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THE IMPORTANCE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT¹

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The future role of social work is being widely discussed and debated. At the same time, it is becoming increasingly recognised that the 'development of effective strategies to deal with the problem of poverty in South Africa constitutes a challenge to our society' (Phiyega 1992:3). Phiyega (1992:4) saw the need for a 'national anti-poverty programme'. To me, this means social development and I would argue, like many others, that South Africa needs to follow a social development policy model. This, in turn, means that social workers must turn their attention to community development. These matters require serious thought, discussion and debate. This paper aims to add to the debate on a future welfare model for South Africa and on the role of social workers in implementing welfare policy, and to clarify what is meant by social and community development and community work as practised by social workers.

The terms social development, community development and community work are often used interchangeably in social work. I believe that social work, as it is currently practised, and community development are related but separate endeavours, and that community work, as it has evolved in social work, is not synonymous with community development. This paper begins with a discussion of the role of social workers in community development. It is suggested that concerns with professionalism constitute a possible barrier to social work involvement in community development programmes. Essential concepts are examined in order to reach a clear understanding as to their meaning and, finally, the importance of social and community development to social work in South Africa at the present time is emphasised. It is suggested that social workers need to give serious thought to their values and goals. Such ethical and political reflection might lead them to commit themselves to community development which is consistent with social work's values and goals and its conception of social justice.

The role of social workers in community development

Social workers perform a type of community practice, aptly described by Lappin (1983) as involving work on two levels, one embodying direct work with communities and the other involving indirect work by representative bodies functioning in the area of social service planning, co-ordination and provision. The Gulbenkian Foundation (1973) identified three levels. They used community work as an umbrella term to encompass work carried out on the grassroots, agency and policy levels, which they called community development, community organisation and social planning respectively.

However, community work is often distinguished from community development, with the latter seen to be associated specifically with work with the poor. For example, Lappin (1983:60) described community development as 'a one-level system of direct community work concerned with the total needs of residents whether in rural villages or in urban neighbourhoods ... to lift them ... out of conditions of absolute poverty'.

In South Africa, this two-tier approach has been criticised by those who question the rationale for applying community development exclusively to the poor, because of the implication that the poor must help themselves while the better-off get social services. They rightly point out that

community development cannot succeed unless resources are distributed equitably. In South Africa, this means redistribution and an abolition of policies which allow the bulk of resources to go to the developed sector where established services exist (McKendrick 1990; Patel 1992). There is a need to balance services to the developed urban sector with increased services to those in impoverished urban and rural areas. To this end, I believe it is important that social workers seriously commit themselves to community development because:

- it is the strategy most likely to deal with poverty and, therefore, to meet the needs of the communities most in need of social development.
- it provides a way of redistributing social work services and resources to the urban and rural poor and of deploying social workers in these areas of greatest need.
- it is relevant to the South African socio-political and economic context.

There is a possibility that with increased social development, there will be a greater demand on social workers for those specialised services specifically associated with their expertise, knowledge and skill. It is generally recognised that social workers provide child welfare services, and services to elderly and mentally and physically disabled people. They are particularly recognised for their role in helping these people obtain the pensions and grants to which they are entitled. Therefore, I am not suggesting that social workers should only be doing community development or that other social work activities, such as clinical work, have no place in South Africa, only that an exclusive focus on individualised services needs to be balanced by community development.

There are many reasons why social workers are well placed to play an important role in community development. First, located as they are, within the institution of social welfare, they form part of the societal or social forces which influence change. Secondly, community development is consistent with social work's ethical theory which embodies a set of humanistic values and promotes an egalitarian ideal of social justice. Amongst other things, social work:

- places the interests of people as paramount and acknowledges the right of people to participate in their own development through an agreed-upon process of social improvement.
- challenges power structures and policy makers within them to become more responsive to the needs of individuals, especially where their needs and interests are overlooked for the sake of broader political, economic or social goals.
- strives to eliminate discriminatory or selective practices which focus on sectional needs and interests.

The reason that social workers do not involve themselves more in community development is complex and I can only speculate on this from my knowledge and experience. I think one of the major reasons is social work's preoccupation with professionalism. Professionalism in social work has long been linked to clinical, individual and family work. Community development somehow does not cohere with the professional scenario. I will describe the experiences of community development students I have supervised to illustrate my point.

