include governance structures, organisational development and models of service delivery that is consistent with transformation with an African worldview.**

The organisational culture of agencies has largely remained unchanged. This is contrary to policy objectives that services should demonstrate social integration of race and gender in governance structures of agencies (refer Chapter one, page 17). The Boards of Management of agencies have not been transformed to include ordinary people from the community, and gender and racial imbalances have not been corrected. However, the need to include people with special skills is increased in part by policy demands; for example, the need for business plans may over-ride transformation requirements, at least for the present. **There is a need to investigate factors responsible for the difficulty in recruiting members onto Boards of Management. It is also necessary to study organisation structure from an indigenous and cultural point of view to**

identify obstacles to recruiting and keeping management members. Volunteerism has to a large extent been unorganised in South Africa. **Training programmes are needed to equip people with skills so that they can work effectively in managerial positions. Innovative incentives need to be researched to encourage socially skilled people to become more involved in community work.** However it is also important that we do not judge community participation in agencies only by representation on Boards of Management. Individuals in communities might have other types of skills to offer agencies in a voluntary capacity. These areas of community involvement also need to be tapped.

Evaluation of the quality of services by consumers and community participation in service delivery in this study is minimal. Such evaluation should be made of the move from services based on quantity to quality from a top-down approach to a participatory one as required by the Financing Policy (1999) (refer Chapter 1, page) Staff and management will need to change their ideological basis of a authoritarian governance structure and identify with the relevance of community participation in each step of the development process. **Research and evaluation into ways of meeting the democratic policy criteria, as specified in the White Paper of Social Welfare and the Financing Policy (1999) needs to be instituted as a matter of urgency.**

7.6 THE WILL TO SUCCEED: MORALE AND CHANGE

As argued in the hypothesis a major problem in the process of change is that of the morale of change agents. The morale of social workers in this study is very low and there is a lack of recognition of the work done by social workers. Chances for upward mobility in the nonprofit sector is minimal and salaries are not competitive with other professionals. The control of social work tasks by management members appears also to be a damper on their spirits. The pessimism of social workers in relation to transformation requires attention.

Evidently the current Minister is attempting to respond to this matter with visits to the provinces but more is needed in terms of overcoming the many welfare disasters headlined in the newspapers currently. An enthusiastic, optimistic workforce will be more effective in delivering services. Motivation springs from seeing the positive results of one's efforts. **Working conditions such as salary and opportunities for upward mobility require attention if the nonprofit sector is to be improved.**

Although transformation demands a change in professional practice, social workers are still operating on a casework basis. This over emphasis on one approach goes against the policy objective of the Financing Policy (1999) of a continuum of care and the provision of integrated services. Social work needs to become more politicised. They need to change their methods by mobilising the marginalised and the poor this includes attacking structural injustices in society. **Social work training needs to address this issue and ensure that social work roles are extended to include involvement in advocacy and social action, policy, research and other more radical approaches to social development.** Within a developmental policy framework social workers would thus empower communities from a material sense and capacity-building and training of social workers in this area is therefore necessary. **In addition policy demands business plans and outputs; inclusion of economics as a subject in the social work curriculum is therefore recommended. Universities need to train students appropriately and ensure that the curriculum is developmentally oriented.**

There is often duplication of services and competition for resources amongst the various agencies and organisations. This results in fragmentation of effort and variable quality of service. **Effort should therefore be made to focus on service delivery models which include the relevant agencies and departments.** Although the WPSW requires inter-departmental collaboration in planning, the existing collaboration in terms of delivery of holistic services and

intersectoral collaboration is minimal. Internationally, locality-based services have been implemented as a means to addressing this problem (as discussed in Chapter two, page 67). **Locally-based services promote co-ordination of one-stop services. This might be a cost-effective way of ensuring service delivery and might also assist in the emergence of community representation, language and indigenous models of practice.**

All individuals and agencies agree that the State has a central role to play in creating an enabling environment for civil society. It has been internationally recognised that the financial support of the State is critical for social development, yet State policy-makers continue to advocate that the private and voluntary sectors take more responsibility. However from international experience caution has to be taken that communities do not become dependent on the State. To overcome this dependency, welfare pluralism has been advocated as an international trend in welfare, with civil society as an important role player. South Africa has the foundations of a pluralistic welfare structure although the different pillars are not robust.