Professionalism: A possible barrier to community development

Social work is a discipline and a profession with diverse purposes and methods. As a discipline, it strives for theoretical excellence acquired through increasingly sophisticated research and educational programmes. As a profession, it strives for practice excellence which is achieved

through the application of theoretical knowledge and through the maintenance of high ethical standards. Social work tries hard to have a recognised equal status with other professions.

By contrast, community development is multidisciplinary. While it relies on the expertise of people drawn from a wide professional spectrum, it is carried out, for the most part, by local, indigenous people. It requires a blurring of professional boundaries and is a melting pot of expertise and skill. Social workers are not renowned for their 'grassroots approach'. They are usually seen as part of the 'community elite' who expect clients to come to their offices rather than attempting to take their services to the people (Gray 1989). While this description might seem quite unfair, it is one commonly reported by students of the Community Service Training Programme (CSTP) situated in the Department of Social Work at the University of Natal, with which I have been involved for more than ten years as both a teacher and field supervisor (Gray & Russell 1988). Students on this development training programme complete a year of full-time study at the university. Thereafter, they do a year of supervised fieldwork in the community, whereafter they receive a certificate in community development. Several second-year students reported social workers' strong resistance to them. I then asked them to complete a one-page questionnaire regarding their experiences with social workers. I include some of these comments since they illustrate the extent to which these social workers protected their professional domain. Many appeared anxious about community developers encroaching on their role, especially in the rendering of advisory services relating to pension and grant applications (often through Advice Offices). This led me to the conclusion that an uneasy relationship existed between social and allied workers. While it seemed permissible for social workers to do community development, social workers did not take kindly to community developers doing what they defined as 'social work', as the following comments show:

On 16 May, I visited the Department of Development Aid offices with the aim of getting their recent community profile report. There I met a senior social worker who complained to me about a fellow student who had overstepped her responsibilities by getting engaged in social work responsibilities she is not professionally trained to deal with. I deduced that it was an indirect manner of telling me that we were doing something we shouldn't be doing.

Another student wrote that:

Social workers attacked a community development worker who deals with pensions. They asked her where she got the permission to make enquiries about pensions. They said people should choose whom they want to work with. There is still a problem because people have got help from the community worker.

This student clearly had negative experiences with social workers whom she found to be 'reluctantly co-operative'. She said that:

They have been doing nothing, but it seems as if they should be doing something because they have shown that they are there to help the community but they are not doing it.

Social workers' unwillingness to help and their guarding of professional boundaries is borne out by the following student's experience:

I had a case of a resident who was in need of welfare. I referred her to the local social workers. She wasn't helped so I took her with me to the social workers. They did the very same thing. They told her they couldn't help her. I wrote letters on her behalf. I got help from a feeding scheme for her. After they heard what I'd

done for her they said that I'm illegally doing social work so I stopped helping people.

It is not surprising that this student found social workers to be unco-operative and negative towards her. She said that:

There are a lot of people who are in need of social workers' help but they all decide to keep their problems rather than go to them. They are badly ill-treating people in the community. Even those who try and go to them only go once. They are a big problem in the community.

Another student described the attitude of social workers to him as negative. Regarding the role of social workers in his community, he said that:

They are supposed to look after the welfare of the community but at Newtown we were surprised that, although the crèches (three of them) fell under their sphere of operation, they were totally neglected and the community was striving on its own to look after these institutions. Not one was built by the government, all are community efforts. It was only when we (the community development students) were in the area that they (the social workers) started showing an interest. They were not of real assistance but were competing with the community workers, holding meetings at government offices. According to one of the teachers, this was the first time this had happened.

Not all the comments were negative. One student said that:

At the present time, I have constant contact with a senior social worker who operates in the area I work in. We have a very good working relationship. He openly avails all his information resources to me. To me this sticks out as an important experience with the social worker though I have not had any dealings with a social worker before but have heard of their questionable attitude towards community workers.

Another said that:

My experience has shown me that the work of a social worker is linked to community development work. I had two cases where community members lost their homes accidentally. I referred them to the social worker where they were given financial assistance to rebuild their homes. In my community, social workers help alcoholics, abandoned babies and families in crises. They help children with defects in eyesight and hearing and also those who are unable to talk by helping them to find appropriate schools.

Other activities described as part of the social worker's domain were:

Rural community development which involves subsistence and commercial agriculture, health and welfare as well as family planning. They are responsible for the provision of essential social services, for example, for the proper functioning of crèches and welfare.

Some students wrote about the ignorance of community members regarding the social workers' role:

In the communities I have visited, I discovered that many people do not know about social workers especially in rural areas. They don't even know about the kinds of problems to be referred to social workers. This is mainly because of

communication breakdown. People are not told about social workers and social workers do not visit their communities. Generally, social workers do very little towards helping people. They are not creative. They are in a way subject to routine work in their offices. They only deal with severe cases which could have been more easily solved before they were allowed to get this bad.

The negative image of the social worker will change once social workers and social work students, trained in community development, learn to work as part of multidisciplinary teams; and once organisational structures exist for the employment of social workers as community developers. I'm not sure whether social workers prefer clinical work or whether they do what agencies expect them to do. Many agencies and educational programmes have a clinical bias (though this is changing). There is nothing intrinsically wrong with this. What I do object to, however, is the tendency of social workers to believe that they have a monopoly on human problem-solving, as some of the above accounts seem to suggest.

An interesting observation, however, is that despite the negative image of social workers and the dubious experiences these community development students have had with them, most aspire to be social workers themselves. Social work is seen as higher in status than community development and as a career path which offers upward mobility. If social work is to remain relevant to our context, its role in relation to broader social policy needs to be examined and changes made where necessary and appropriate.

Social development

It is becoming increasingly recognised that social development is needed in South Africa if the problem of poverty is to be addressed in a realistic way. It has been suggested that South Africa needs a national social development plan (Gray 1993) and that 'the transformation of South African society' (Patel 1992:33) can only be achieved through the adoption of social development policies.

The terms 'social and community development' are not synonymous. Social development is a broader concept than community development. Patel (1992:13) pointed out that 'conceptual difficulties over the definition of development stem(med) from the normative nature of the concept and the fact that it implic(d) value judgements about social progress'. 'Development' implies improvement in social conditions and in the quality of life of people in society. 'Social development', then, implies the emergence of a normative value orientation in which people work towards the best possible society that they can imagine at the time, one which can be justified morally, and which maximises the social welfare and freedom of people (Chung, cited by Cummings 1983). It has an egalitarian and humanistic vision. As such, it is a specific approach to social policy which requires a society to have a sincere commitment to eradicating poverty. It proposes comprehensive solutions to poverty involving all social sectors including health, housing, work, welfare and education. It recognises the relationship between these sectors in providing for the well-being of people and societies. It refers to an ideal state of affairs which is approximated by societies in varying degrees (Hardiman & Midgley 1982; MacPherson & Midgley 1987; Patel 1992). There are numerous theories of, and approaches to, social development. Since it is multidisciplinary, these theories and approaches are influenced by the perspective of the people involved which may, for example, be economic, political or sociological (Webster 1984). Economists tend to favour a rational approach, while those who are politically motivated emphasise power-coercive strategies. Social workers prefer non-technical strategies of change, which are dependent on problem-solving through interpersonal and social processes (Cummings 1983).

International and local concern with social development is leading to the emergence of a body of knowledge springing from a value base which requires a reinterpretation of certain social work functions and goals. There is an important difference between the welfare function, interpreted as being concerned with the provision of goods and services, the radical goal of social transformation and the development function aimed primarily at community-directed social change (Cummings 1983). From its order or consensus perspective, social work has always aimed to support the principle of democratic functioning in those efforts concerned with improved social welfare and to create processes whereby individuals and groups might participate in social change and development. However, its apolitical claims and its tendency to see political, economic and social realities as distinct from one another is a carryover of the liberal, Cartesian, rationalist misunderstanding of neutrality. I agree with Cummings's (1983:21) view that social development models involve an agreement amongst those who participate to act in certain ways and to engage in:

Dialogical strategies for development ... Social work has moved through several levels of practice in its quest to effect the welfare of people, from casework, groupwork, community organisation, social planning, and now to social development. At each stage the role of social work practice often seems increasingly ambiguous, if not diluted to the point of being non-existent. Yet, the need to define roles for social work practice in large-scale human liberation efforts is real and urgent. But it must be done in ways which ... reflect the human factor in development.