A new partnership has to emerge between agencies and the State, which has resources and authority to build initiatives to take forward the transformation process. There needs to be an improved relationship between the State and civil society in rebuilding a society traumatised by apartheid and poverty.

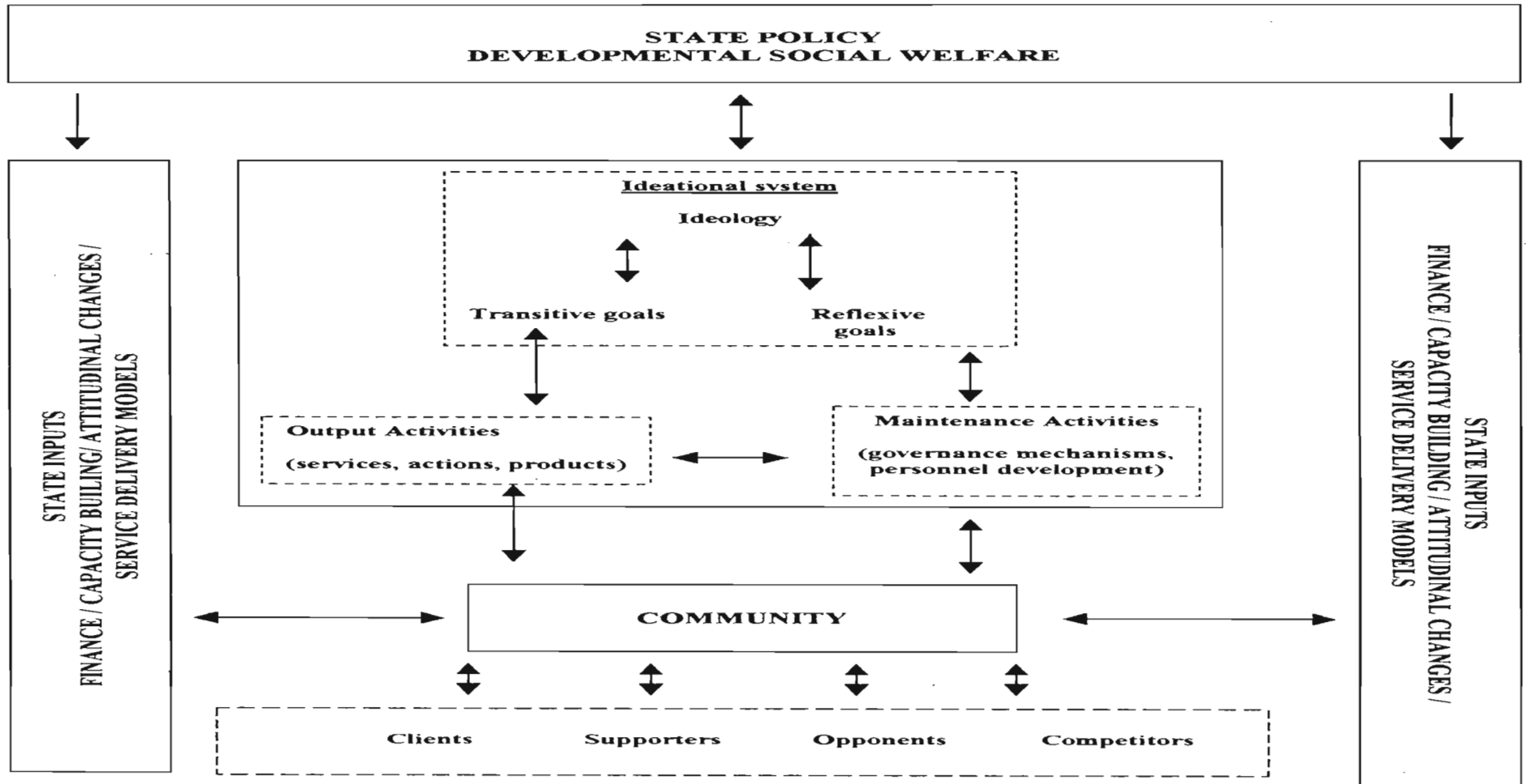
The absence of involvement of social workers working with local Government was noticeable in this study. Collaboration at this level of service delivery needs to be enhanced.