However, Cummings (1983) separated political, economic and social development. He said that social work was concerned with the latter since its humanistic values were based on the needs, desires and interests of people, but political parties and economic systems also promote the interests of people and involve people in determining their own needs and priorities. It is impossible to separate social development from political and economic realities. Emerging paradigms which propose a holistic, connected view of reality force social workers to see and act at many levels. The social development paradigm is a case in point. A comprehensive social agenda for social work includes both political and economic rights. Social problems frequently result from injustices in the economic, civil and political realms. By necessity then, social development is political and economic.

Thus there is a relationship between social, political and economic development, even though the values, objectives and action systems for each of these forces in society might differ markedly. Although the publicly accepted social work role might differ from that of politicians and economists, social workers nevertheless touch on these areas as they see the relationship between them and the necessity to work on many different levels. Political and economic development is intrinsic to social development. Even though poverty and unemployment might be interpreted as economic issues, the solutions to them are often political. Even though participation and empowerment might be political matters, it is through social processes that people's capacity to participate and exercise power is reached. It is this process of social influence by, among others, social workers and their organisations, that is an important aspect of social work practice, as it contributes to political empowerment and the achievement of a more just distribution of economic resources. Capacity-building, empowerment, consciousness-raising and participation are keys to the promotion of social work's humanistic philosophy and social change goals. Social workers are united in their belief that all people have equal worth and that their profession should strive for social justice. However, they do not necessarily agree on how these values are

to be fulfilled. There are several issues which require serious thought and debate as social workers examine their role in social and community development.

First the question of political involvement and ideological interests needs to be addressed. Some might argue that the focus of social workers is different from that of others, such as politicians and economists, who promote specific ideological interests. Others might argue that social workers, too, cannot but promote their own ideological interests. Whatever one's standpoint on this question, there is no doubt that social workers must be aware of their own ideological and political commitments and biases, in order to do as much justice as possible to their role in society and to their clients. Secondly, social workers need to debate the problem of existing inequality. A widely supported strategy to redress imbalances due to, amongst other things, poverty, sexism, racism, oppression and disability must be aimed at. Social workers seem to find it unacceptable to assume equal starting points when planning redistributive measures shown by their increasing acceptance of the need for affirmative action. Thirdly, the problems surrounding existing change strategies also need to be discussed. For example, advocacy, a common level of activity within the liberal paradigm (Mullaly 1993), creates value dilemmas for social workers in their empowerment role. Advocates act for or on behalf of clients, rather than enabling or empowering clients to act for themselves (Gilbert & Specht 1976). Where advocacy is used, social workers must take added care to canvass client opinion when researching community needs to ensure that the objectives they promote are considered by clients to be in their own best interests. Social workers are ethically bound to obtain the informed consent of clients or service users before advocating on their behalf. If social workers were to advocate on behalf of clients without their full knowledge and consent, they would be behaving in a paternalistic and judgmental manner. Paternalism is deemed a 'disvalue' (Timms 1983) and is contrary to the general social work value system. The best safeguard against paternalistic behaviour is a participatory model of helping in which clients are encouraged to articulate their needs and interests through a process of dialogue. In this way, the ability of clients to make informed decisions for themselves is enhanced and social workers are put in touch with what clients want. Lippit and others (cited by Cummings 1983) called this the 'normative-re-educative strategy' of social development.

Community work

Community work had its earliest beginnings in the settlement movement with its emphasis on neighbourhood work (Lappin 1983). Phiyega (1992) claimed that the earliest social work efforts in South Africa were also community-based. However, the push for professional status led social work to abandon its community thrust in favour of clinical theory and practice which still predominates today, both in South Africa (Muller 1989) and abroad (Fraser, Taylor, Jackson & O'Jack 1991).

In social work, the theory of community practice was first called 'community organisation' (Ross 1955; Dunham 1970) and this term is retained in current American writing. The English literature developed later and generally referred to 'community work'. Both refer to a specific type of social work which developed in industrialised, western contexts which encompasses the adjustment of needs and resources through direct work with community groups or their representatives. It implies a context in which some form of community organisation exists, where there is an established infrastructure, where social workers identify gaps in services, and where they develop and implement programmes to fulfill unmet needs. Rubin and Rubin (1992:3) said 'community organising means bringing people together to combat shared problems and to increase their say about decisions that affect their lives'. An historical analysis reveals

that the theory of community organisation developed later than that of casework and groupwork. In its earlier forms it was 'restricted to a practice that dealt with the residue of social problems or the planning for and coordination of existing services' (Goldstein 1973:45). Like its counterparts, it was essentially reactive or ameliorative. As the theory of community organisation grew, it became increasingly apparent that the goals and methods of community practice differed from those of case and group work. They were oriented towards social rather than individual change, involved consumers in the planning and provision of programmes and addressed social problems on a broader scale. Community practice goals were not embodied in existing ethical codes which were oriented towards individualism, neither did they fit with those of clinicians (Galper 1975). Many community theorists criticised the band-aid methods of individual helping and embraced radical theory. They questioned the social structure which spawned social problems and expanded the boundaries of social work. Their focus on political factors blurred the distinction between social work and political action. The new community practice models which developed emphasised citizen participation and consumerism, advocacy and empowerment, the championing and questioning of client rights, and challenging the status quo. Community theorists borrowed from a diverse range of disciplines, among them, law, urban and regional planning, policy making/social engineering, and political science.

Community work is often separated from mainstream social work. For example, Hepworth and Larsen (1990:465) believe that 'the problem-solving process at the macro level differs widely from that at the micro level'. They cited Gilbert and Specht, who said that social workers in social planning and community organisation seemed to have more in common with professionals in other fields. Several writers have highlighted the differences between social work and community work (Clark & Asquith 1985; Taylor & Roberts 1985). Clark and Asquith (1985:114) noted the 'ambivalent relationship between mainstream social work and community work' which they believed arose from the tendency of community workers to attach priority to public issues, while most social workers tended to focus on personal troubles. Taylor and Roberts (1985:16) employed a similar line of argument, noting the predominance of a clinical focus in social work and 'community work's uneasy integration under the broad umbrella of the profession'.

In my view, these writers unnecessarily polarised private and public issues. They were writing in a different context than that which we are aiming to address. There is no reason why personal issues cannot be dealt with adequately through community intervention and in South Africa today community development is as relevant as clinical practice.

Community development in social work

The theory of community development arose outside of social work in third world or less developed contexts and referred to a different type of social intervention than that being conducted by social workers in developed western contexts. It arose specifically in undeveloped communities of poor people where neither social workers nor social services existed. Lappin (1983:59) described the beginnings of community development in American social work as follows:

In the 1950s, community development arrived on the North American continent from the Third World as a fresh and promising answer to the problem of widespread poverty. Social workers greeted the new approach with an inquiring interest that expressed itself in the form of anecdotal, descriptive, and analytical comparisons with their own form of community work.

The early literature on community development portrayed it as a paternalistic, enabling strategy in terms of which it was in the best interests of people to help them to help themselves. It emphasised rational problem-solving within a consensus-orientated, participatory, democratic model and was seen as totally apolitical (Batten 1965; Biddle & Biddle 1965; Dunham 1970). Thus for Ross (1958), the community (social) worker's role was to enable the whole community to become involved in the identification of its own problems and to mobilise itself to deal with them. Dunham (1970:140) defined community development as 'organised efforts of people to improve the conditions of community life and the capacity of the people for participation, self-direction, and integrated effort in community affairs'.

Rothman (1979:26) saw community development as a specific model of, or approach to, community practice along with community organisation, social planning and social action. He referred to it as locality development, which he defined as 'a process to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation and the fullest possible reliance on the community's initiative'. Warren (1983) emphasised the importance of purposive planned change at the community level. He used a rational model of community development, describing it as a 'process of helping community people to analyze their problems, to exercise as large a measure of autonomy as possible and feasible, and to promote a greater identification of the individual citizen and the individual organisation with the community as a whole' (Warren 1983:35). Rubin and Rubin (1992:3) distinguished community organising from community development which, they said, 'occurs when people form their own organisations to provide a long-term capacity for problem-solving'.

This 'traditional' view of community practice would appear to be consistent with Midgley's (1993:5) 'individualist strategies' and with a liberal capitalist economic model. In terms of this view, community development is seen to:

- Adopt a consensus perspective.
- Refer to poverty rather than oppression.
- Involve an agreement amongst those who participate to act in certain ways and to engage in dialogical strategies for development.
- Imply participatory social change strategies where self-determination is seen as the right of people to participate in socio-political processes which affect their own lives.
- Aim to support the principle of democratic functioning in those efforts concerned with improved social welfare and to create processes whereby individuals and groups might participate in social change and development.
- Be people-centred.
- Be holistic.
- Try to harness economic resources to channel them into social improvement programmes.
- Aim to improve the quality of life and the social functioning or well-being of people.