7.7 A PROPOSED MODEL TOWARDS TRANSFORMATION

A model based on enhancing service delivery amongst the role players will be proposed below. It is acknowledged (Chapter two, page 67) that models of synergy between the various sectors in service provision need to be developed. In South Africa communities are too impoverished to build these alone. Better relationships are needed to be built around complementarity between the nonprofit sector and State. In a politically young and fragile democracy like South Africa, there is a need to be cautious that the State does not become dominant while ensuring that an increasing proportion of the budget goes towards welfare. The relationship between the State and the voluntary welfare sector presently hinges on the question of subsidies. There is a need to move beyond this towards co-production, synergy and partnership. The State needs to lead transformation in a positive way by ensuring that attitudinal change in key role players, and capacity-building at all levels from national policy-makers down to the agency, takes place. Lack of skills in transformation and the change process is also a problem, at agency level as well as with policy-makers at national government level.

A modified version of Hyde's (1992: 124) model of organisational patterns and it's environment in a transforming South Africa based on the responses of this study is proposed below.

Fig: 7.1 The Interaction Patterns of an Organisation and its environment



This model has been chosen as it is all encompassing and involves the agency and its total environment. It also recognises the dynamic and interactional nature

of all the components of the system in transformation (refer Chapter three, page 88).

However with reference to figure 6.1 this model in its original form is inadequate in depicting transformation in South Africa, as State policy, as recognised in this study is central to the transformation process and the achievement of developmental goals. State policy provides the framework for transformation and affects the ideological system of the agency and its transitive and reflexive goals. The emphasis on State involvement in transformation is recommended because in the South African context, only the State has the resources to deal with the magnitude of problems and inequities in society. However the question to ask is how can it be kept on track when it is also hampered by a conservative fiscal framework. Furthermore a model of welfare pluralism is being adopted in South Africa in which state-civil society relations are encouraged which is recognised by this model. Finance will be the main input needed from the State. Other needed inputs identified are a coherent policy framework at both the macro and welfare level, capacity-building of human resources, and assistance in correcting attitudinal problems and change in values at agencies. Concurrently, change needs to occur in other parts of the system, viz. Agency level in terms of output activities and maintenance activities such as new governance models and an increase community involvement.

There has to a partnership in the public-civic interface based on synergy, as these systems are interdependent which is taken into account by this model in that it is dynamic and interactional. The State (National, Provincial and local Government level) has the responsibility for co-ordination of holistic service delivery models and this might shift the total emphasis of agency based practice to locality based services. This model recognises that communities and the welfare environment are to play a greater role in development with a greater emphasis on locality-based service delivery models. Development of a locality-based model of service will prevent overlap of services and will ensure efficient

use of resources. There is also a need to empower communities to play a greater role in developmental social welfare. Inputs, such as creating a spirit of community service, capacity in leadership and civic skills, are also needed to activate communities in an effort to work at transforming our welfare system.

Overall, it can be argued that change has been seen as being haphazard, too rapid and poorly managed. Fundamentally, there has been too much change without adequate psychological and organisational preparation in a climate of growing austerity. Transformation has been piecemeal and unplanned whereas organisational change needs to be holistic. As argued earlier organisational change demands change in organisational structure, culture, operational procedures, goals and basic strategies for achieving these goals. In addition transformation demands change in the day-to-day tasks, roles and functions of social workers and management members. This process has been uneven and incomplete. There appears to be a reliance on the Financing Policy to facilitate change. However, this is an external tool of change based to a large extent on threat of withdrawal of funds. Change is possible only when it is seen not as a threat but as an opportunity. Real change involves internalisation of values in people, but change in South Africa has taken place largely only superficially. Acceptance of change has often also been superficial and defensive: an adaptation to external demands.

However, the philosophical base and extensive consultative process that preceded the White Paper of Social Welfare (1997) is highly commendable and should serve as a model of developing policy in general. The enthusiasm with which the Child Welfare agencies and the South African National Council for Child and Family Welfare approached transformation is promising. Finally, the efforts of the State Department of Welfare and the voluntary sector must complement each other if the intentions of policies are taken to their logical conclusion. Only then will the ultimate goals of achieving the principles of welfare be achieved.

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE
SOCIAL WORKERS

NAME OF ORGANISATION:

MAGISTRAL DISTRICT:

ADDRESS: POSTAL:

PHYSICAL:

PHONE NUMBER:

CATEGORY OF ORGANISATION

1	2	3	4	5
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- Areas of operation:
- Criteria for working in area

- Age of agency:
- Brief history/development over the years:

SOCIAL WORKERS

GENDER

Male	
Female	

- What is your designation at the agency?