In current social work theory, this 'traditional', apolitical view is being challenged by those who see social work as an intrinsically political endeavour (Bailey & Brake 1975; Biklen 1983; Corrigan & Leonard 1978; Daniel & Wheeler 1990; Friedman 1992; Galper 1980; Mullaly 1993). These writers adopt a conflict perspective, favour critical and dialectical theory (discourse analysis) and thus interpret social work discourse from a critical (radical and feminist) perspective. They view social problems as the result of the failures of liberal capitalism. For

them, social work practice involves working with oppressed people. They see the ultimate goal of social work as the transformation of society. Their empowerment strategies are aimed at:

- *Consciousness-raising:* Making oppressed people aware of the extent to which their problems are caused, not by their own wrong-doing, but by the context in which they live. In redefining social reality in this way, they aim to translate personal troubles into political concerns.
- *Normalisation:* Making oppressed people see that they are not to blame for their poverty. In social work the aim is to overcome 'blaming-the-victim' approaches.
- *Collectivisation:* Focusing on collective interests. In social work the aim is to overcome individualism.

This radical perspective is favoured by community theorists (Clark & Asquith 1985) and is one which provides useful insights into the way in which injustice and oppression arise and are maintained in society. Community development provides the means to work towards the elimination or, at least, the reduction of injustice and oppression in our society. However, some major adjustments are required if social workers are to appreciate the value and desirability of community development in South Africa at the present time.

The changes required

If social workers are to meet the challenge of community development (Gray 1989; Phiyega 1993) certain fundamental changes are needed:

- Structural and policy changes are required in the manner in which social welfare (including social work) services are organised, delivered and financed. Some form of redistribution of social work services and resources is required to make way for the provision of services to the urban and rural poor and for the deployment of social workers in these areas of greatest need.
- Social workers need to change their attitude towards community development. They need to reflect on their personal and professional commitments in relation to the diverse purposes of their chosen profession, and to reconsider their role in relation to others involved in community development.
- They need to examine the relationship between social work and politics and to enter into dialogue with one another regarding their ideological and political commitments (Gray 1996a).
- They need to reflect on their personal conceptions of social justice and to consider whether they are consistent with the egalitarian view proposed in their professional literature (Gray 1993).
- Social workers need to commit themselves to the goal of social development and to realise its importance in promoting social justice.

I believe that through thinking and talking about these issues, social workers will come to realise the changes required. It is not easy to break out of the mould in which social work has been cast. Social work 'agencies have a built-in bias to continue with their current programmes which creates an inhospitable atmosphere for change' (Weiss, as cited by Phiyega 1992:5). However, by resisting change, social workers in South Africa might be contributing to their own demise. It is highly likely that to finance the reconstruction and social development programmes being mooted for the future, money will have to be diverted away from private welfare, which will

have to become increasingly self-supporting. Retrenchments and cutbacks are already under way in both the public and private welfare sectors. Besides these very real practical considerations, social workers must also consider the ideological ones. Their value system and their literature describes a form of social work very different from that currently practised and their context also needs something other than they are currently providing. In short, social workers need to think seriously about community development and especially, about the change in world view that it necessitates. Such reflection would hopefully lead social workers in South Africa to realise their ethical and political obligations and would lead them to commit themselves to social and community development in the interests of social justice for everyone.

Author's note

This paper was submitted for publication prior to the publication of the ANC's (1994) Reconstruction and Development Plan, and long before the White Paper policy-making process got under way. The Draft White Paper on Welfare (1996) reflects a move towards a developmental social welfare model which requires social workers to reorient themselves towards developmental social work. In this paper, I have described social development as a macro, policy perspective and community development as a form of strategic intervention. Developmental social work is their application to social work practice in those contexts where poverty and under-development are major concerns. In my view, developmental social work: (1) comprises non-remedial forms of intervention; (2) is concerned with non-material resources, such as people's participation, community support and naturally occurring networks; and (3) with material gains, linking social work with economic development in that real empowerment comes from the achievement of economic independence and autonomy (Gray 1996b). The approaches discussed in this paper fit the developmental social work model.

1. *Submitted for publication 18 April 1994*

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