Senior Social Worker	
Social Worker	

- How many years has it been since you have qualified?
- Which university did you graduate from?
- How many years have you worked at this agency?
- Which methods of social work do you use at your agency?

- Rank the methods in order of the extent to which they are used ?

1 st	
2 nd	
3 rd	
4 th	

- What are the main types of problems your clients come to you with?

- Which geographical areas are you expected to work in?

- Discuss the process used in entering communities in which you work in?

- Was a needs-assessment carried out in the areas you work in?

Yes	
No	

Other _____

Describe any obstacles you experience in service delivery?

Do you think your agency is accessible to the clients you serve?

Do you network with other agencies in the area?

- Discuss your relationship with State officials in terms of service delivery?

Interviewer's rating:

1	2	3	4	5

- Has your agency been involved in any forms of social action in mobilizing clients in receiving adequate services?

If yes, in what way? If not, why not?

- Describe any development projects / poverty alleviation projects you have embarked on?

- Discuss facilitating/impeding factors in achieving the goals of these projects?

- Do you work with paraprofessionals, volunteers?

- Are you aware of the content of the White Paper?

Yes	No

- In your opinion do you think your agency is achieving the goals as set out by the White Paper?

- Have you been involved in any policy update workshops?

How often? If not why not?

- Do you think that there has been gaps in your training with regard to the realities you face in your work?

- Are you involved in any staff development programmes?

- Do you feel competent to work with different race, cultural groups?

- Do you think the type of client you deal with will be able to afford to pay for services?

- Are you involved in the writing of programmes and of funding proposals?

- Are clients involved in evaluation of services / policy decisions?

- Discuss the impact of cutbacks by the state on service delivery?

- Describe organisational constraints that impede your work?

Do you have a high turnover of staff?

If yes, explain why?

- Have there been any retrenchments at your agency?

If yes, give reasons

- What are the sources of funding at your agency?

- Discuss strengths / Problems experienced with regard to funding?

Can these be rectified?

- Is your office space adequate for your needs?
- How accessible is your agency to the people you serve?

- How many suitable vehicles do you have?
- Is it sufficient to meet the demands of areas that your agency services?
- Do you have any technological devices in your office? Telephone Fax
Computers Other.
- Does your agency have any language policies?
- How do you overcome any obstacles experienced in terms of language?
- Has your agency been involved in any amalgamations with other agencies?

Discuss the process and your perceptions of its effectiveness.

- Has your staff and management members been involved in policy update meetings?
- Do you have access to key political leaders at a national / local level?
- How would you describe your relationship with state departments ?
- Do you think that your agency has been transformed in any way over the years ?
- Do you think that that your agency is meeting the objectives of the agency / demands of Welfare Policy?

Interviewer's Evaluation:

General Comments of agency :

Observations :

Level of pessimism/ optimism of social workers:

APPENDIX 2

Management Members

- Can you describe the composition of the governing body of your agency ?

Designation	Race	Age	Gender	Qualification/Occupation

- What kind of role does the management play in the every day running of the agency?

- How much time do you spend doing work for the agency in a month?

- What personal gains do you get from being a management member?

- How do you go about recruiting members to be on the management board?

- Do you think that your management is representative of the community you serve?

- Do you have local committees in you area?
- Can you describe their role and how do they function?

- Are there any problems experienced at your agency in terms of meeting the demands of the people?
- Is your management represented on a regional / National level?
- Do you think it beneficial to have a management structure of an agency?
- Have you been involved in any welfare policy issues?
- Are you aware of the content of the White Paper?
- Have you attended any workshops related to Policy ?
- Does the agency experience with regard to funding? Explain.

- How do you think this can be rectified?

- Have they been achieved?

- What are some of the problems experienced in the amalgamation process of your agencies?

- What support do they get in taking the process through ?

- Have any agencies in KZN had to close down because of the lack of funds ?

- Do you have access to national / provincial political leaders? Elaborate if yes?

- Discuss what main gains have you made in transformation of your agency?

- What support do you get from National Council?

- Are you working intersectorially. Elaborate.

- What is your vision for the future ?

Can you Describe the structure and role of National Council in terms of the regions and their local branches?

What policies / legislation govern the functioning of your organisation?

Would you now call yourself an NGO?

What do you now see as the role of a private welfare organisation?

What has been the impact of the RDP / GEAR in terms of the financing of your organisation ?

Describe your relationship to state bodies ?

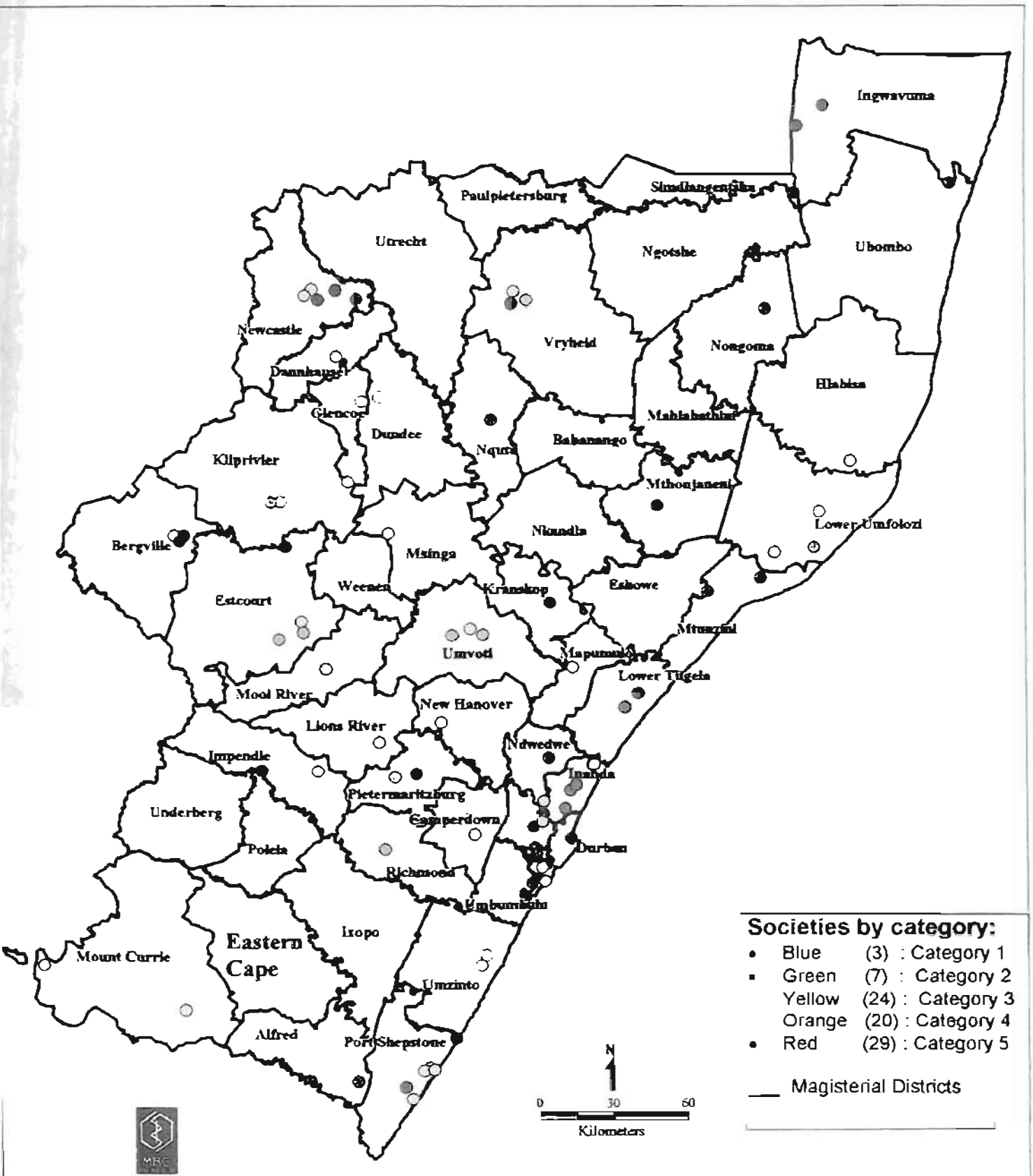
Do you think your organisation has the capacity to meet the demands of Welfare Policy Documents ?

Do you intend making any organisational change to meet the new demands ?

What is your vision for future ?

APPENDIX 3

Landscape of Child Welfare Agencies in KwaZulu-Natal



Societies by category:

- Blue (3) : Category 1
- Green (7) : Category 2
- Yellow (24) : Category 3
- Orange (20) : Category 4
- Red (29) : Category 5

— Magisterial Districts



Produced by: Health GIS Centre, MRC, Durban
 Source: Magisterial Districts: Statistics South Africa